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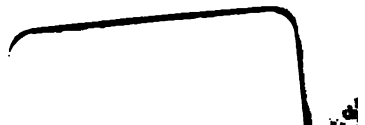




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HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

DORIC RACE,

BY

C. O. MÜLLER,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

HENRY TUFNELL, ESQ.

AND

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STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

VOL. I.



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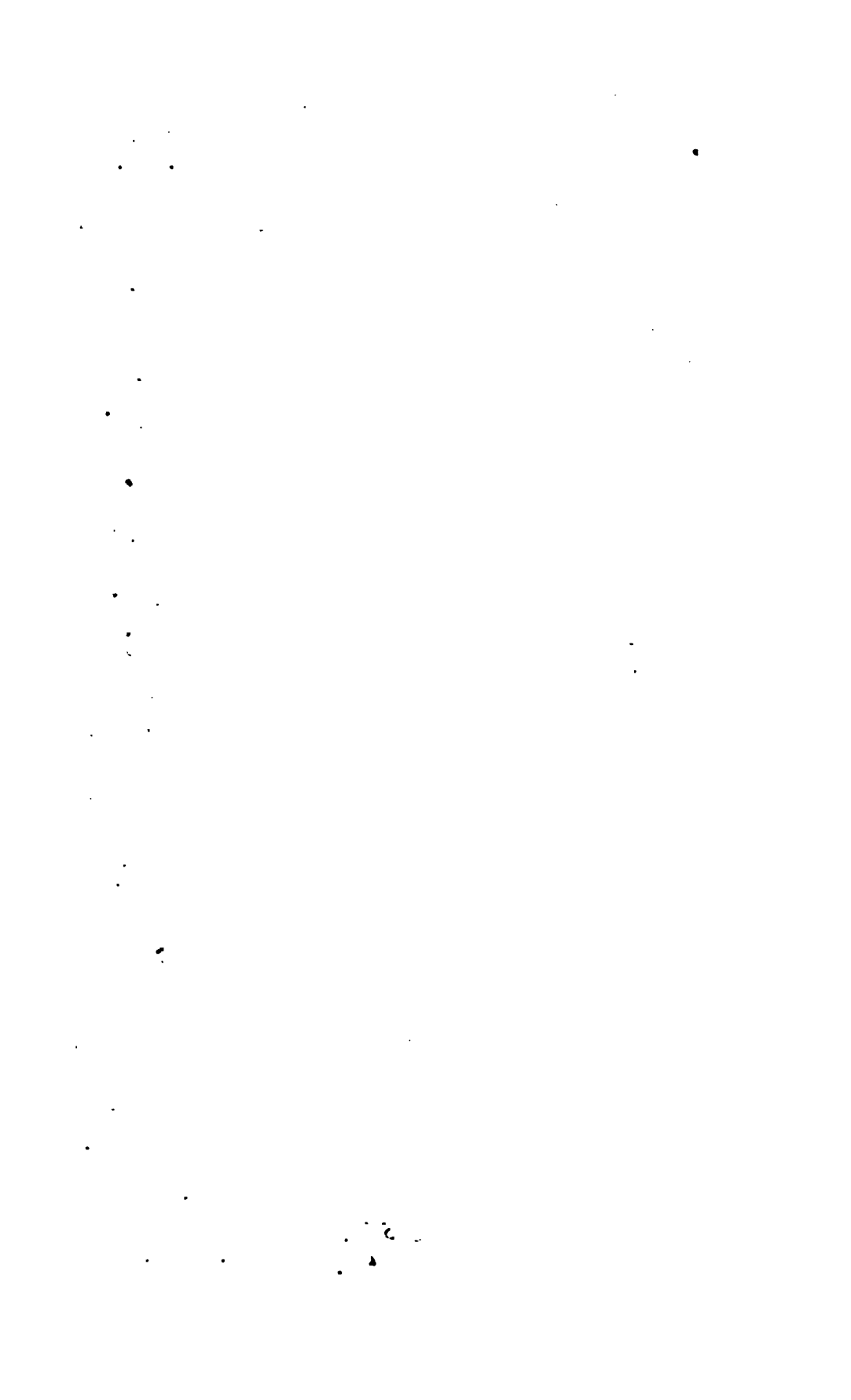
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THE
TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

THE History, of which an English translation is now offered to the public, forms the second and third volumes of a work by Professor C. O. Müller, entitled, "Histories of Greek Tribes and Cities." The first volume of this series was published separately under the name of "Orchomenos and the Minyæ:" and contains a most learned and valuable examination of the mythology and early history of Orchomenos and other towns of Bœotia, and of the migrations of the Minyæ, together with other questions more or less connected with these subjects. It is, in every respect, a distinct and separate work from the Dorians, comprised in the second and third volumes; nor was it more incumbent on us to publish a translation of that first volume, because it is often referred to in the subsequent volumes, than of the many other admirable works on Grecian history, equally referred to, which are inaccessible to persons not acquainted with the German language.

At a time when a large part of the present translation had been completed, the translators communicated by letter to Professor Müller their intention with regard to his work on the Dorians, and re-

quested him to read the manuscript of their translation before it was printed, in case they should have any where committed any errors, or failed to catch the import of his words. To this request Mr. Müller, though not personally known by either of the translators, not only acceded, but, with an unexpected, and indeed unhopèd-for liberality, expressed his willingness to contribute to our translation all the alterations and additions which his reading had suggested since the appearance of the original work. The manuscript was accordingly transmitted, and carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged by the author. Of the value of these changes it would perhaps be improper that we should speak in the terms which they seem to us to deserve: of their number, however, as this can be brought to a certain test, we will venture to assert, that few books undergo so great changes after their first publication; and that the present work may be in strictness considered, not only a translation, but a new edition of the original. In making these changes, it was also the author's wish to clear up ambiguities or obscurity of meaning, either by a change in the expression, or a fuller developement of the thought: and we cannot help hoping, that even to a person acquainted with German our translation will thus be found in many places more explicit and satisfactory than the original text.

Besides those alterations, which appear for the

first time in the following translation, the additions and corrections published by the author in his "Introduction to a scientific System of Mythology" have been here incorporated; and a Dissertation on the early history of the Macedonian nation, published separately by the author, some time after the appearance of the Dorians, has been inserted in the Appendix.

Not only has the small map of Macedonia, appended to this Dissertation, been inserted in our translation, in addition to the map of the Peloponnese, which was alone contained in the original work, but also a map of northern Greece, which, together with the explanatory article inserted in the Appendix, is now for the first time given to the public. These three maps together furnish a complete geographical picture of ancient Greece, from the promontory of Tænarum to the north of Macedonia; and we may be allowed to say, that in accuracy and fulness of detail, they rival, if not excel, all other maps of the same regions^a.

After the printing of the whole work (with the exception of the Appendix) had been completed, the sheets were sent to Mr. Müller, by which means not only the translation of the original, but also of

^a The map of Northern Greece was not received until that of the Peloponnese had been engraved; and being intended by the author for circulation in Germany, as well as in England, the names are given in Latin. This must serve as an apology for this want of uniformity in the two maps.

the manuscript additions, have received the approbation of the author. Any discrepancies, therefore, which may appear between the translation and the original must be considered as sanctioned by the author. The translators at the same time think it right to state, in case Mr. Müller should be exposed to any misrepresentations in his own country, that in making their translation they did not consider themselves bound to follow the letter of the original, and have sometimes indulged in a free paraphrase: while in some places they suggested more considerable changes, on account of the difference between the opinions on many important subjects which generally prevail in England and Germany.

In translating a work embracing so many subjects, which have scarcely ever been treated by an English writer, we have had to contend with the difficulties presented by the character of our language less patient of neologisms and foreign terms than the German. As a considerable part of the following pages is dedicated to an examination of the early history and religion, and therefore of the mythology of the Doric race, we have had frequent occasion for a word which should express that subject of which mythology treats. Now, as mythology is a λόγος περὶ μύθων, nothing could be more precise or convenient than the term *mythus*, and its derivative *mythical*, which have been naturalized by the Ger-

man writers, and which it has been lately attempted to introduce into our language. It is not to be expected that we should enter into a detailed investigation of the different senses in which the words *μῦθος* or *mythus* have been used. It is sufficient to say, that where the tales of mythology have a *historical* meaning, a *mythus* may be defined to be a fictitious or fanciful narrative, having an analogy to some real event or events. Thus, to take an instance from the following work^b, a certain king, Hellen, was said to have had three sons, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus; Xuthus to have had two sons, Ion and Achæus. From these four progenitors the four races of the Hellenes, named Dorians, Æolians, Ionians, and Achæans were said to have been descended. Now, literally taken, this story is absolutely false. The historical memorials of Greece do not enable us to trace nations up to individuals: and in this instance, not only the fact, that this genealogy is fictitious, but even the time when it was invented, can be shewn. But the facts, to which this fabulous pedigree bears an analogy, are, that these four races belonged to the nation of Hellenes; that though in many things differing, yet on the whole they had a strong national affinity; and stood to one another, as it were, in the relation of brethren. Again, (to take another instance from the same source^c), Cyrene, a nymph beloved by

^b See vol. I. p. 510.

^c Vol. I. p. 293.

Apollo, was reported to have been carried by that god to Africa, in a chariot drawn by swans. This is a metaphorical or fanciful representation of the real fact, that the town of Cyrene was founded on the coast of Africa under the superintendence of the oracle of Apollo. Now although both these *μῦθοι* or *fables* are, if literally interpreted, false; they are not the mere vagaries or unauthorized fictions of a poetical fancy. The imagination of the mythologist was "a chartered libertine;" and his stories were as much invented with a designed application as those of a professed fabulist. This very sense the word *fable* has seemed to us to express with great propriety. As in Greek the word *μῦθος* is applied both to the tales of mythology and of Æsop and his imitators^d, so in English the word *fable*, which commonly signifies a fictitious story of events contrary to the order of nature, intended by its analogous application to illustrate or enforce some moral lesson, may properly be extended to those fictitious narratives of mythology, which have an analogous allusion or reference to real events. It is true, that as the story, considered by itself, is false, we sometimes use *fable* as synonymous with *falsehood*; and hence the common usage of the word *fabulous*, which we have taken the liberty to employ in the larger sense just described.

Neither have we ventured to imitate the Germans

^d *Μῦθοι Αἰσώπειοι, &c.*

in writing Demeter, Zeus, Hermes, &c.; but have followed the English custom (which probably originated from reading Greek books in Latin translations) of using the names of the corresponding deities of the Romans. We are aware of the confusion which this practice occasions in a comparison of the Greek and Roman religions, or in a treatise which embraces both these subjects: in the present work, however, where the Latin may be taken as the exact synonyms of the Greek names, we trust that no obscurity will be caused by this practice, and must leave this very desirable innovation to writers of higher authority than ourselves.

It may likewise, perhaps, be useful to mention that by the phrase *elementary religion*, which frequently occurs in the following translation, is meant a worship of the outward objects of nature, such as the sun, the moon, the earth, the waters, or of those active and productive powers which seem to cause the changes of seasons and the growth of vegetable life.

In speaking of the political institutions of the states of ancient Greece, we are not aware of having used any foreign terms, except *timocracy*, which it is perhaps needless to say was used by the political writers of Greece to signify a government founded on wealth, or in which the qualification for public offices, or a seat in the popular assemblies and courts of justice, was the possession of a certain

amount of property (τίμημα, or *census*). There is, however, a subject connected with the political divisions of the ancient states, on which little or no information is to be found in any English writer; and we have therefore collected from some German books, a knowledge of which is presupposed in the following work, a brief account of the meaning of the terms φυλή, φρατρία, πάτρα, γένος, and οἶκος.

We shall begin by setting down a translation of a passage of Dicæarchus, preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium*, which is the chief authority on this difficult subject.

* Steph. Byz. in πάτρα. Πάτρα ἐν τῶν τριῶν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι κοινωνίας εἰδῶν, ὡς Δικαίάρχος, ἃ δὴ καλοῦμεν πάτραν, φρατρίαν, φυλήν. ἐκλήθη δὲ πάτρα μὲν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν μετάβασιν ἐλθόντων ἢ κατὰ μόνας ἐκάστῃ πρότερον οὔσα συγγένεια, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τε καὶ μάλιστα ἰσχύσαντος ἐν τῷ γένει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσα, ὃν ἂν τρόπον Διαικίδας ἢ Πελοπίδας εἴποι τις ἂν.

Φατρίαν δὲ συνέβη λέγεσθαι καὶ φρατρίαν, ἐπειδὴ τινες εἰς ἑτέραν πάτραν ἐδίδοσαν τὰς θυγατέρας ἑαυτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τῶν πατριωτικῶν ἱερῶν εἶχε κοινωνίαν ἢ δοθεῖσα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαβόντος αὐτὴν συνετέλει πάτραν. ὥστε πρότερον πόθῃ τῆς συνόδου γιγνομένης ἀδελφαῖς σὺν ἀδελφῷ, ἑτέρα τις ἱερῶν ἐτέθη κοινωνικὴ σύνοδος, ἣν δὴ φρατρίαν ὠνόμαζον· καὶ πάλιν ὥστε πάτρα μὲν ὅνπερ εἴπομεν ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας τρόπον ἐγένετο μάλιστα τῆς γονέων σὺν τέκνοις καὶ τέκνων σὺν γονεῦσι, φρατρία δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

Φυλὴ δὲ καὶ φυλέται πρότερον ὠνομάσθησαν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ καλούμενα ἔθνη συνόδου γενομένης· ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν συνελθόντων φύλον ἐλέγετο εἶναι.

In the above passage the necessary emendations of Buttmann have been received, viz. φρατρίαν δὲ συνέβη for πατρίαν δὲ συνέβη, ἑτέραν πάτραν for ἑτέραν φράτραν, φρατρίαν ὠνόμαζον for πατρίαν ὠνόμαζον, τῆς γονέων for τοῖς γονέων, and τέκνων for τέκνα. In the last clause Wachsmuth suggests πρῶτον for πρότερον. The word it-

“ *Patra* was the name of the second stage of relationship among different persons, the first having merely been the affinity between man and wife. Its title was derived from the most ancient and powerful of the race, as, for instance, the *Æacidæ* or *Pelopidæ*.

“ The names *Phatria* and *Phratría* arose as follows. When a man married his daughter to the member of a different *Patra*, the bride no longer continued to share in the sacred rites of the *Patra* to which she by birth belonged, but was reckoned in the *Patra* of her husband. So that a meeting of brothers and sisters in different *Patras* having first arisen from natural affection, another society was formed, with a community of sacred rites, called *Phratría*. Thus a *Patra* arose chiefly from the affinity of parents and children, and children and parents, and a *Phratría* from that of brothers and sisters.

“ The terms *φυλὴ* and *φυλέται* first arose from the association of mankind into states and nations, each of the combining parts being called a *φῦλον*.”

The above very curious passage of Dicaearchus, self is perhaps not required. And afterwards we ought probably to read *ἀνομάσθησαν τῇς εἰς τὰς πόλεις*, &c. as the same writer appears to suggest.

See Buttmann, Berlin Transactions 1818—19, on *φρατρία*, reprinted in *Mythologus*, vol. II. p. 304—334; Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I. part I. p. 312; Boeckh and Dissen on Pindar, as quoted below, vol. II. p. 83. note “; Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. I. p. 266 sqq. ed. 2. Engl. transl.

who was a pupil of Aristotle, must be considered in reference to the political theory of that philosopher. The most simple element of civil society is, according to Aristotle, a family: the next a village, which is a collection or assemblage of families: the last a state, which is a collection or union of villages. Aristotle, therefore, considers mankind as brought together by the communion of *place*. Dicæarchus, however, supposes the principle of union to have been, not communion of residence, but relationship. In shewing this, he supposes society to be resolved into its most simple element, a married pair. This is the first stage; and he then proceeds to form a nation, as it were, *synthetically*; that is, he adds the parts together, to make up the whole. The second degree is a *family*, properly so called; that is, a number of persons deriving their descent from the same stock. This was sometimes called *πάτρα*, as being a collection of persons springing from the same father, or *πατήρ*. This person (whether real or supposed) gave his name to all his descendants, such as the Æacidæ from Æacus, the Heraclidæ from Hercules, &c. which corresponds to our *surname*. In the origin of society, a family would consist only of parents and children living under the same roof. This is the point at which Dicæarchus must take it^f; for his

^f Compare Cicero de Offic. I. 17. *Prima societas in ipso conjugio est: proxima in liberis: deinde una domus, communia omnia*

third stage is a *collection of families*, which arose, he says, from the regret which the sisters, when married, felt for the loss of their brothers' company; as the wife belonged to the *Patra*, or family, of her husband⁵. Hence certain meetings were held, at which all the *Patræ* connected by marriage took part in the same rites and sacrifices, and thus formed a certain political division, called a *Phratría*, from *φρατήρ*, the same as *frater*; because the connexion originated, not, like a *Patra*, from *paternal*, but from *fraternal* affection. This great religious festival was by the Ionians and Athenians celebrated under the name of *Ἀπαύρια*, "the union of " the *πάτορες*, or members of the *πάτραι*^h." An union of these larger bodies, or *Phratrias*, made a *φυλῆ*, or

... *Sequuntur fratrum conjunctiones, sobrinorumque: qui cum una domo jam capi non possint, in alias domos, tanquam in colonias, ezeunt* (thus making several *οἶκοι*, but only one *γένος*). *Sequuntur consubia et affinitates* (*φρατρία*) ... *Sanguinis autem conjunctio benevolentia devincit homines et caritate. Magnum est enim eadem habere monumenta majorum, iisdem uti sacris, sepulcra habere communia.*

⁵ " *Apud Sophoclem in Terco fragm. VII. mulier queritur,*

ὅταν δ' ἐς ἡβην ἐξικώμεθ' εὐφρονες,
ὠθοῦμεθ' ἔξω, καὶ διεμπολώμεθα
θεῶν πατρῶν τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο.

filix enim enubunt e sacris familiaribus et gentiliis,

τὸ δ' ἄρσεν ἔσται ἐν δόμοις αἰεὶ γένος
θεῶν πατρῶν καὶ τάφων τιμάορον.

Eurip. Dan. fragm. VII. Hoc in commune valet, exceptis epidicis; nam sacra heredem sequuntur." Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, vol. II. p. 1206.

^h Below, p. 95. note ^l.

tribe (*tribus*), which tribes were again combined into a state.

The above passage sufficiently explains the terms *φρατρία* (and its synonym the Spartan *ὠβὰ*) and *φυλὴ*, with which the Latin *tribus* corresponds; and accordingly the word *tribe* has often been used in this restricted sense in the present translation. It should, however, be remarked, that in the above passage, where a *φρατρία* is considered as made up of families, and a tribe of Phratrias, the tribe is supposed to be formed by descent, and to have no reference to place. A tribe, in this sense, is a certain division of the inhabitants of a country according to their birth. But when, as in Attica after the change of Cleisthenes, a state is considered as made up of *φυλαὶ* and *δῆμοι*, of *tribes* and *boroughs* (as we have always rendered *δῆμος*), a tribe is a certain territorial division, a portion of the surface of the country, which is further subdivided into smaller areas, called *δῆμοι*, each containing a town, which, as being the most important part of this district, is itself commonly called *δῆμος*. Hence we have rendered it by the word *borough*, as signifying a country town of some consideration. The word *family* would exactly represent the *πάτρα* of Dicæarchus, if that were its common use; but unhappily such is not the fact. *Πάτρα*, together with *γένος*, and its Latin synonym *gens*, is used to denote, not only those who were really, but those who *supposed* themselves descend-

ed from the same ancestor. Whether all the members of the *γένη* of Athens and other places, and the *πατραι* of Corinth, Ægina, and some Ionic islands, were in fact derived from the same stock, it is needless to inquire; it being sufficient to know that they certainly were not descended from the person to whom they referred their origin; this forefather being, in most cases, a hero or a god who never had a real existence. Thus we are not to revive the system of Euhemerus, and suppose that Butes and Æacus were real men, because the Eteobutadæ of Athens and the Æacidæ of Ægina were said to have sprung from them. In this manner the members of the same *γένος* composed many different families, and lived in many houses; and only retained their gentile connexions by sharing the same surname and the same peculiar religious rites. Accordingly the *πατρα* or *γένος* only differed from the *φρατρία* or *ὄβδ* in the number of its members, or its comprehensiveness. A single family, as living in one house, the Greeks called *οἶκος*: *γένος* was a collection of families, supposed to have a common descent, and chiefly held together by a participation in the same religious observances. To mark this distinction between *οἶκος* and *γένος*, the translators of Niebuhr's Roman History have employed *family* for the former, and *house* for the latter: a usage which it seems impossible to approve; as *house* appears to imply even more forcibly than *family* the sameness

of descent and of habitation. We have therefore retained the one word in its common acceptation; and have translated γένος by *clan*, guided by the analogy of the divisions so called in Scotland. In that country the clans were certain divisions of the people, of which all the members bore a common surname, the mark of a supposed common descent. The Campbells, for instance, or the Douglasses, formed a body precisely analogous to the *gens* of the Romans, or the γένος and πάτρα of the Greeks: they might have contained more hearths or families (οἴκοι) than was common in ancient states; although the well-known story of the Fabian clan proves that, when the vassals were included, their numerical force was sometimes very great. "The clans of the
"Gauls," says Thierry, in his History of the Norman Conquest of Englandⁱ, "were perpetuated in freedom under the patriarchal chiefs; to whom the
"men of the clan, bearing all the same name, were
"obedient, like sons to their father. Every tribe
"which, not having a patriarch, a representative of
"the original father, lived in separate families, was
"considered as base: but few incurred this dishonour; for to avoid it, the poets and historians—
"great authors of genealogies—always took care to
"make each new chief descend from the primitive
"one, the common forefather of the whole tribe.
"In token of this filiation, which was never to be

ⁱ Vol. II. p. 273. Engl. transl.

" interrupted, the actual chief added to his name a
" patronymic surname, which all his predecessors
" had borne, and which in like manner all his suc-
" cessors were to take."

With the above explanation, it is hoped that the author's discussion on the political divisions in the Doric states will be intelligible to persons not previously acquainted with the subject. At the same time, in case the reader should meet with any other question of which too great a knowledge is presupposed by the author, we think it proper to state, that it was not our intention to be commentators as well as translators, or to explain and examine while we interpret. To some of the opinions, and particularly to the political doctrines contained in the following work, we regret that we are unable to assent: but we think it needless to enter our protest against any other than the supposition (which has been sometimes incautiously, perhaps unfairly made), that a translator is bound by the doctrines of the writer whom he renders.

But while we guard against this misunderstanding, we cannot forbear from avowing our conviction that there are few books comprehending so large a field of early history, and ascending into the dim regions of fable and mythology, which will be found to contain so few erroneous or dangerous speculations as the following work. The pages of early Grecian history are, in the works generally received in this

country, occupied with a mass of puerile and incredible fables, purified in part of their more obvious absurdities, and reduced to an apparent chronological order. These narratives have been borrowed from one historian by another, and repeated with as much confidence as the history of the Peloponnesian war, or of the age of Philip and Demosthenes. But where contemporary history is wanting, such a superficial study of the supposed historical accounts is worse than no study at all. It is better to reject all, than to believe all, where the alloy of error is large. In these obscure regions, the historian can only be safe when guided by a careful comparison of all the different legends of the numerous states and cities of Greece, so as to decipher their metaphorical language; by a study of the geography, and nature of the country, the history and remains of art, and of religion; of ancient inscriptions and coins, and of every other means which ingenuity can contrive for restoring from its fragments the ruined fabric of antiquity. That the author has by long, patient, and sober investigation penetrated into the depths of ancient Grecian history; that he has removed much which was false, and substituted what is true; and frequently found the master key to the windings and intricacies of mythology, must be acknowledged even by those who will not assent implicitly to all his conclusions. We can, however, venture to say, that the candour and unwearied diligence of

the author (to which the translators are indebted for improvements in this edition to an amount of which they are no less sensible than grateful) will lead him not only to hail with pleasure the researches of those who may disagree with him, but even to strengthen their conclusions and extend their inquiries.



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INTRODUCTION.

On the Nations inhabiting the Northern Frontiers of Greece.

1. **T**HE Dorians derived their origin from those districts in which the Grecian nation bordered towards the north upon numerous and dissimilar races of barbarians. As to the tribes which dwelt beyond these boundaries we are indeed wholly destitute of information ; nor is there the slightest trace of any memorial or tradition that the Greeks originally came from those quarters. On these frontiers, however, the events took place which effected an entire alteration in the internal condition of the whole Grecian nation, and here were given many of those impulses, of which the effects were so long and generally experienced. The prevailing character of the events alluded to, was a perpetual pressing forward of the barbarous races, particularly of the Illyrians, into more southern districts ; yet Greece, although harassed, confined, nay even compelled to abandon part of its territory, never attempted to make a united resistance to their encroachments. The cause of this negligence probably was, that all its views being turned to the south, no attention whatever was paid to the above quarters.

2. To begin then by laying down a boundary line, which may be afterwards modified for the sake of greater accuracy, we shall suppose this to be the

mountain ridge, which stretches from mount Olympus to the west as far as the Acroceraunian mountains (comprehending the Cambunian ridge and mount Lacmon), and in the middle comes in contact with the Pindus chain, which stretches in a direction from north to south. The western part of this chain separates the furthest Grecian tribes from the great Illyrian nation, which extended back as far as the Celts in the south of Germany. Every clue respecting the connexion, peculiarities, and original language of this people must be interesting, and the dialects of the Albanians, especially of those who inhabit the mountains where the original customs and language have been preserved in greater purity, will afford materials for inquiry^a. Until then we come to a more minute consideration, it will be sufficient to state that they formed the northern boundary of the Grecian nation, from which they were distinguished both by their language and customs.

3. In the fashion of wearing the mantle and dressing the hair^b, and also in their dialect, the MACEDONIANS bore a great resemblance to the Illyrians, whence it is evident that the Macedonians belonged to the Illyrian nation^c. Notwithstanding which, there can be no doubt that the Greeks were aboriginal^d inhabitants of this dis-

^a See particularly Pouqueville's List of Albanian Words. Compare Thunmann's *Geschichte der Europäischen Völker*, p. 250.

^b Strabo VII. p. 327 A.

^c Illyrian words in use among the Macedonians: *σάδα* (*Silenti*) in Macedonian, *dev-áðai* in Illyrian; *ῥάπυς*, bread,

in Macedonian, *ῥάμυκες* among the Athamanes. *Orchomenos*, p. 254. Compare Hesychius in *βαράπα*. See the copious collection in Sturz *de Dialecto Macedonica*.

^d As this expression is often used in the following pages, I take this opportunity of stating, that by an aboriginal peo-

trict. The plains of Emathia, the most beautiful district of the country, were occupied by the Pelasgi^c, who, according to Herodotus, also possessed Creston above Chalcidice, to which place they had come from Thessaliotis^f. Hence the Macedonian dialect was full of primitive Greek words. And that these had not been introduced by the royal family (which was Hellenic by descent or adoption of manners) is evident from the fact, that many signs of the most simple ideas (which no language ever borrows from another) were the same in both, as well as from the circumstance that these words do not appear in their Greek form, but have been modified according to a native dialect^g. In the Macedonian dialect there occur grammatical forms which are commonly called *Æolic*^h, together with many *Arcadian*ⁱ and *Thessalian*^k words: and what perhaps is still more decisive, several words, which, though not to be found in the Greek, have been preserved in the Latin language^l. There does not appear to be any peculiar connexion with the Doric dialect: hence we do not give much

ple. I mean one which, as far as our knowledge extends, first dwelt in a country, before which we know of no other inhabitants of that country.

^c Justin. VII. 1. Compare *Æsch. Suppl.* 261.

^f Herod. I. 57. See *Orcho-*
monas, p. 444.

^g Compare, for example, *δαί-
νω* to kill, *θάνατος* death, with *θα-
νώ*, *θάνω*; *εἰδῶ* (ἐἰδῶν in
Homer) with *εἶδω*; *ἀδραία* for
ἀδρία, in which *θ* loses its as-
piration as *φ* does in *κεφαλῇ* (so
in German *haubet* for *haupt*),
ἑρπύς for *ἑρπῆς* (*brow*), *Βί-
βρατος*, *Βερενίκη*, *βαλακρός*, &c.

the aspirate is also frequently lost; *ἐνδομηνία* or *ἐνδυμηνία*, *fur-
niture* (in Polybius), with a
change of *v* and *o*.

^h E. g. the nominatives *ἱπ-
ποτα*, &c., which are also call-
ed *Æolico-Bæotic*, *Doric*, and
Thessalian. Sturz *ut sup.* p. 28.

ⁱ E. g. *ζῆρεθρα* for *ζάραθρα*.

^k E. g. *ταγὼν ἀγὰ*, the leading
of the *Tagus*, as in Thessaly;
ματρία, *dainties*, a Thessalian,
Macedonian, and also Spartan
word.

^l E. g. *βίρροξ*, *hirsutus*, *hir-
tus*; *γάρκαν* (*twig*), *virgam*; *ἱλεξ*,
ilex. The want of aspirates also
forms a point of comparison.

credit to the otherwise unsupported assertion of Herodotus, of an original identity of the Dorian and Macedonian (Macedonian) nations. In other authors Macednus is called the son of Lycaon, from whom the Arcadians were descended^m, or Macedon is the brother of Magnes, or a son of Æolus, according to Hesiod and Hellanicusⁿ, which are merely various attempts to form a genealogical connexion between this semi-barbarian race, and the rest of the Greek nation.

4. The THESSALIANS as well as the Macedonians were, as it appears, an Illyrian race, who subdued a native Greek population; but in this case the body of the interlopers was smaller, while the numbers and civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants were considerable. Hence the Thessalians resembled the Greeks more than any of the northern races with which they were connected: hence their language in particular was almost purely Grecian, and indeed bore perhaps a greater affinity to the language of the ancient epic poets than any other dialect^o. But the chief peculiarities of this nation with which we are acquainted were not of a Grecian character. Of this their national dress^p, which consisted in part of the flat and broad-brimmed hat (*καυσία*) and the mantle (which last was common to both nations, but was

^m Apollodorus III. 8. 1.

ⁿ Ap. Constant. Porph. de Themat. II. 2. p. 1453. Sturz Hellan. Fragm. p. 79. The passage of Hesiod is probably from the *Ῥοῖαι*, and there is no reason for supposing it spurious. The second verse should be read, *ὡς δὲ Μάγνητα Μάκεδόνων* *θ' ἱπποχόρμην*.

^o I allude here particularly

to the ending of the genitive case of the second declension in *οιο*, which the grammarians quote as Thessalian. [A statement which is questioned by Knight, Proleg. Homer. §. 101.]

^p See Appendix I. §. 28. The ancient Macedonian coins represent precisely the same dress as the Thessalian.

unknown to the Greeks of Homer's time, and indeed long afterwards⁴, until adopted as the costume of the equestrian order at Athens), is a sufficient example. The Thessalians moreover were beyond a doubt the first to introduce into Greece the use of cavalry. More important distinctions however than that first alleged are perhaps to be found in their impetuous and passionate character, and the low and degraded state of their mental faculties. The taste for the arts shewn by the rich family of the Scopadae proves no more that such was the disposition of the whole people, than the existence of the same qualities in Archelaus argues their prevalence in Macedonia. This is sufficient to distinguish them from the race of the Greeks, so highly endowed by nature. We are therefore induced to conjecture that this nation, which a short time before the expedition of the Heraclidæ, migrated from Thesprotia, and indeed from the territory of Ephyra (Cichyrus) into the plain of the Peneus, had originally come from Illyria. On the other hand indeed, many points of similarity in the customs of the Thessalians and Dorians might be brought forward. Thus for example, the love for the male sex (that usage peculiar to the Dorians) was also common among the Illyrians, and the objects of affection were, as at Sparta, called *αἰται*⁵; the women also, as amongst the Dorians, were addressed by the title of ladies (*δέσποιναι*), a title uncommon in Greece, and expressive of the estimation in which they were held⁶. A great freedom in

⁴ Compare *Θερρακικὰ πτερὰ* in several grammarians, with *Diŷymus* in Ammonius in *χλαίμῃ*. More will be found on this subject in book IV. c. 2. §. 4.

⁵ Compare Theocritus XII. 14. with Aleman quoted in the Scholia, and b. IV. c. 4. §. 6.

⁶ Hesychius in *δεσποίνας*. See book IV. c. 4. §. 4.

the manners of the female sex was nevertheless customary among the Illyrians, who in this respect bore a nearer resemblance to the northern nations¹. Upon the whole, however, these migrations from the north had the effect of disseminating among the Greeks manners and institutions which were entirely unknown to their ancestors, as represented by Homer.

5. We will now proceed to inquire what was the extent of territory gained by the Illyrians in the west of Greece. Great part of Epirus had in early times been inhabited by Pelasgi², to which race the inhabitants of Dodona are likewise affirmed by the best authorities to have belonged, as well as the whole nation of Thesprotians³; also the Chaonians at the foot of the Acroceraunian mountains⁴, and the Chones, Ænotri, and Peucetii on the opposite coast of Italy, are said to have been of this race⁵. The ancient buildings, institutions, and religious worship of the Epirotes, are also manifestly of Pelasgic origin. We suppose always that the Pelasgi were Greeks, and spoke the Grecian language, an opinion however in support of which we will on this occasion only adduce a few arguments. It must then be borne in mind, that all the races whose migrations took place at a late period, such as the Achæans, Ionians, Dorians, were not (the last in

¹ According to Ælian. V. H. III. 15. the women of Illyria were present at banquets and wine-parties; Herod. V. 18. says the contrary of the Macedonians. On the subject of these two sections generally, see Appendix I.

² Strabo V. p. 221.

³ See particularly Stephan.

Byzant. in *Ἐφυρα*.

⁴ Alexander Ephesius ap. Stephan. Byz. in *Χαονία*.

⁵ Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. I. p. 34. Hence many names were the same in both countries; as, *e. g.*, Caulonia, Pandosia (Justin. XII. 2), Acheron, Acherontia, &c.

particular) sufficiently powerful or numerous to effect a complete change in the customs of a barbarous population^a; that many districts, Arcadia and Perhæbia for instance, remained entirely Pelasgic, without being inhabited by any nation not of Grecian origin; that the most ancient names, either of Grecian places or mentioned in their traditions, belonged indeed to a different era of the dialect, but not to another language; that finally, the great similarity between the Latin and Greek can only be explained by supposing the Pelasgic language to have formed the connecting link. Now the nations of Epirus were almost reduced to a complete state of barbarism by the operation of causes, which could only have had their origin in Illyria^b; and in the historic age, the Ambracian bay was the boundary of Greece. In later times more than half of Ætolia ceased to be Grecian, and without doubt adopted the manners and language of the Illyrians^c; from which point the Athamanes, an Epirote and Illyrian nation, pressed into the south of Thessaly^d. Migrations and predatory expeditions, such as the Encheleans had un-

^a Herodotus also says, that the Ionians and Æolians had formerly been Pelasgi, having, as it were, swallowed up that nation; he must however assume that they changed their language (*μετέμαθον τὴν γλῶσσαν*), as the language of the Pelasgi who dwelt near Cretona and Placia (which was probably nothing more than an ancient dialect) appeared to him barbarous. Æschylus (Suppl. 911.) opposes them, as real Greeks, to the *κάρβαροι*, or barbarians.

^b Thus *c. g.* the Chaonians, according to Thucyd. II. 80. The following ancient Greek forms occur in the Epirotan dialect: *γδοῦπος* for *δοῦπος* (Maittaire p. 141.), *γνώσχω*, *nosco*, Orion p. 42. 17. "*Ἀσπερος* Achilles, Plut. Pyrrh. I. (*αἰ-ῆποιμαι*.) The account in Strabo VII. p. 327, of two languages being spoken in some districts, doubtless refers to the coexistence of Grecian and Illyrian dialects.

^c Polyb. XVII. 5. 8.

^d *Orchomenos* p. 253.

dertaken in the fabulous times, continued without intermission to repress and keep down the genuine population of Greece.

6. The Illyrians were in these ancient times also bounded on the east by the Phrygians and Thracians, as well as by the Pelasgi. The PHRYGIANS were at this time the immediate neighbours of the Macedonians in Lebæa, by whom they were called Brygians (*Βρύγες*, *Βρύγοι*, *Βρίγες*)^e; they dwelt at the foot of the snowy Bermius, where the fabulous rose-gardens of king Midas were situated, while walking in which the wise Silenus was fabled to have been taken prisoner. They also fought from this place (as the Telegonia of Eugammon related^f) with the Thesprotians of Epirus. At no great distance from hence were the Mygdonians, the people nearest related to the Phrygians. According to Xanthus, this nation did not migrate to Asia until after the Trojan war^g. But, in the first place, the Cretan traditions begin with religious ceremonies and fables, which appear from the most ancient testimonies to have been derived from Phrygians of Asia^h; and secondly the Armenians, who were beyond a doubt of a kindred race to the Phrygiansⁱ, were considered as an

^e According to Hesychius, *Βρέκς* (*Βερεκύνριος*) is the same word as *Βρύξ*. *Briges* was also used by Ennius, and, as it appears, by Marcus Brutus, (Plutarch. Brut. 45.)

^f See the Chrestomathia of Proclus. *Briges*, or *Phryges*, in the region of Dyrrachium, Apian. Bell. Civ. II. 39.

^g Creuzer Fragment. Histor. p. 171. Strabo XIV. p. 680.

Compare Conon in Photius I.

^h Concerning this point, see Hoeck's History of Crete, vol. I. p. 109 sqq.

ⁱ According to the opinion of their colonists, Herod. VII. 73. Eudoxus ap. Steph. in *Ἀρμενία*. Compare Heeren *De Linguarum Asiaticarum in Persarum Imperio Cognatione*, Comment. Gotting. vol. XIII.

aboriginal nation in their own territory^k. It will therefore be sufficient to recognise the same race of men in Armenia, Asia Minor, and at the foot of mount Bermius, without supposing that all the Armenians and Phrygians emigrated from the latter settlement on the Macedonian coast. The intermediate space between Illyria and Asia, a district across which numerous nations migrated in ancient times, was peopled irregularly from so many sides, that the national uniformity which seems to have once existed in those parts was speedily deranged. The most important documents respecting the connexion between the Phrygian and other nations are the traces that remain of its dialect. It was well known in Plato's time that many primitive words of the Grecian language were to be recognised with a slight alteration in the Phrygian, such as *πῦρ*, *ῥῑον*, *κῑον*^l; and the great similarity of grammatical structure which the Armenian now displays with the

^k The Armenians frequently occur in the ancient traditional history of the oriental kingdoms; *e. g.* in Diod. II. 1. as conquered by Ninus. They are likewise represented as the original inhabitants in the native legends collected by Moses of Chorene.

^l Plato Cratyl. p. 410 A. It is remarkable that these words are also in the German language. *Πῦρ* (see Grimm's excellent Grammar, p. 584. 2d ed.) in ancient High German was *viuri*, in Low German *für*. *κῑον*, *canis*, *hund* (*d* added as in *μῑον*, *μῑον*—Phrygian for *moon*—and *mahad*, *mond*). *ῥῑον*, in

High German *wazar*, in Low German *water*; the digamma is present in the genuine Phrygian form *βῑον*, which, on account of ancient vicinity, was also a Macedonian and *Orphic* word (see Neanth. *Cyzicen.* ap. Clem. Alexand. Strom. V. p. 673. Jablonsky *de Lingua Phrygia* p. 76.), and is sometimes translated *water*, and sometimes *air*. Lastly, the Phrygian inscription in Walpole's Memoirs, especially the words ΜΙΔΑΙ ΑΑΨΑΡΤΑΕΙ ΨΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ, prove that it had a great resemblance, both in radical forms and inflexion, with the Greek.

Greek, must be referred to this original connexion^m. The Phrygians in Asia have however been without doubt intermixed with Syrians, who not only established themselves on the right bank of the Halys, but on the left also in Lycaoniaⁿ, and as far as Lycia^o, and accordingly adopted much of the Syrian language and religion^p. Their enthusiastic and frantic ceremonies however had doubtless always formed part of their religion: these they had in common with their immediate neighbours the Thracians: but the ancient Greeks appear to have been almost entirely unacquainted with such rites.

7. The THRACIANS, who settled in Pieria at the foot of mount Olympus, and from thence came down to mount Helicon, as being the originators of the worship of Bacchus and the Muses, and the fathers of Grecian poetry^q, are a nation of the highest importance in the history of civilization. We cannot but suppose that they spoke a dialect very similar to the Greek, since otherwise they could not have had any considerable influence upon the latter people. They were in all probability derived originally

^m Thus the verb *sum* keeps in the Armenian or Haicanian the same fundamental form which it has in all the languages allied to the Greek (*yem, yes, e—sum, es, est*). And it is remarkable, that the three Phrygian Greek words noticed in the text have been likewise preserved in the Haicanian: *πῦρ* is *hur* (as *παῖρ* *hair*, *πέντε* *link*); *ῥόδωρ*, *tschur* (as *θερμός* *tscherm*); *κύων* is *shun*. See Klaproth *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 99.

ⁿ See Jablonsky *de Lingua Lycaon.* Opusc. vol. III. p. 119.

^o That is, if the epic poet Chærilus spoke of Lyctian Solympi in the well-known passage preserved in Josephus cont. Apion. vol. II. p. 454. ed. Haverc. &c. See Naeke's Chærilus, p. 130 sq.

^p E. g. *ἄδωνος*, an androgynous deity (Hesych. in v.), from *Dagon*; the name *Adon* (Athen. XIV. p. 624.); *βαλλήν*, *king*, (Hesych. in v. Eustath. ad Od. τ', p. 680. Bas.) from *Baal*, &c. See Blomf. ad Æsch. Pers. 663.

^q See *Orchomenos*, p. 379—390.

from the country called Thrace in later times, where the Bessi, a tribe of the nation of the Satræ', at the foot of mount Pangæum, presided over the oracle of Bacchus. Whether the whole of the populous races of Edones, Odomantes, Odrysi, Treres, &c. are to be considered as identical with the Thracians in Pieria, or whether it is not more probable that these barbarous nations¹ received from the Greeks their general name of Thracians, with which they had been familiar from early times, are questions which I shall not attempt to determine. Into these nations however a large number of Pæonians subsequently penetrated, who had passed over at the time of a very ancient migration of the Teucrians together with the Mysians². To this Pæonian race the Pelagonians, on the banks of the Axius, belonged; who also advanced into Thessaly, as will be shewn hereafter. Of the Teucrians however we know nothing, excepting that in concert with (Pelasgic) Dardani-ans they founded the city of Troy,—where the language in use was probably allied to the Grecian, and distinct from the Phrygian³.

8. Now it is within the mountainous barriers above described that we must look for the origin of the nations which in the heroic mythology are always represented as possessing dominion and power,

¹ Herod. VII. 111.

² All their words with which we are acquainted are very unlike the Greek; e. g. the word *ἑρπία* and *βρία* for city, which frequently occurs, *ξίλα νία*, *παιύγια* treasure, Schol. Apollon. Rhod. I. 933, &c.

³ Herod. V. 13. VII. 20, 75. Compare Hellanicus *ut sup.*;

where write, *ἐφ' οὗ νῦν Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται μόνοι μετὰ ΜΥΣΩΝ τότε οἰκοῦντες*. This at the same time probably refers to the tradition, that the Mysians (as well as the Thynians and others) came from Thrace to Asia, according to Strabo, and Pliny H. N. V. 32, 41.

⁴ Homer. Hymn. Ven. 113.

and are always contrasted with an aboriginal population. These, in my opinion, were northern branches of the Grecian nation, which had overrun and subdued the Greeks who dwelt further south. The most ancient abode of the HELLENES Proper (who in mythology are merely a small nation in Phthia^u) was situated, according to Aristotle, in Epirus, near Dodona, to whose god Achilles^x prays, as being the ancient protector of his family. In all probability the ACHÆANS, the ruling nation both of Thessaly and of the Peloponnese in fabulous times, were of the same race and origin as the Hellenes. The MINYANS, Phlegyans, Lapithæ, and Æolians of Corinth and Salmone, came originally from the districts above Pieria, on the frontiers of Macedonia, where the very ancient Orchomenus, Minya, and Salmonia or Halmopia were situated^y. Nor is there less obscurity with regard to the northern settlements of the IONIANS; they appear, as it were, to have fallen from heaven into Attica and Ægialea: they were not however by any means identical with the aboriginal inhabitants of these districts, and had perhaps detached themselves from some northern, probably Achæan, race^z. Lastly, the DORIANS are mentioned

^u *Æginetica*, pp. 12, 155. Compare also Phavorinus in *Ἀχαιοὺς ἀργεῶσιν*. In the later times they were probably still in the territory of the Molossi, who were considered as Greeks, Herod. VI. 127.

^x Il. XVI. 233.

^y See *Orchomenos*, pp. 139, 248 sqq. Buttmann, indeed, in his *Memoir on the Minyæ* (Berlin Transactions for 1820, p. 13.), denies the existence of

these places; but several of the passages which I have quoted are decisive.

^z According to the genealogy from the *Ῥοῖαι*—Dorus, Xuthus (from whom Achæus and Ion), and Æolus; see Appendix II. The genealogy in Euripides, Ion 1608, viz. Xuthus father of Ion, Dorus, and Achæus, is distorted to suit the national feelings of the Athenians. The passage from

in ancient legends and poems as established in one extremity of the great mountain-chain of Upper Greece, viz. at the foot of mount Olympus : there are however reasons for supposing, that at an earlier period they had dwelt at its other northern extremity, at the furthest limit of the Grecian nation.

9. We now turn our attention to the singular nation of the HYLLEANS (Ἰλλεῖς, Ἰλλεῖ), which is supposed to have dwelt in Illyria, but is in many respects connected in a remarkable manner with the Dorians. The real place of its abode can hardly be laid down ; as the Hylleans are never mentioned in any historical narrative, but always in mythological legends ; and they appear to have been known to the geographers only from mythological writers. Yet they are generally placed in the islands of Melita and Black-Corcyra, to the south of Liburnia^a. Now the name of the Hylleans agrees strikingly with that of the first and most noble tribe of the Dorians. Besides which, it is stated, that, though dwelling among Illyrian races, these Hylleans were nevertheless genuine *Greeks*. Moreover they, as well as the Doric Hylleans, were supposed to have sprung from Hyllus, a son of Hercules ; whom that hero begot upon Melite, the daughter of Ægeus^b:

the Ἡοῖαι, however, although in a poetical garb, is more credible than the testimony of Herodotus, who considers the Ionians as *aborigines*.

^a Concerning what follows, see Apollonius Rhod. IV. 521 sqq. Schol. ad l. et ad IV. 1125, 1149. Apollodorus ap. Stephan. Byzant. in Ἰλλεῖς (p. 434. ed. Heyn.) Scylax, p. 7.

ed. Voss. Scymnus Chius 404. from Timæus (fragm. 121. ed. Goeller.) and Eratosthenes. Dionys. Perieg. 386. with Eustathius and the Scholia. Etymol. Magn. p. 776. 39. where they are called a Celtic nation (ἔθνος Κελτικόν). Compare Schoenemann *Geograph. Argonaut.* p. 53. and book III. c. 5.

^b Apollon. Rh. IV. 538, and

here the name Ægæus refers to a river in Corcyra, Melite to the island just mentioned. Apollo was the chief god of the Dorians; and so likewise these Hylleans were said to have concealed under the earth, as the sign of inviolable sanctity, that instrument of such importance in the religion of Apollo, a tripod^c. The country of the Hylleans is described as a large peninsula, and compared to the Peloponnese: it is said to have contained fifteen cities; which however had not a more real existence, than the peninsula as large as the Peloponnese on the Illyrian coast. How all these statements are to be understood is hard to say. It appears however that they can only be reconciled as follows: the Doric Hylleans had a tradition, that they came originally from these northern districts, which then bordered on the Illyrians, and were afterwards occupied by that people; and there still remained in those parts some members of their tribe, some other Hylleans. This notion of Greek Hylleans in the very north of Greece, who also were descended from Hercules, and also worshipped Apollo, was taken up and embellished by the poets: although it is not likely that any one had really ever seen these Hylleans and visited their country. Like the Hyperboreans, they existed merely in tradition and imagination. It is

others. Panyasis appears from the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhod. IV. 1149. to have mentioned two Hylluses, viz. the son of Melite and the son of Deianira. Compare Schol. Soph. Trachin. 53. Vales. ad Harpocrat. p. 126. In the Scholiast to Pindar Pyth. I. 120.

Ἰλλος, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε τῶν περὶ τὴν ἸΤΑΛΙΑΝ οἰκησάντων, where Hemsterhuis reads Οἰχαλίαν, Raoul-Rochette (*Histoire de l'Établissement des Colonies Grecques*, tom. II. p. 280.) proposes, not without some probability, Ἰλλυρίαν.

^c Apollon. Rh. IV. 528.

possible also that the Corcyraeans, in whose island there was an "*Hyllæan*" harbour^d, may have contributed to the formation of these legends, as is shewn by some circumstances pointed out above; but it cannot be supposed that the whole tradition arose from Corcyraean colonies.

10. Here we might conclude our remarks on this subject, did not the following question (one indeed of great importance) deserve some consideration. What relation can we suppose to have existed between the races which migrated into those northern districts, and the native tribes, and what between the different races of Greece itself? All inquiries on this subject lead us back to the Pelasgi, who although not found in every part of ancient Greece (for tradition makes so wide a distinction between them and many other nations, that no confusion ever takes place^e), yet occur almost universally wherever early civilization, ancient settlements, and worships of peculiar sanctity and importance existed. And in fact there is no doubt that most of the ancient religions of Greece owed their origin to this race. The Jupiter and Dione of Dodona; Jupiter and Juno of Argos; Vulcan and Minerva of Athens; Ceres and Proserpine of Eleusis; Mercury and Diana of Arcadia, together with Cadmus and the Cabiri of Thebes, cannot, if properly examined, be referred to any other origin. We must

^d Thucyd. III. 81.

^e Especially the connected chain of Ætolians, Epeans, Locrians (concerning whose affinity see Boeckh ad Pind. Olymp. IX. 61. p. 191.), and Lelegians (Hesiod ap. Strab. VII.

p. 322); and if these, as some say, are the same as the Carian nation, to which the Lydians and a part of the Mysians belonged, they would seem to compose a very numerous race.

therefore attribute to that nation an excessive readiness in creating and metamorphosing objects of religious worship, so that the same fundamental conceptions were variously developed in different places, a variety which was chiefly caused by the arbitrary neglect of, or adherence to, particular parts of the same legend. In many places also we may recognise the sameness of character which pervaded the different worships of the above gods; every where we see manifested in symbols, names, rites, and legends, an uniform character of ideas and feelings. The religions introduced from Phrygia and Thrace, such as that of the Cretan Jupiter and Dionysus or Bacchus, may be easily distinguished by their more enthusiastic character from the native Pelasgic worship. The Phœnician and Egyptian religions lay at a great distance from the early Greeks, were almost unknown even where they existed in the immediate neighbourhood, were almost unintelligible when the Greeks attempted to learn them, and repugnant to their nature when understood. On the whole, the Pelasgic worship appears to form part of a simple elementary religion, which easily represented the various forms produced by the changes of nature in different climates and seasons, and which abounded in expressive signs for all the shades of feeling which these phenomena awakened.

11. On the other hand, the religion of the northern races (who as being of Hellenic descent are put in contrast with the Pelasgi) had in early times taken a more moral turn, to which their political relations had doubtless contributed. The heroic life (which is no fable of the poets), the fondness for vigorous and active exertion, the disinclination to the

harmless occupations of husbandry, which is so remarkably seen in the conquering race of the Hellenes, necessarily awakened and cherished an entirely different train of religious feeling. Hence the Jupiter Hellanius of Æacus, the Jupiter Laphystius of Athamas, and, finally, the Doric Jupiter, whose son is Apollo, the prophet and warrior^f, are rather representations of the moral order and harmony of the universe, after the ancient method, than of the creative powers of nature. I do not however deny, that there was a time when these different views had not as yet taken a separate direction. Thus it may be shewn, that the Apollo Lyceus of the Dorians conveyed nearly the same notions as the Jupiter Lycæus of the Arcadians, although the worship of either deity was developed independently of that of the other. Thus also certain ancient Arcadian and Doric usages had, in their main features, a considerable affinity. The points of resemblance in these different worships can be only perceived by comparison: tradition presents, at the very first outset, an innumerable collection of discordant forms of worship belonging to the several races, but without explaining to us how they came to be thus separated. For these different rites were not united into a whole until they had been first divided; and both by the connexion of worships and by the influence of poetry new combinations were introduced, which differed essentially from those of an earlier date.

12. The language of the ancient Grecian race (which, together with its religion, forms the most ancient record of its history) must, if we may judge

^f See book II. ch. 7.

from the varieties of dialect and from a comparison with the Latin language, have been very perfect in its structure, and rich and expressive in its flexions and formations; though much of this was polished off by the Greeks of later ages: in early times, distinctness and precision in marking the primitive words and the inflections being more attended to than facility of utterance. Wherever the ancient forms had been preserved, they sounded foreign and uncouth to more modern ears; and the language of later times was greatly softened, in comparison with the Latin. But the peculiarities of the pure Doric dialect are (wherever they were not owing to a faithful preservation of archaic forms) actual deviations from the original dialect, and consequently they do not occur in Latin; they bear, if I may be allowed the expression, a northern character. The use of the article, which did not exist in the Latin language or in that of epic poetry, can be ascribed to no other cause than to immigrations of new tribes, and especially to that of the Dorians. Its introduction must, nearly as in the Roman languages, be considered as the sign of a great revolution. The peculiarities of the Doric dialect must have existed before the period of the migrations; since thus only can it be explained how peculiar forms of the Doric dialect were common to Crete, Argos, and Sparta: the same is also true of the dialects which are generally considered as subdivisions of the Æolic; the only reason for the resemblance of the language of Lesbos to that of Bœotia being, that Bœotians migrated at that period to Lesbos. The peculiarities of the Ionic dialect may, on the other hand, be viewed in great part as deviations caused by the genial cli-

mate of Asia⁵; for the language of the Attic race, to which the latter were most nearly related, could hardly have differed so widely from that of the colonies of Athens, if the latter had not been greatly changed. A more detailed examination of this question, in reference to the views here taken, will be found in the Appendix.

⁵ The ancients frequently ελυμήναντο τῆς διαλέκτου τὸ πᾶ-
say, that the Ionians in Asia, τριον. Photius in v. φαρμακίς.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE DORIC RACE, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

The Dorians in Thessaly.

1. "FROM early times the Dorians and Ionians were the chief races of the Grecian nation; the latter of Pelasgic, the former of Hellenic origin; the latter an aboriginal, the former a people much addicted to wandering. For, when under the dominion of Deucalion, they dwelt in Phthiotis; and in the time of Dorus, the son of Hellen, they inhabited the country at the foot of Ossa and Olympus, which was called Hestiaëotis. Afterwards however, being driven from Hestiaëotis by the Cadmeans, they dwelt under mount Pindus, and were called the Macedonian nation. From thence they again migrated to Dryopis; and having passed from Dryopis into the Peloponnese, they were called the Doric race¹."

No one can consider this connected account as flowing immediately from ancient tradition; and it

¹ Herod. I. 56; which passage has been treated of by Salmasius, *de Lingua Hellenica*, p. 276, and in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom.

XXV. p. 11—28. Compare VIII. 43. Ἔδρες Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδόνων ἔθνος ἐξ Ἑρμιῶν τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυονίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθῆντες.

can only be viewed as an attempt of the father of history to arrange and reconcile various legends and traditions. Nor indeed is it difficult to discover and examine the steps of the argument which lead him to this conclusion. It is clear that he considers the genealogy of Hellen^b, viz. that he was the son of Deucalion and father of Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, as an historical fact; although it is at least more recent than the poems of Homer; where the name of Hellenes does not include these races, but is the appellation of a single nation in Phthiotis: and that his object is to establish the position, that the Dorians were the genuine Greeks, or Hellenes. Now since Deucalion, the father of Hellen and grandfather of Dorus, was supposed to have dwelt in Phthiotis^c, Herodotus represents the Dorians as also coming from Phthiotis; although the people meant in these legends by the names of Deucalion and Hellen were the real ancient Hellenes, the Myrmidons^d, who were afterwards under the dominion of the Æacidæ^e, and are entirely distinct from the Dorians. Dorus was next represented as succeeding Hellen as king of the same people; and then,

^b See, on the subject of this genealogy, Appendix II.

^c Apollod. I. 7. 2.

^d Thus Pindar, Olymp. VIII. 30, calls the Myrmidons Δωριεὺς λαός, in order, as I conceive, to oppose them as genuine Greeks to nations of a different origin.

^e From the circumstance that, in Homer, Achilles the Æacides is represented as chief of the Hellenes, and that the Æacidæ were also ancient princes

of Ægina, the author has in a former work (*Æginetica*, p. 18.) explained the name of the temple of Jupiter in Ægina, Ἐλλᾶνιον, in later times called Πανελλήνιον. For this temple is assuredly more ancient than the time when all the Greeks were called Hellenes; and it must therefore be considered as a sanctuary of the original Hellenes, who also dwelt in Phthia, as an ancient national temple of the Myrmidons.

since the name of Dorus was in these fabulous accounts connected with Hestiaeotis, he infers that the Dorians went thither from Phthiotis. But the modern mythologist must of course abandon this whole deduction as unfounded; and he can only adopt the datum from which the historian started; namely, that, according to ancient tradition, "Dorus dwelt at the foot of Olympus and Ossa." Here then the real fact presents itself to us. The chain of Olympus, the divider of nations, whose lofty summit is still called by the inhabitants the *celestial mansion*, is the place in which the Dorians first appear in the history of Greece.

2. The mountain-valley, which in later times bore the name of Thessaly, was bounded to the west by Pindus, to the south by Othrys, to the east by Pelion and Ossa, and to the north by Olympus, under which name the ancient writers, for example Herodotus, also include the chain which in after-times (probably from an Illyrian word¹) was called the Cambunian mount. The course of the Peneus is so situated as to divide the open plain to the south, the ancient Pelasgic Argos, from the mountainous district to the north; towards the north-east it breaks through the mountain-ridge, dividing Ossa from Olympus. Here too the river creeps under the loftier heights of mount Olympus²; so that the path passes along the side of the more rugged and precipitous Ossa. This ravine was known by the ancient generic name of *Tempea* or *Tempe* (the *cut*, from τέμνω), and has been often poetically described, but

¹ Appendix I. last note.

² The height of mount Olympus, according to Bernouille,

is 1017 toises, or 6501 English feet; of Ossa, according to Dodwell, about 5000 feet.

seldom sufficiently considered as bearing upon the history of Greece^κ.

Before entering the pass, the traveller crosses a small round valley, agreeably situated; at the end of which on the left hand, where the mountains approach one another on both sides, was the ancient fortress of Gonnus (or Gonni), distant 160 stadia (20 miles) from Larissa, the chief city of the plain^h. From this point the mountains close upon one another more rapidly, until they rise on both sides of the glen in two rocky parapets, forming a gully, where in many places a path has been hewn along the river. About the middle of this path there stands now, upon a bold projection of Ossa, a fortress of Roman construction called Horæo-Castro, covering also a cross glen of that mountain: it was there probably that the strong-hold Gonnocondylum stood; which appears to have taken its name from the "windings" of the valleyⁱ. Not far from this spot is the narrowest part of the ravine, hardly 100 feet in width; which is stated in an inscription to have been fortified by L. Cassius Longinus, the proconsul and partisan of J. Cæsar; but, without the aid of fortification, a few armed men would probably have

^κ A more accurate description of this valley than those of Ælian and Barthélemy is given by Bartholdy, *Bruchstücke zur Kenntniss Griechenlands*, p. 112; Clarke, *Travels*, part II. sect. iii. p. 273; Hawkins, in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to European Turkey*, p. 528; Holland, *Albania*, p. 291; Dodwell, *Travels*, vol. I. p. 103; and Pouqueville, tom. III. c. 73.

Among the ancients, Theopompus, in his *Φιλιστικά*, gave an accurate description of Tempe. See Theo. Sophist. *Progymn.* II. p. 19; Frommel, in Creuzer's *Meletemata*, III. p. 141. 6. ^h XX. m. p. in *ipsis faucibus saltus*, Livy from Polyb. XVIII. 10. 2. on the side of Olympus. Meletius mentions here a place called Goniga.

ⁱ Liv. XXXIX. 25.

been able to stop the progress of a force many times their number. The region has nothing beautiful or agreeable in its appearance, but presents rather a look of savage wildness: the perpendicular masses of rock of the same kind of stone appear, as it were, to have been rent asunder, and are without any covering of trees or grass; the blackness of the shadows in the deep hollow, and the dull echoes, increase the gloominess of the impression: beneath bubble the silver waters of the Peneus (ἀργυροδίνης;¹). Not far from this narrow passage the defile opens towards the sea, to which the Peneus flows through marshes; and from hence may be seen the smiling country of Pieria, on the eastern side of Olympus, particularly the plains of Phila, Heracleum, and Leibethrum, which lead onwards to the southern parts of Macedonia.

3. This is the only road between Thessaly and the northern districts, which passes in its whole length along a valley; all the others are mountain-passes. Such was the other road to Macedonia, which crossed mount Olympus (ἑσβελὴ Ὀλύμπικῇ). This road too begins at the strongly fortified city of Gonnus, the key of the country towards the north; and it then goes along the southern side of Olympus, till it reaches the cities of Azorum and Doliche. Between these two towns is a place where three ways meet^m. The chief road passes in a northerly direction over the summit of the Cambanian chain to the Macedonian highlands; and it was here that Xerxes set fire to the woods in order

¹ Il. B. 753.

Herod. VII. 128, 173.

^m Liv. XLIV. 6. Polyb. XXVIII.

11. 1. Ἀζορίου μεταξύ καὶ Δολιχῆς.

to open a passage for his army, which the Greeks had expected along the more practicable way through Pieria and the valley of Tempe; and it was often in the Roman wars traversed by large armiesⁿ. From the south of mount Olympus two difficult mountain roads led over the heights of Olympus, connecting Northern Thessaly with Pieria. The one avoided the valley of Tempe, as it passed by the fortress of Lapathus to the north of that defile^o, then along the small lake of Ascurias, whence there was a view of the town of Dium on the sea-coast, at the distance of 96 stadia (12 miles); after which it descended into the plains of Pieria. We should however more particularly notice the other road, taking a more northern direction, and passing over the lofty sides of Olympus, where formerly there stood the castle of Petra, and the temple of the Pythian Apollo, commonly called Pythium, together with a village of the same name^p, the height of which Xenagoras, by a geometrical measurement, ascertained to be 6096 Grecian feet^q. From this point there was a mountain-pass leading down to the coast to Heracleum and Phila in Pieria, and an-

ⁿ See, besides Herodotus, Liv. XLIV. 2. and Plutarch. Æmil. 9.

^o Concerning the situation of this place see Liv. XLIV. 2. and 6.

^p Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν, τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὴν Πέτραν Plutarch. Æmil. 15. *Pythium* (Πυθῶν) *et Petra* Liv. XLIV. 2, 32, 35. XLII. 53. That there was only *one* Pythium in this district is evident from an accurate examination of the marches.

Mannert (vol. VII. p. 520, 563.) has placed Pythium on the pass through the Cambunian mountains (above the modern Aleson and Sarviza), of which it lay far to the right. His opinion is contradicted by Liv. XLIV. 2. and Plutarch. *ubi sup.* Compare Stephanus Πύθιον, Πυθειῖς οἱ τὸ Πύθιον οἰκοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι, and in Βάλλα.

^q 960 toises. See above.

other way led along the ridge of Olympus by difficult and dangerous passages, as far as Upper Macedonia^r.

These mountain-passes and defiles have not been explored by any modern traveller; but it was important for our subject to discover their position from the writings of the ancients. Not only did Perseus and Æmilius Paulus here contend for the fate of Macedonia, but it was in this region that the Greek nations of the heroic age disputed the possession of the fertile Thessaly. There was once a time when through these passes the nations pressed down, to whose lot the finest parts of Greece were once to fall; here every step was gained with labour, while the sons of the mountain inured themselves to hardships in their incessant wars. Of the numerous citadels which in these districts cover every important point, the greater number were probably built at a very early period. Thus there were three fortresses^s to defend the pass of Olympus, or the road from Gonium to Azorum and Doliche, which two places, together with Pythium on the mountain, were comprehended under the name of the Pelagonian Tripolis^t.

4. The highlands which border on Macedonia are so rarely mentioned in Grecian history, that we find in them few names of places, while in the valley of the Peneus there were always some traditional and historical memorials extant. For although the northern mountains were not destitute of fountains, grassy slopes, and fertile pastures, still

^r See Plutarch *ubi sup.* Liv. *ubi sup.* and XLIV. 7. comp. Polyb. XXVIII. 11.

^s Liv. XXXI. 41. XXXVI. 10, 13. XLII. 67. XLIV. 2.

^t Ptolemy includes it in Pelasgiotis. Unfortunately we have not the Greek original of the passage in Livy concerning the Tripolis, XLII. 53.

the nations continually pressed downward to the fertile lands of the valley. In this plain Gonnus and Elatea are succeeded by Mopsium upon the right, and Gyrton and Phalanna on the left of the stream; and soon afterwards Larissa stood in the midst of the open country ^u, which had been once deposited from the stagnant waters of the Peneus, and being constantly irrigated, always produced a plentiful crop. To the west of Larissa, in a narrower part of the valley, where the hills approach the river more from the north side, there stood, 40 stadia from Larissa, the town of Argura ^x, and at the same distance again the fort of Atrax; on the northern bank of the river were the celebrated city of Pelinna^y and the castle of Pharcedon^z; higher up on the left bank, where the mountains on the north begin to recede and form another plain, was the ancient city of Tricca ^a. Between Tricca and Pelinna stood, as it appears, the city of Œchalia, so celebrated in mythology; the ruins of which have been perhaps discovered by a traveller in some ancient walls of massive structure ^b, of which Pouqueville saw many in this district. If now we follow the Peneus, which runs from the north-west, higher up the stream than

^u *Orchomenos*, p. 126.

^x Liv. XXXII. 15. Strabo IX. p. 438, 440.

^y Concerning Pelinna, see, besides Cellarius, Spanheim *de Usu Numm.* IX. p. 902. Salmasius ad Solin. p. 687. Weseling ad Diodor. XVIII. 11. and Boeckh Comment. ad Pind. Pyth. X. p. 335.

^z Besides Strabo, see Diodorus XVIII. 56. In Polyænus IV. 2. 18. should be writ-

ten, Φίλιππος ἐπολιόρκει ΦΑΡΚΗΔΟΝΑ πόλιν ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΚΗΝ.

^a Concerning Tricca (Tricala 12½ leagues from Larissa according to Pouqueville) see Mannert, p. 569. and also Eustathius, vol. II. p. 250. ed. Basil. Tzetzes Chil. IX. 28.

^b See II. B. 370. with the Scholia, and Eustathius. Pelinnus, a son of Œchalieus, Steph. Byzant. in Πάλλανα.

Tricca, we come to the mountain district of Hestiaeotis. At about three and a half hours from Tricca^c is now situated the convent Meteora, whose name alludes to its singular situation upon lofty columns of rock^d: from which place there were two ways, one leading higher up the Peneus in a westerly direction to Epirus, and the other passing over Stymphæa to Elimiotis in Macedonia^e. This was about the situation of the ancient fortress of Gomphi, which was near Pindus, and not very far from the sources of the Peneus^f. It is indeed probable that the name Γόμφος expresses the *wedge-shaped* form of these rocks. According to Strabo, Gomphi (in the north west), Tricca (in the south west), Pelinnia (in the north east), and the more recent city of Metropolis (in the south east), formed a square of fortresses, in the middle of which was the ancient Ithome, which Homer from the steepness of the rock on which it stood calls the *precipitous* (κλωμακόεσσα or κλιμακόεσσα)^g. From Meteora the Peneus may be followed in a northerly direction to its origin from two small streams; whence there was a path which wound over the high chain of Pindus, and thus reached the

^c Thus Pouqueville: according to Holland twelve miles, according to Vaudoncourt four hours.

^d See Meletius, Pouqueville, Holland, Cockerell in Hughes' Travels, vol. I. p. 504.

^e The latter according to Arrian I. 7; the former according to Liv. XXXI. 41. XXXII. 15. XXXVIII. 2. Compare Caesar B. C. III. 80.

^f Tempe was about 500 stadia from Gomphi, Plin. H. N. IV. 8. which distance should be

thus divided; the length of Tempe 40 stadia, then to Larissa 160, to Tricca about 240, and to Gomphi 60.

^g Strabo IX. p. 437. Il. B. 729. Pausan. IV. 9. 1. Meteora cannot be Ithome; more probably the ruins of Kastraki. But the passage concerning Curabius and the temple of the Itonian Minerva, is a confusion of the geographers. Otherwise de la Porte du Theil *Eclaircissemens sur Strabon* I. 76. p. 248.

country of Epirus. This was in ancient times the road which connected the two countries, and there still remain on it several Cyclopiian walls, the strongholds of former ages.

5. There had dwelt in the valley of the Peneus from the earliest times a Pelasgic nation, which offered up thanks to the gods for the possession of so fruitful a territory at the festival of Peloria^b. Their habits were doubtless adapted to the nature of the country, which has still the same effect on the modern inhabitants, those who dwell near the river being of a soft and peaceable disposition, while the mountaineers are of a stronger and freer turn of mindⁱ. Larissa was the ancient capital of this nation^k. But at a very early time the primitive inhabitants were by more northern tribes, some reduced to subjection, and others driven out of the valley^l. Those however who had retired into the mountains, viz. the PERRHÆBIAN nation, always retained a certain degree of independence. In the Homeric catalogue the Perrhæbians are mentioned as dwelling on the hill Cyphus under Olympus, and on the banks of the Titaresius, which, flowing along the western edge of Olympus, is distinguished by its clear and therefore dark-coloured stream, from the muddy and white waters of the Peneus^m. At the present day the inhabitants of its

^b Athen. XIV. p. 639, 640.

ⁱ Pouqueville, p. 37.

^k *Orchomenos*, p. 126. Here also Acrisius of Argos dwelt. That it is this Larissa is plain from Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 40. compare Hellanicus fragm. 116. Pausan. II. 16. Tzetzes

ad Lycoph. 836.

^l Strabo, IX. p. 439.

^m According to modern travellers. The ancients frequently misinterpreted Homer. In later times Eürotas, or Europus, as in the *Excerpta* of Strabo, i. e. the dark-coloured.

banks are remarkable for their healthy complexion, while the Peneus is surrounded by a sickly population^a. The ancients however were reminded by the Titaresius of the Styx and of the infernal regions, not from any natural circumstance, but because both among these Perrhæbians and the Hellopiæ Pelasgi the name and worship of Dodona had been established^b. Accordingly there seems to have been in both places a *Ψυχόπομπειόν*, or oracle of the dead. The prince of these Perrhæbians was called Guneus. So much may be gathered from the passage in Homer. Afterwards, in historical times, we find the Perrhæbians having extended their limits to the Cambunian mountains, the pass of Tempe, and the Peneus; and reaching to the west beyond the chain of Pindus^c. Gonnus and Atrax were likewise Perrhæbian towns^d. The Perrhæbians maintained themselves in the mountains, even when the Thessalians had seized upon the plain, not indeed as an independent, but still as a separate, and, until the Macedonian supremacy, as an Amphictyonic nation.

6. The plain on either side of the Peneus was however occupied by the LAPITHÆ, a race which, as I have shewn elsewhere, derived its origin from Almopia in Macedonia, and was at least very nearly connected with the Minyans and Æolians of Ephyra^e. If it be allowed to speak of this heroic race, of superhuman strength and courage, in the same terms as of a real nation, we should say that the towns Elatea, Gyrton, Mopsium, Larissa, Atrax, Æchalia,

^a Pouqueville.

^b Hieronymus, ap. Strab. IX.

^c Thus the writers in Strabo VII. p. 328. Steph. Byzant. in *Δωδώνη*. See book II. ch. 11.

p. 443.

^d Steph. Byzant. in *Γόννος*, Liv. XXXII. 15.

l. 3.

^e *Orchomenos*, pp. 248 sqq.

Ithome, and Tricca, were under the dominion of that people. Our reason is, that the Lapithæ, Elatus, Cæneus, Mopsus, Coronus, Eurytus and Hippodameia, were considered by popular tradition as inhabitants of the above towns; a belief indicated by the names of several of these heroes. The two last of these towns were the native places of the Asclepiadæ, whom the genealogical and other legends always represent as connected with the Lapithæ. In Homer the inhabitants of Tricca, Ithome, and Œchalia are represented as following the sons of Æsculapius; those of Argissa, Gyrton, Orthe, Elone, and Oloosson are headed by the descendants of the Lapithæ. Now from the researches mentioned by Strabo, it would seem that Orthe was the fortress of Phalamma, Argissa the town Argura, both on the river Peneus; Elone was a small town on mount Olympus, as also Oloosson^s; and it appears that the Homeric catalogue agrees well enough with the other traditions, and supposes the Lapithæ to have occupied the valley of the Peneus, with some parts of the mountainous country to the north.

7. Thus much it was necessary to premise, in order to give a faithful description of the spot in which the Dorians first make their appearance in the traditions of Greece. They bordered on the Lapithæ, but inhabited the mountain district of Hestiatotis, according to Herodotus^t, instead of the cham-

* If *Oloosson* is the modern *Alassona* on the road from Larissa to Macedonia, according to the opinion of the bishop of Thessalonica on II. B. p. 333. ed. Rom. δοκεῖ δὲ φυλάσσειν καὶ νῦν τὴν κλῆσιν παραφθειρομένην

βαρβαρικῶς, ὥσως γὰρ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἄρτι λεγομένη Ἑλασσών.

^t See above, §. 1. Andron ap. Strab. X. p. 475 E. τῆς Δωρίδος πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Ἑστιάωτιδος λεγομένης. The Dorians also dwelt in Hestiatotis to the

paign country, like the latter race. Yet the same passage of that author implies that Tempe was within the territory of Hestiaeotis, and belonged at that time to the Dorians; we shall see hereafter how much this account is confirmed by the altar of the Pythian Apollo in this valley^u. It will moreover be rendered probable that the Pythium above mentioned was situated on the mountain heights. Hence we may well suppose the whole Tripolis to have at one time belonged to the Dorians; since even Azorum was not always inhabited by Illyrian Pelagones, but had once been held by the Hellenes^x. It is also probable that Cyphus, a town said to have belonged to the Perrhaebians, was under the dominion of the Dorians; since this race possessed in their second settlement a town called Acyphas^y. It is remarkable that no direct and positive account of any Doric town in this district has been preserved, a circumstance to be attributed to the loss of Hesiod's epic poem of Ægimius.

8. This poem, after the usual manner of Hesiod, (although the author probably lived about the 30th Olympiad, 660 B.C. in the last period of epic poetry^z.)

west of Pindus, according to Charax ap. Steph. Byzant. in *Ἰσχυρ*. According to Schol. Find. Pyth. I. 124. and Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 385. (as emended by Hemsterhuis, p. 115.) they dwelt in Perrhaebia; and Perrhaebia nearly coincides with Hestiaeotis.

^u See book II. ch. 1. §. 2.

^x There was a hero named Azorus, Hesychius in *Ἀζωρος*.

^y Hemsterhuis incorrectly considers them as identical, *ubi*

sup. p. 116.

^z Athen. XI. p. 503 D. καὶ ὁ τὸν Ἀλγίμιον ποιήσας, εἰθ' Ἡσιόδου ἔστιν ἢ Κέρκωψ ὁ Μιλήσιος. The confusion of the names of Hesiod and Cercops may, as it appears to me, be accounted for as follows. A verse concerning the desertion of Ariadne by Theseus for the sake of Aegle, is ascribed by Plutarch (vit. Thes. 20.) to Hesiod, and by Athenæus (XIII. p. 557 A.) to Cercops; it is evidently

celebrated the most ancient transactions of the Doric race. Thus it sung how Ægimius, the Doric prince, whilst engaged in a difficult and dangerous war with the Lapithæ, called to his assistance the wandering Hercules, and by the promise of a third part of the territory obtained his alliance, by which means the enemies were beaten, their prince slain, and the disputed territory conquered^a. The name of the poem is a sufficient proof that such would have been its contents^b. Probably the heroes of Iolcus and the Phthiotans were also introduced as allies of the Lapithæ, and at least the adventures of Phrixus and Achilles^c. The scene of the second book was Eubœa, the name of which island was there derived from the cow Io^d; the attack of Hercules upon the

from the Ægimius which was attributed to both these names. (See Appendix V. §. 14.) This verse was expunged from the poem by Pisistratus, as we learn from Herens quoted by Plutarch. The Ægimius therefore was at that time arranged and set down in writing, together with other epic poems. Consequently Cercops, an Orphic Pythagorean, who lived about the time of Pisistratus, cannot have been the author of it, though he might have been the διασκευαστής who arranged it in the same manner that Onomacritus did the other poems. Now it might easily happen, especially if his interpolations could be now and then discerned, that the *whole* poem should be attributed to him.

^a Wesseling. ad Diod. IV. 37. p. 282.

^b See Valckenaer ad Eurip. Phœn. p. 735.

^c Schol. Apoll. Rhod. III. 584. IV. 816. Groddek (*Bibliothek der alten Litteratur und Kunst*. vol. II. p. 89.) is somewhat too hasty in inferring that it contained an account of the expedition of the Argonauts, as Weichert *de Apollonio*, p. 139. n. 176. correctly remarks. The character of the ancient epic poetry, which never admitted of history arranged in a chronological order, cannot allow us to suppose that the Ægimius contained an account of the expedition of the Dorians, and of their colonies, down to the founding of Cyrene.

^d This is the meaning of the passage in Steph. Byzant. Ἀβαντίς.—ὡς Ἡσίοδος ἐν Αἰγυμίων δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἰοῦς

Eubæan town of Œchalia also formed, as I conjecture, part of the subject. Ægimius was however supposed to reign in Hestiaëotis, merely because the Dorians bordered in this direction upon the Lapithæ; he was easily carried over to the second settlements of the race under mount Œta^c. This hero is in general the fabulous progenitor and hero of the Doric nation; hence Pindar called the customs and laws of that people "the ordinances of Ægimius^f." Nevertheless only two branches of the nation are stated to be descended from him, viz. the Dymanes and Pamphylians; the third and most distinguished, viz. the Hylleans, was supposed to be descended from Hyllus the son of Hercules, and adopted by Ægimius. And as the landed property, was in the Doric states equally divided between these tribes, Hercules was fabled to have received for his descendants a third part of the territory, which belonged of right to the Hylleans. This triple division of the land was expressly mentioned by the epic poet, who used the word *τριχᾶϊκες*, to express that the Dorians had obtained and shared among themselves, at a distance from their native country, (chiefly in the Peloponnese^g.) a territory appor-

—Νόσση δ' ἐν Ἀθιασίδι διγ,
 τοὶ περὶ Ἀθιασίδα κίελλοντες διὰ τὴν
 λίαν
 τοὺς περὶ Ἰππόδαμον Εὐβοίας βίβης ἀνέμους
 Ζεὺς.

These are followed by the four verses concerning Argos and so quoted by Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 1151. Apollodorus II. i. 3. alludes to this passage. Also what he mentions from this poem in II. i. 4. belongs to the Eubæan fables. Com-

pare Fabric. Bibliothec. vol. I. p. 592. ed. Harles.

^c See Ephorus ap. Steph. Byzant. in *Δυμᾶνες* (p. 96. ed. Marx.), followed by Strabo IX. p. 654 A.

^f Book III. ch. i. §. 7.

^g Etymol. Magn. *Τριχᾶϊκες*.—
 Ἡσιόδου διὰ τὸ *τριχῇ* αὐτοὺς οἰ-
 κῆσαι, οἷον Πάντες γὰρ *τριχᾶϊκες*
καλίουτο Οὐνεκα *τρισσήνη γαίαν*
ἐκὰς πάτρης ἐδάσαντο. Τρία γὰρ

tioned into three parts. An examination of the opinion, that the first race was distinguished from the other two as of different origin, will be found in a following chapter^h.

We must also refer our reader to the investigation of the worship of Apollo and the mythology of Hercules, in the second book, since from these alone can be collected the internal history of the Doric race during its earliest period.

9. One event which, even if it had not been noticed by tradition, would still have been felt and recognised from the effects it produced, is the migration of the Dorians from the district of mount Olympus to Crete. It is indeed a wonderful migration, being from one end of the Grecian world to the other, and

Ἑλληνικά ἔθνη τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐπέκησαν, Πελασγοί, Ἀχαιοί, Δωριεῖς. The last words must be considered as a mere ignorant addition; for the Dorians did not divide *their* territory into three parts, *because* two *other* Greek races went to Crete. It is indeed evident that a threefold division of the land conquered by the Dorians, is here spoken of, which, as is plain from the fables concerning Ægimius and Hercules, took place according to the three tribes. According to the present reading, this division took place at a distance from the native country of the Dorians. There might seem some difficulty in this, since Hercules is said to have given Ægimius the third part of the territory as a παρακαθήκη in Hestiaotis, the most ancient habitation of the Dorians (Diod. IV. 37. compare Apollodorus

II. 7. 3.). Hence πάτρις for πάτρις might be read in this sense; "The Dorians divided " their territory into three " parts *for the families* (of " which the φυλαὶ or tribes " consisted)," so that they then dwelt separately from one another (similarly Pindar Olymp. VII. 74). This alteration however appears to be ungrammatical; and the old reading is defended by the following explanation; viz. that according to the ancient fable Hyllus and his descendants did not *dwell* either near mount Œta, or in Hestiaotis *together* with the Dorians, but that they first received in the Peloponnese the third part of the territory, whither they came as colonists at a distance from their more ancient abodes (ἕκας πάτρις).

^h Below, ch. 3. §. 1.

it presents a striking anomaly in the history of the ancient colonies. We must suppose that the Dorians, whilst in their first settlements, excluded from the plain, and pressed by want, or restless from inactivity, constructed piratical canoes, manned these frail and narrow barks with soldiers, who themselves worked at the oars, and thus being changed from mountaineers into seamen (the Normans of Greece), set sail for the distant island of Crete. The earliest trace of this occurrence is found in the *Odyssey*, in which poem it is mentioned that the *thrice-divided* (τρίχαιρες) Dorians formed a part of the population of Crete¹. Andron states, even with geographical accuracy, that these Dorians came to Crete from Hestæotis, at that time called Doris, under Tectaphus, the son of Dorus, together with some Achæans and Pelasgi, who had remained in Thessaly². Again, Diodorus affirms that Asterius king of Crete, the adopted father of Minos the legislator, was the son of Tectamus (Teutamus)³. The essential parts of these statements are rendered certain by two proofs: the first of these is that the worship of Apollo was practised in Crete with precisely the same ceremonies as at Tempe, and connected with many of the same traditions; the second is the very remote period at which the principles of the Doric constitution were systematized and established in Crete, so that they afterwards became a model and standard for other

¹ Hom. Od. XIX. 174.

² Ap. Strab. X. p. 475 D. and Stephan. Byzant. in Δόριον. Diodorus V. 80. probably follows Andron. Compare Diod. IV. 60.

³ Τετράμπος appears to be the

correct name, the same as that of an ancient prince of Larissa, on which the ancient Dorians bordered. The princes of the allied nations were doubtless confounded in tradition. See *Etrusker*, vol. I. p. 94.

states of that race. This gives us the fullest right to consider Minos of Cnosus as a Dorian. We may assert with still more reason, that the name of Minos indicates a period, in which the Doric invaders united a part of the island into one state, and by extending their power over the Cyclades and many maritime districts, obtained, according to the expression of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Aristotle, the dominion of the sea. To discredit this Doric migration would be to reject the simple explanation of many circumstances and connections recorded in later history. At the same time however we do not mean to throw any doubt upon the later migrations from the Peloponnese, when it had already fallen under the power of the Dorians^m. We only assert that these took place at too late a period to account for many unquestionable facts. The portion of Crete first occupied by the Dorians was, according to Staphylus, the eastern coastⁿ; or to speak more accurately, the eastern side of the north coast. Here stood the Minoan town of Cnosus, with its harbour Heracleum and colony Apollonia. From this point the dominion, customs, and worship of the Dorians were at a very early period extended over the dis-

^m The settlements which here come into consideration are, 1. the immigration, after the death of Minos (in the third generation before the siege of Troy), of various races, chiefly Hellenes, according to Herod. VII. 170; this is a mere tradition of the towns of Polichna and Præsus, and not a very credible one. 2. The colony of Althæmenes after the expedition of the Heraclidæ from Argos and

Megara, and in connexion with Rhodes. 3. Dorians from the Peloponnese. Lyctus, Lampe, and other places settled from Sparta; Pharæ a colony of the Messenians; Gortyna of Amyclæans (Minyans); Phæstus colonized from Sicyon; other towns from Argos (Scylax, p. 18. Diod. V. 80). 4. Æginetans in Cydonia.

ⁿ Strabo X. p. 475 C.

tricts inhabited by the Eteocretans, Pelasgi, and Cydonians; and, with the help of later migrations, pervaded the whole island^o. And although the different dialects could still be distinguished at the time of Homer^p, yet in later times the Doric appears to have been universally adopted^q.

10. We now return to the passage of Herodotus, of which a part has been already quoted; "When however the Dorians were driven out by the Cadmeans, they dwelt under mount Pindus, and were called the Macedonian nation." In this passage the author alludes to an event in fabulous history, viz. that the Cadmeans, being expelled from Thebes by the Argives, fled to the Encheleans of Illyria, where they bordered upon Homolè, a Magnesian mountain near the valley of Tempe. In this settlement they would certainly be in the neighbourhood of the Dorians. But we should bear in mind how perplexed is the fable which we have before us^r. The predatory excursion of the Encheleans to Phocis and Bœotia appears to admit of no doubt, as it was noticed by a Delphian oracle of tolerable antiquity, and by the tradition of the Thebans. The same horde may

^o The Cretan cities were generally considered as Doric; Menander de Encom. XXXII. t. p. 81. ed. Heeren. and others.

^p Od. XIX. 175. ἄλλη δ' ἄλλω γλῶσσα μεμειμένη.

^q On this migration of the Dorians from their early settlements in the north of Greece to Crete, see Appendix III.

^r *Orchomenos*, pp. 233, 234. According to Andron (Strabo X. p. 475.) they came directly from Hestiazotis under mount Parnassus. According to Diodo-

rus IV. 67. the Cadmeans drove out the Dorians, who then returned to Doris (Erineus, Cytinium, Boeum). Lycophron v. 1388. might be quoted in confirmation of Herodotus, since he calls the Dorians Λακμώνιοι (Λάκμων ὅρος Περραιβίας, ἐνθα ἔκουν Δωριεῖς), Lacmon being the name of the ridge of Pindus and the Cambunian mountains. But Lycophron only alludes to their settlements in Hestiazotis.

in its passage have also disturbed the Dorians in their settlements; but it is no less wonderful, that fugitive Thebans should have voluntarily taken refuge with the Encheleans in Illyria, than that this latter nation should have driven the Dorians from their settlements. It may be true that some northern hordes expelled the Dorians from mount Olympus, since at a later period we find the Pæonian (Teucrian) race of the Pelagones, who had descended from the Axius^{*}, and made themselves masters of the Tripolis, Azorum, Doliche, and Pythium, in possession of their ancient settlements.

As to the statement of Herodotus, that the Macedonians, or ancient Macedonians (who in his lifetime inhabited the territory between the rivers Haliacmon and Lydias, from the mountains to the coast)[†], were derived from the Dorians when dwelling under mount Pindus, he probably followed some accounts of the Macedonians, who, not satisfied with establishing the Doric origin of their royal family, wished to claim the same honour for the whole nation: but there does not appear to be any historical foundation for this statement. For the Macedonians, as was above remarked, were indeed for the most part Greeks, but neither their language or customs authorize us to consider them as Dorians[‡].

^{*} Il. B. 849. Φ. 159. It is to this that Herodotus alludes, when he says that the Teucrians, to which race he refers the Pæonians, had penetrated as far as the Peneus (see the

Introduction, and Appendix, I. §. 4).

[†] See Appendix I. §. 17.

[‡] Introduction, §. 3. Appendix I. §. 25.

CHAP. II.

The Dorians at the foot of Œta and Parnassus.

1. "From thence," Herodotus proceeds to relate, "the race of the Dorians migrated to Dryopis, afterwards called Doris, or the Doric Tetrapolis." Here also it will be necessary to give some illustration of the geography of the country; beginning at Thermopylæ (the point at which mount Œta comes in contact with the sea) to the broken ridge where it is swallowed up in Parnassus, and both ranges are lost in the mountains of Pindus, and where this latter, the grand chain of Greece, is separated and branches off in different directions.

Following the plain of Phocis, which lies between mounts Œta and Parnassus, and is watered by the Cephissus, we presently find the mountains approaching each other from both sides, and contracting the valley of the river. The last towns of Phocis in this direction are, Amphicæa, Tithronium and Drymæa, still to be recognised in ruins, and places bearing the name of *Palæocastro*^a. Proceeding thence westward to the higher country, we soon arrive at the sources of the river Cephissus, which cannot be mistaken, since it immediately forms a stream of considerable size. The Cephissus indeed rises not in mount Œta but in Parnassus, and runs first to the north-east, in order to make a bend afterwards to the south-east^b. The situation is particu-

^a Amphicæa near Dadja. See Leake in Walpole's Travels, p. 109. Clarke, p. 227. Gell, Itinerary, p. 210.

^b Here chiefly follow Dodwell,

vol. II. p. 133. and Gell: compare *Orchomenos*, p. 41. Pouqueville is completely in error. According to him the Cephissus rises 11½ hours N. E. of Aro-

larly indicated by the ancient citadel of a town, situated close to the source, upon a steep projection of Parnassus; this place must be recognised as Lilæa. The scenery around is of a grand and bold description. Twenty stadia from hence was situated Charadra, where a mountain-torrent joined the Cephissus. But the river Pindus, which falls into the Cephissus not far from Lilæa, comes down from a much greater elevation. These valleys, lying to the north-west of Lilæa^c, constitute the real district of Doris, little described in detail by the ancients, and never till a short time since visited by modern travellers. The steep citadel, about an hour and a half's distance from Lilæa, situated upon a projection of Parnassus near the village of Mariolatis, is perhaps Bœum. The ancient walls in the valley towards the west near Stagni, must be set down as the fortress of Cytinium^d. Erineus should probably however be sought for in the defiles of Cæta, nearer the sources of the stream just mentioned^e. Near Cæta was situated Acyphas^f, probably the same as the city of Pindus^g

tina, which he supposes to be Erineus, and flows from the north into the Pindus, which river (he says) runs into the Gulph of Corinth, contrary to all accounts of ancient writers.

^c The old maps are all incorrect; see now Gell's map to his Itinerary. According to Strabo the Tetrapolis lay chiefly to the east of Parnassus, but it extended also round to the west, IX. p. 417. The river Pindus is now, according to Dodwell, the *Aniani*.

^d See p. 43, note i.

^e See Strabo IX. p. 427. X.

p. 476 A. Strabo distinguishes Erineus in Phthiotis from this town, IX. p. 434. Etymol. Mag. p. 373, 56. ὁ Ἐρινεὸς is the correct form. Mela however, and the scholiasts to Pindar and Aristophanes quoted below, call it *Erineum*.

^f Strabo IX. p. 427 B. p. 434. Steph. Byz. Ἀκύφας μία τῆς Δωρικῆς τετραπόλεως.—Ὁ Ἀκύφας, Gen. Ἀκύφα, *Dorice*, see Bekker's *Anecdota*, vol. III. p. 1313.

^g Scymnus Chius v. 591. Δωριεὺς Ἐρινεὸν, Βοῶν, Κυτίνιον ἀρχαιοτάτας ἔχουσι, Πῖνδον τ' ἔχο-

situated above Erineus, and of the same name as the river, both which names the Dorians had brought with them from their early settlements. This corner of land placed under the chief mountain-chain of Greece, and hanging over the plains which extend from thence, was bounded by the upper districts of Ætolia, by the territory of the Ozolian Locrians, Phocis, and southern Thessaly^b. From Cytinium a mountain-path led along the side of Parnassus to the country of the Locriansⁱ: this also has been explored by modern travellers. From Delphi another mountain-path (which was reckoned by an ancient traveller at 180 stadia^k) crossed over in the direction of Lilæa. The modern road to the north, from the valley of Pindus, likewise goes along a mountain-pass through the defiles and ravines of Ceta, to the opposite side of the valley of the Spercheus, now called Hellada^l. If this was passable in ancient times, it formed the communication between Doris and the country of the Malians.

2. Mount Ceta stretches in a westerly direction for the length of 200 stadia towards the Malian bay, which it reaches at Thermopylæ. It separates Doris, Phocis, and the Epicnemidian Locrians from the valley of the Spercheus. The passes connected with

supra. Comp. Conon, *ubi sup.* In answer to those who deny that Pindus was situated in this Tetrapolis, it is sufficient to quote Herod. VIII. 43. Comp. du Theil *Eclairc. sur Strabon* IX. tom. III. p. 118. Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 252. IV. p. 392.

^b Strabo IX. p. 427 C. arranges them in this manner: Ætolians, Locri Hesperii, Do-

rians, Ænians, Locri Epicnemidii; compare pp. 425, 430 B.

ⁱ Thucyd. III. 95, 102. It is the Kakiscala between Stagni and Salona. Dodwell, vol. I. p. 149. and Gell, p. 206.

^k Pausan. X. 33. 2.

^l This road through Camara, Paleochori, and Neuropoli, is described by Dodwell, vol. II. p. 126. Gell. p. 241.

it are, first, the one just mentioned: secondly, another from Phocis to the rocky glen of Trachinia^m: and, lastly, that of Thermopylæ, together with the upper path, made famous by the battle with the Persians. The pass of Thermopylæ is formed on one side by the steep declivity of the mountain, and on the other by a deep and impassable salt-marsh: these in the narrowest part are only 60 paces distant from each otherⁿ: in the middle arise the hot sulphurous springs, which gave the name to the defile. At no great distance from these lies the little plain of Anthela, breaking into two narrow parts of the pass. At the northern entrance of the passage there are still the ruins of a wall, which has perhaps served as a barrier against the invasions of Thessalian, Persian, and Roman armies. Near this spot the brook Asopus rises from the side of the mountain. At the southern end of the pass was the small town of Alpenus, its whole length being about five miles. From Thermopylæ the paved and raised military road leads northward over the Spercheus to Thessaly, southward by Alpenus, Scarpheia and Thronium, and from thence to Elatea, and thus to the land of Phocis.

Although the broken and precipitous form of both mountain and valley rendered the chain of Œta little suited for human habitation, yet there was in ancient times a considerable number of cities reaching in a line from the Doric Tetrapolis, as far as the

^m Holland went over this road near Eleutherochori, p. 383. comp. Dodwell, p. 74. It is also the way alluded to by Procopius de *Ædif.* IV. 2.

ⁿ Liv. XXXVI. 15. For a

description of Thermopylæ see *Orchomenos*, p. 486. Clarke, ch. 8. p. 240. Holland, ch. 18. p. 375. Gell, *Itinerary*, p. 239.

sea. Amphanea must have been built upon mount Œta, but in the direction of Trachinia; so that, with a little latitude of expression, it was considered as in Thessaly^q. Rhoduntia and Teichius were fortified heights on the road over mount Œta^r. Phricium was situated near Thermopylæ on the Locrian side; from this place some colonists went to the Æolian Cume, and Larissa Phriconis^s. On the other side, upon the slope of the mountain above the valley of the small streams Melas and Dyras, lay Trachis. Heraclea was situated six stadia from the ancient Trachis^t. Not far from hence Ægoneia was probably situated^u.

3. Having now marked out the topography of this district by traces, which although not as clear as could be wished, are yet perfectly accurate, we will next proceed to inquire concerning the small native tribes which at different periods settled in these parts, and particularly concerning the Dorians themselves. Doris, in the limited meaning of the term, was the valley of the river Pindus. Whenever the Doric *Tripolis* is mentioned, the three cities meant are Bœum, Cytinium, and Erineus^v; which last place, as being the most considerable, appears to have been also called Dorium^w; but when writers speak of a *Tetrapolis*, Acyphas (or Pindus) is added as a fourth town^x. This is the country

^q See Stephan. Byz. in Ἀμφαῖα from Theopompus, Eurip. Herc. Fur. 386.

^r Strabo IX. p. 428. Liv. XXXVI. 16.

^s Steph. Byz. in Φρίκιον, and Hellanicus, ibid.

^t Strabo *ubi sup*.

^u See Lycophron, Hecataeus,

Rhianus quoted by Stephanus.

^v Thus Andron in Strabo X. p. 476. Thucyd. I. 107.

^w Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 286, 2. τὸν ἥκιστα ἐκ Δωριῶν καὶ Κυττωίων (p. 43, 24).

^x Theopompus ap. Steph. Ἀκύφας. Scymnus Chius *ubi sup*.

which Dorus the son of Hellen is said to have inhabited, when he brought together his nation on the side of Parnassus^γ; a tradition which totally loses sight of the more ancient settlements of the Doric race. But it does not appear that the Dorians whilst confined within these limits rested content with the possession of this narrow valley, but, on the contrary, occupied several places along mount Cēta, of which Amphanæa was one^z. An unknown writer^a named six Doric towns; viz. Erineus, Cytinium, Bœum, Lilæum, Carphæa and Dryope: of which by Lilæum is meant the town of Lilæa, by Carphæa probably Scarphea near Thermopylæ, and by Dryope the country which had once belonged to the Dryopians. There was therefore probably a time when the heights near the sources of the Cephissus, and a narrow strip of land along mount Cēta, as far as the sea, were in the possession of the Dorians. Nay this was even partly the case in the Persian war; for even at that time Doris stretched in a narrow tongue of land thirty stadia broad, between the Malians and Phoceans, nearly as far as Thermopylæ^b:

^γ Strabo VIII. p. 383. Conon. 27. Scymnus. To this also refers the statement in Apollodorus I. 7. 3. that Dorus the son of Hellen τὴν πέραν χώραν Πελοποννήσου ἔλαβεν. Vitruvius IV. 1. however gives a different account, *Achaia Peloponnesoque tota Dorus Hellenis et Orseidis nymphae* (a mountain nymph) *filius regnavit*.

^a Hecataeus ap. Stephan.

^b In the scholia to Pindar, Pyth. I. 121, in which however there is some transposition and confusion. There is no-

where else any mention of a city in Perrhæbia named Pindus. In Pindar Πωδόθεν is used generally for the earlier settlements; for Hestiaeotis and Doris both touch on the chain of Pindus. See Boeckh. Explic. p. 235. These scholia are probably followed by the scholiast on Aristoph. Plut. 385. and by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. v. 980. comp. v. 741; but without separating the erroneous parts.

^b Herod. VIII. 31. comp. Plutarch. Themistocl. 9.

Scylax also mentions the Dorians as inhabitants of the sea-coast^e. This district however near mount Œta is that which the Dryopians had formerly inhabited, (as may be shewn from a passage of Herodotus^d), before they were entirely dispossessed by the Dorians, their neighbours in the Tetrapolis. Thus by means of this geographical investigation we have arrived at an historical event. It seems probable that the Dorians, moved by slow degrees from Hestiaeotis to mount Œta, here first possessed themselves of the furthest extremity of the mountain-valley, and from thence gradually spread towards the coast over the land of the Dryopians. This race indeed generally did not press all at once, but passed slowly into districts which had been seized by some part of them at an earlier period^e.

4. The DRYOPIANS (the fragments of whose history we here introduce) are an aboriginal nation, which may be called Pelasgic, since Aristotle and others assign to them an Arcadian origin^f. Their affinity with the Arcadians is confirmed by the worship paid by them to Ceres Chthonia, to Proserpine Melibœa, and Pluto Clymenus; which bore a great resemblance to those of Phigaleia, Thelpusa, and other towns in Arcadia^g. Their territory bordered

^e P. 24. *Διοδορίαις*.

^d Herod. VIII. 31. and 43. *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὗτου Δωρικῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἔθνος ἐξ Ἐπειοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὄρεσσι ὁρμηθέντες*. According to this passage therefore Cytinium and Boeum may both have been inhabited by the Dryopians.

^f According to Strabo IX. p. 434., there was a Dryopian

Tetrapolis as well as a Dorian.

^g Ap. Strab. p. 373. The scholia to Apollon. Rhod. I. 1283. furnish a genealogy, viz. Lycaon, Dia, Dryops. Followed by Tzetzes ad Lyc. 480. and Etymol. Mag. p. 288. 32. Pherecydes however, quoted in the scholia to Apollonius, gives a different account.

^h See book II. ch. 2. §. 3.

upon that of the Malians, so that they extended into the valley of the Spercheus beyond mount Œta, and in the other direction as far as Parnassus^h; to the east their settlements reached to Thermopylæⁱ. Their expulsion is related in a manner entirely fabulous, being connected with the propagation of the worship of Apollo (which is intimately connected with the migrations of the Dorians, and also with the adventures of Hercules); but when a clue to this method of narration is once discovered, it will be found to be equally, or perhaps more instructive, and to convey much fuller information than a bare historical narrative. In the present instance the Pythian Apollo is represented as the god to whom the vanquished Dryopians are sent as slaves, and who dispatches them to the Peloponnese^k; and Hercules, in conjunction with the Trachinians, subdues and consecrates them to Apollo, or assigns to them settlements in Argolis, but allots their land to the Dorians or Malians^l.

^h In the neighbourhood of the Malians and Myrmidonian Achæans, Pherecydes ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1823. pp. 93, 107. ed. Sturz. Aristotle *ubi sup.* At the foot of mount Parnassus, Aristotle and Pausan. IV. 34. 6. *Λυκωρείταις ὄμοροι*. The *μετοίκησις* from the Spercheus to Trachis is merely a confusion of the scholiast to Apollonius. Callimachus had only mentioned the migration to the Peloponnese, Schol. Paris. Clavier's remarks (ad Apollod. p. 323.) are very inaccurate. Dryops, the son of Spercheus, dwelt at the foot of mount Œta, according to An-

toninus Liberalis, 32.

ⁱ Ibid. 4. ΚΡΑΓΓΑΛΕΥΣ ὁ Δρύοπος ᾧκει γῆς τῆς Δρυοπίδος παρὰ τὰ λουτρά τὰ Ἡρακλέους. In this strange account Melaneus the son of Apollo, a king of the Dryopes, is represented as taking Epirus and Ambracia. It is a part of the same history as the migration of the Ænians and Neoptolemus to Molossis, *Æginetica*, p. 18.

^k Book II. ch. 3. §. 3.

^l Aristot. ap. Strab. *ubi sup.* Apollod. II. 7. 7. Diod. IV. 37. Pausan. IV. 34, 6. Servius ad Æn. IV. 146. *Πράξιος Ἡρακλέους*, p. 152. Marini *Ville Albani*, comp. *Æginetica*, p. 33.

From this tradition we might perhaps infer that the Dryopians accompanied the Dorians in their migration to the Peloponnese, and settled there with them. The situation however of the places belonging to the Dryopians makes it necessary to seek some other explanation. For the colonies of this race lie scattered over so many coasts and islands, that they can only have been planted by single expeditions over the sea. In Argolis, for instance, they built Hermione, Asine, and Eion (Halieis), upon projecting headlands and promontories; in Eubœa, Styra and Carystus belonged to them^m; among the islands they had settlements in Cythnosⁿ and perhaps Myconos; they had also penetrated as far as Ionia and Cyprus^o. Hence it must be inferred, that the Dryopians, harassed or dislodged by their neighbours, dispersed in various directions over the sea. It is however *historically* certain that a great part of the Dryopians were consecrated as a subject people to the Pythian Apollo (an usage of ancient times, of which there are many instances), and that for a long time they served as such; for even in the fragmentary history of the destruction

Heyne Exc. ad Æn. IV. 2. p. 610. Raoul-Rochette, tom. I. p. 434. Herod. VIII. 43. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονῆες εἰσὶ Δρύονες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Σαρδίωνος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναπαύσαντες. A peculiar application of the tradition in Suidas in Δρύονες, Κάπρος. The verse of Callimachus preserved in Etymol. Magn. p. 154. 7. should apparently be thus written, Δαίδαλους Ἀσυνεύων ΕΠΙΤΡΙΠΤΗ-ΡΑΣ ΟΠΑΣΣΑΣ; the explanation is given by the etymologist

himself: see above, p. 48. note h.

^m Herodot. VIII. 46. Diodor. IV. 57. Thucydides VII. 57, however, considers the Styrians as Ionians.

ⁿ Herodot. *ubi sup.* Diodor. *ubi sup.* The fabulous war of Amphitryon against Cythnus is probably connected with it.

^o Herodot. VII. 90. Diodor. *ubi sup.* Asine in Cyprus, Stephan. Byz. Also in Cyzicus according to Strabo XIII. p. 586.

of Crissa (Olymp. 47. 590 B. C.) we find *Craugallidæ* mentioned together with the Crissæans^p, which was a name of the Dryopians derived from a fabulous ancestor^q. The condition of the subjects of temples, and consequently of these Craugallidæ, will be treated of at large in another place^r.

5. But the Dorians, though hostile to their neighbours the Dryopians, were on friendly terms with the MALIANS. This people dwelt in the valley of the Spercheus, enclosed on all sides by rocky mountains, and open only in the direction of the sea; they were divided into the inhabitants of the coast, the Sacerdotal, and the Trachinians^s. The second of these classes probably dwelt near to the Amphityonic temple at Thermopylæ, the third on the rocky declivities of mount Œta. These are the people who were in such close alliance with the Dorians, that Diodorus speaks of Trachis as the mother-town of Lacedæmon^t. The friendship between Ceyx and Hercules, together with that of his sons, is the mythological expression for this connexion. The Malians were always a warlike people, those persons only who had served as Hoplitæ being admitted to a share in the government^u. Their country was however chiefly famous for its slingers and darters^v.

^p See *Orchomenos*, p. 496. In *Æschines* adv. Ctesiph. p. 68. 40. according to Didymus and Xenagoras in Harpocration, *Κραυγαλλίδαι* should be written.

^q Antonin. Liberal. 4.

^r Book II. ch. 3. §. 3.

^s *Παράλιοι, Ἱερῆς, Τραχίνιοι* Thucyd. III. 92. comp. Dodwell, II. p. 71. I may also remark that Scylax and Diodorus, XVIII. 11. appear to make

a distinction between Melians and Malians; but in both places ΛΑΜΙΕΙΣ should be written for Μαλιείς and Μαλειίς. Wesseling's opinion concerning the last passage is untenable, since there never was a town of the name of Malea. Diodorus is not quite accurate.

^t Diodor. XII. 59.

^u Aristot. Polit. IV. 13.

^v Thucyd. IV. 100.

6. In after-times there came into these districts a nation which the ancient traditions of the country do not recognise, viz. the Hellenic *Ænians* or *Ætæans*; the latter name denoting the region in which that nation was settled, the former their race^a; although I do not assert that the fourteen *Ætæan* communities^b constituted the entire nation of the *Ænians*. For they also dwelt on the banks of the *Iniichus*, and about the sources of the *Spercheus*, near the city of *Hypata*^c. In early times they had inhabited the inland parts of *Thessaly*, and about the end of the fabulous period they descended into those settlements, from which in later times they were dislodged by the *Illyrian Athamanes*^d. Although the *Ænians* did not disavow a certain dependance on the *Delphian* oracle, and though they adopted among their traditions the fables respecting *Hercules*, anciently prevalent in their new settlements^e, yet on account of their geographical position they lived in opposition and hostility to the *Malians* and *Dorians*^f; who, as *Strabo* also states, had deprived them of a part of their territory^g. Nay more, it is probable that the emigration of the *Dorians* which conquered the *Peloponnese*, was in some way or other connected with the arrival of the *Ænians* in this region. There was an *ancient enmity* between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Ætæans*^h. It was chiefly on this account that *Sparta* founded the town of *Heraclea* in the country of *Tra-*

^a See *Tittmann on the Amphictyonic league*, p. 41.

^b *Strabo* IX. p. 434.

^c *Æginetica*, p. 17.

^d *Orchomenos*, p. 253.

^e Book II. ch. 3. §. 12.

^f *Thucyd.* III. 92.

^g *Strab.* IX. p. 422.

^h *Thucyd.* VIII. 3. Concerning the founding of *Heraclea*, see also *Stephan. Byz.* in *v. Δώριον*, after the hiatus.

chinia; which would doubtless have caused the revival of an important Doric power in this part of Greece, had not the jealousy of the Thessalians and Dolopians, and even of the Malians themselves, been awakened at its first establishment.

Thus much concerning the situation of the Dorians in their settlements near mount Ceta. The subject however is not yet exhausted; for we have still to trace the origin of the great influence which the establishment of the Dorians at Lycorea upon Parnassus had on the religion of Delphi (for that Lycorea was a Doric town will be made probable hereafter), as well as to treat of the Amphictyonic league, in the founding of which a very large share doubtless belonged to the Dorians: but the discussion of both these points must be deferred to the second book ^e.

As to the colonies of the Doric cities near mount Parnassus, Bulis on the frontiers of Phocis and Bœotia, on the Crissæan gulph, was probably founded from thence at the time of the Doric migration ^f.

CHAP. III.

Migration of the Dorians into the Peloponnese.

1. The most important, and the most fertile in consequences of all the migrations of Grecian races, and which continued even to the latest periods to exert its influence upon the Greek character, was the expedition of the Dorians into the Peloponnese.

^e Book II. ch. 1. §. 8. ch. 3. §. 5. pare in general with this chapter Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 249.

^f *Orchomenos*, p. 238. Com-

It is however so completely enveloped in fables, and these were formed at a very early period in so connected a manner, that it is of no use to examine it in detail, without first endeavouring to separate the component parts. The traditionary name of this expedition is "*the Return of the descendants of Hercules*." Hercules, the son of Jupiter, is (even in the *Iliad*) both by birth and destiny, the hereditary prince of Tiryns and Mycenæ, and ruler of the surrounding nations^b. But through some evil chance Eurystheus obtained the precedence, and the son of Jupiter was compelled to serve him. Nevertheless he is represented as having bequeathed to his descendants his claims to the dominion of the Peloponnese, which they afterwards made good in conjunction with the Dorians. Hercules having also performed such actions in behalf of this race, that his descendants were always entitled to the possession of one-third of the territory. The heroic life of Hercules was therefore the fabulous title, through which the Dorians were made to appear not as unjustly invading, but merely as reconquering a country which had belonged to their princes in former times. Hence Hercules is reported to have made war with some degree of propriety, and subdued the principal countries of the Doric race (except his native country Argos), Lacedæmon and the Messenian Pylus, to have established the national festival at Olympia, and even to have laid the foundation of the most distant colonies. To esteem as real these conquests and settlements, these fabulous

^a ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδος, Thucydides I. 12. says Δωριεῖς ξίον Ἡρακλειδῶν. Isocrates Ar-

chidam. 6. mentions an oracle, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἵεναι χάραν.

^b XIX. 105.

forerunners of real history, is incompatible with a clear view of these matters; and we could scarce seriously ask even the most credulous, how at a time when sieges were in the highest degree tedious, Hercules could have stormed and taken so many fortresses, surrounded with almost impregnable walls^c?

A severer criticism enjoins us to trace the fabulous narrative to its centre, and attempt to ascertain whether the sovereign race of the Dorians did really spring from the early sovereigns of Mycenæ, since not only the Epic account, but also the tradition countenanced in Sparta itself, declared that such was the fact. Tyrtaeus said in his poem called the Eponomia, "*Jupiter himself had given this territory*" (Laconia) *to the race of Hercules; united with* "*whom we (the Dorians) left the stormy Erineus,*" "*and reached the wide island of Pelops*^d." And a still more important proof is the reply of king Cleomenes, mentioned by Herodotus, who when forbidden by the priestess in the Acropolis of Athens to enter the temple, as being a Dorian, referring to his descent from Hercules, answered "I am no Dorian, but an Achæan."^e From this it would appear that there was amongst the Dorians an Achæan *Phratia*, or subdivision, to which the kings of Argos, Sparta, and

^c See Pausan. VII. 25. 3.

^d Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων, καλλιστιφάνου πάσις Ἡρῆς,

Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τῇνδε δίδωκε πόλιν.
Οἷσιν ἈΜΑ στραλίσοντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνιμό-
εντα,

Εὐρεΐαν Πίλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

τῇνδε πόλιν is Laconia. *We* means the Dorians: Erineus the Tetrapolis. Strabo VIII. p. 362. has not correctly understood and applied these verses (see below, note to ch. 7. §. 10.)

Brunck is more correct; see Lect. ad Anal. vol. III. p. 8. Manso Sparta, I. 2. p. 284. Clavier, Hist. II. p. 236. Frank Callinus p. 147. has only made greater confusion. Tyrtaeus also calls the Dorians generally Ἡρακλῆος γένος, whence Plutarch. de Nobil. 2. p. 388.

^e Herodot. V. 72. According to VI. 53. he might also have said, "I am an Egyptian."

Messenia, and the founders and rulers of Corinth, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Ægina, Rhodes, Cos, &c. belonged; which in conjunction with the Dorians only recovered by conquest its hereditary rights^f.

2. It is certainly hazardous at once to reject an extensive and connected system of heroic traditions, for the sake of establishing in its place a conjecture which sacrifices reports recognised by ages prior to historical information, and celebrated by the earliest poets, to a mere theory of historical probability. We must however recollect that fabulous legends present in general merely the views and opinions of nations on the origin of their actual condition; these opinions being at the same time more often directed and determined by religious and other notions, especially by a certain feeling of justice, than by real tradition, and therefore they frequently conceal, rather than express historical truth. The following remarks, partly deduced from inquiries which will follow, may serve to contrast with each other the characteristics of history and fable.

In the first place, if we consider the narrative in question as a plain historical statement, and consequently suppose the Heraclidæ to have been expatriated Achæans, the same supposition must be extended to the whole tribe of Hylleans. For Hyllus, the representative of the Hylleans, is called the son of Hercules; and it was with reference to that tribe that the third part of the territory was secured to the descendants of Hercules: hence also Pindar calls

^f A similar idea is entertained by Plato in his *Laws*, III. p. 682. viz. that the Dorians were properly Achæans, expelled from their own country after the Trojan war, and afterwards collected and brought back by one Dorieus.

the Dorians universally the *descendants of Hercules and Ægimius* ^s. In this case then the Pamphylians and Dymanes would alone remain as Dorians proper. It is however by no means probable, that, if the most distinguished part of the Doric people had been of Achæan descent, the difference between the language, religion, and customs of these two nations would have been so strongly and precisely marked.

In the second place, every thing that is related concerning the exploits of Hercules in the north of Greece refers exclusively to the history of the Dorians; and conversely all the actions of the Doric race in their earlier settlements are fabulously represented under the person of Hercules. Now this cannot be accounted for by supposing that there was only a temporary connexion between this hero and the Doric race.

Lastly, if we compare as much of the fables concerning Hercules related below, as refers to the Dorians, with those current among the ancient Argives, and if we separate in mind the links by which the Epic poets gave them an apparent historical connexion, we shall find no real resemblance between the two. The worship of Apollo, which can in almost every case be shewn to have been the real motive which actuated the Dorians, was wholly foreign to the Argives. If then an Achæan tribe did arrive amongst the Dorians, bringing with it the story of Hercules, or a hero so called, this latter people must have applied and developed his mythology in a man-

^s Pind. Pyth. V. 70. In Pyth. I. 61. he calls them descendants of Pamphylus and the Heraclidæ, not mentioning Dymas.

Compare the fragment of the Ἰσθμιοῦνται, ὅλλου στρατὸς Δωριεύς.

ner wholly different from those to whom they owed it. And after all, we should be obliged to suppose that long before their irruption into the Peloponnese, these Heraclidæ had been so intermixed with the Dorians, that their traditions were formed entirely according to the disposition of that race, since Hercules in Thessaly is represented as a complete Dorian. Here however we are again at variance with the fable, which represents the Heraclidæ as having fled to the Dorians a short time only before their entry into the Peloponnese.

Thus we are continually met with contradictions, and never enabled to obtain a clear view of the question, unless we assent to the proposition that Hercules, from a very remote period, was both a Dorian and Peloponnesian hero, and particularly the hero of the Hyllean tribe, which in the earliest settlements of the Dorians had probably united itself with two other small nations, the Heraclidæ being the hereditary princes of the Doric race. The story of the Heraclidæ being descended from the Argive Hercules, who performed the commands of Eurystheus, was not invented till after the Peloponnese had been introduced into the tradition.

3. There is hardly any part of the traditional history of Greece, whose real sources are so little known to us, as the expedition of the Heraclidæ. No one can fail to perceive that it possesses the same fabulous character as the Trojan war; and yet we are deprived of that which renders the examination of a fabulous narrative so instructive, viz. the traditional lore scattered in such abundance throughout the ancient Epic poems. This event however, early as it was, lay without the range of the Epic poetry:

and therefore whenever circumstances connected with it were mentioned, they must have been introduced either accidentally or in reference to some other subject. In no one large class of Epic poems was this event treated at length, neither by the Cyclic poets, nor the authors of the *Νόστοι*. In the *Ῥοῖαι* attributed to Hesiod, it appears only to have been alluded to in a few short passages^b. Herodotus nevertheless mentions poets who related the migration of the Heraclidæ and Dorians into Laconiaⁱ. Perhaps these belonged to the class who carried on the mythological fables genealogically, as Cinaethon the Laconian^k, and also Asius, who celebrated the descent of Hercules; and from the character of his poems it is probable that he also commemorated his descendants^l. Or they may have been the *historical poets* (*ποιητὰὶ ἱστορικοὶ*), such as Eumelus the Corinthian, although those alluded to by Herodotus cannot have composed a separate poetical history (as the former did of Corinth); since they would doubtless have followed the national tradition of Sparta; and this, with respect to the first princes of the Heraclidæ, differed from the accounts of all the poets with which Herodotus was acquainted, and was not

^b See Pausan. IV. 2. 1. There are two other passages in Hesiod referring to the expedition of the Heraclidæ. Schol. Apollon. I. 124.

Θισσέμενος γινὴν Κλεοδαίου πυθλίμει,
the connection of which is very obscure, and in Schol. to Pind. Olymp. XI. 79. *e cod. Vratisl.*

*Τιμάνδρην Ἐχμὸς θαλιχὴν ποήσατ' ἀποι-
σιν.*

From this passage Apollod. III. 10. 6. Pausan. VIII. 5. 1. draw their materials. This however might also occur among the actions of Hercules, particularly at the first Olympian festival, as may be seen from Pindar.

ⁱ VI. 52.

^k Appendix V.

^l Compare Pausan. IV. 2. 1. with V. 17. 4. and Valckenar. Diatrib. Eurip. pp. 58, 59.

the general tradition of Greece^m. And doubtless many such local traditions were preserved amongst particular nations, concerning an event which for a long time determined the condition of the Peloponnese. Thus the Tegeatansⁿ celebrated the combat of Echemus their general with Hyllus. Whether the early historians (λογόγραφοι) themselves collected these accounts from oral record, or whether they derived them from the poets above mentioned (although the latter is more in their manner), cannot, on account of the scantiness of our information, be determined; for there are only extant two fragments concerning the Heraclidæ, one of Hecataeus, the other of Pherecydes, which connect immediately with the death of Hercules, and therefore do not prove that these authors wrote any continuous account of the history of this migration. The early tradition received a fuller developement in the Attic drama; but it was unavoidably represented in a very partial view. The Heraclidæ of Æschylus, and the Iolaus of Sophocles might, like the Heraclidæ of Euripides, have had on the whole the tendency to celebrate those merits which the Athenians are made to commend in Herodotus^o, even before the battle of Plataea; viz. their good offices towards the Heraclidæ, at the time when they took refuge in Attica. The last named tragedian in his Temenidæ, Arche-

^m Herod. ubi sup. et c. 51. Wesseling misinterprets the first passage; its purport is, "*The Lacedæmonians give a different account from all the poets, who make Eurysthenes and Procles first come to Sparta.*" Schweighæuser does

not see the exact meaning of the second; the sense is, "*So far is the national tradition of the Lacedæmonians; in what follows, I relate the common tradition of Greece.*"

ⁿ Herodot. IX. 26.

^o IX. 26.

laus and Cresphontes went further into the history of the Doric states, and descended lower into the historical period than any poet before his time; his reason having perhaps been, the exhaustion of the legitimate fabulous materials^p. Now these Attic tragedians manifestly took for their basis the narrative given by Apollodorus, himself an Athenian, as may be shewn by some particular circumstances. Perhaps Ephorus rested more upon the earlier poets and historians, as far as we are acquainted with their statements; but his narrative, even if it were extant, could, no more than those of the former, be considered as proceeding from a critical examination; since in the first place, from a total misapprehension of the character of tradition, he forced every thing into history, and then endeavoured to restore the deficiencies of oral narrative by probable reasoning; of the fallaciousness of which method we will bring forward some proofs.

4. After what has been said, we will forbear to apologize for merely offering a few remarks on the origin and meaning of the traditions which concern the Doric migration, instead of endeavouring to give a history of that event. And indeed we might bring forward some most marvellous legends, but on that very account the better fitted to convince every one what is the nature of the ground on which we stand.

In the *Ῥοῖαι* attributed to Hesiod, it was stated that Polycaon the son of Butes, whose name represents the ancient (i. e. Lelegean) population of Messene, married Euæchme (*Εὐαίχμη*, viz. *celebrated*

^p In general the Tragic poets successively descend, according to their age, to a later date of mythological history.

for the spear) the daughter of Hyllus, and granddaughter of Hercules. In this simple and unpretending manner the early tradition conveyed the idea that the Hylleans and Dorians had, by the power of the spear, made themselves masters of Messene, and united themselves with the original inhabitants⁹.

In the Laconian village of Abia, there was a temple of Hercules, which was said to have been built by Abia the nurse of Glenus, the brother of Hyllus¹. It was therefore supposed that Hyllus and Glenus themselves came to Laconia. Pausanias endeavours to reconcile the local tradition with the received history, and assumes that Abia had fled hither after the death of Hyllus; which however is inconsistent with the common account that the Peloponnese was in the hands of the enemy, and that the battle in which Hyllus fell was at the Isthmus. We come now to the common relation of the order of events.

5. According to this account, the Heraclidæ, after the death of their father, were in Trachis with their host Ceyx, who generously protected them for a time; but afterwards, by the threats of Eurystheus, was forced to refuse them any longer refuge; Ceyx, according to Hecataeus², was compelled to say to

⁹ Pausan. IV. 2. 1.

¹ I take this opportunity of renewing the memory of one of these Doric-Heraclide leaders, who has been so far forgotten, that in the passage of Pausanias IV. 30. 1. his name has been driven from the text. It should be thus written from the MSS. Ὑλλου δὲ καὶ Δωριέων μάχῃ κρατηθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀβίαν ΓΑΗΝΟΥ τοῦ Ἡρα-

κλέους τροφὸν ἀποχωρῆσαι λέγουσι, &c. This Glenus occurs as the son of Deianira in Apollod. II. 7. 8. and Schol. Soph. Trachin. 53. Diodorus IV. 37. calls him Gleneus. Pherecydes ap. Schol. Pind. Isth. IV. 104. reckons him among the children of Megara by Hercules.

² Ap. Longin. 27. Creuzer. Fragment. p. 54. Apollodorus II. 8. 1. almost makes it ap-

them, "I have not the power to assist you; withdraw therefore to another nation;" and upon this they sought an asylum in Attica. Those early historians however, who stated that Hercules died as king in Mycenæ, gave an entirely different account of this circumstance; viz. that Eurystheus, after the death of Hercules, expelled his sons, and again usurped the dominion[†], and they fled in consequence to Attica.

At Athens they sat as suppliants at the altar of Pity, received the protection of Theseus or Demophon, dwelt in the Tetrapolis[‡], and fought, together with the Athenians, under the command of Hyllus and Iolaus (to whose prayers the gods had granted a second youth), at the pass of Sciron, a battle against Eurystheus; Macaria (probably an entirely symbolical being, but here the daughter of Hercules) having previously offered herself as an expiatory sacrifice. In this action they conquered the Argive king, whom Alcmene with womanish vengeance put to death, and whose tomb the Athenians shewed before the temple of the Pallenian Minerva[§].

pear that the Heraclidæ had been entertained by Eurystheus; but this does not agree with what precedes. Euripides Heraclid. 13. 195. represents them as flying first from Argos to Trachis, and to Achaia in Thessaly, and then to Athens.

[†] Thus Pherecydes in Antonin. Liber. 33. Sturz (*Fragm.* 50. p. 196.) does not quite understand this passage.

[‡] At Marathon, according to most authors. Diodorus IV. 57. mentions Tricorythus; Compare XII. 45.

[§] The outline of the narra-

tive is furnished by Pherecydes and Herod. IX. 27. the details by Euripides in the Heraclidæ, whose account was influenced by the circumstances of the time (Boeckh. trag. Gr. princ. p. 190). Whether the Heraclidæ of Pamphilus (Aristoph. Plut. 385. Schol. ad l. p. 112. Hemsterh.) was a *tragedy* or a *picture*, was frequently contested by the ancients. The latter appears to be most probable: see Winckelmann and Meyer *Kunstgeschichte*, p. 166. Pamphilus painted the battle of Phlius, one of those which

This is the fable so much celebrated by the tragedians and orators, a *locus communis* as it were, which the Athenians sometimes even mentioned in their decrees^y, or wherever it served to shew how poorly the Peloponnesians had requited their ancient benefactors. What credit a Lacedæmonian would have given to these stories, we know not; Pindar certainly knew nothing of them, for he states that Iolaus had near *Thebes* received a momentary renewal of youthful vigour for the purpose of putting to death Eurystheus, after which he immediately expired, and was buried by the Thebans in the family-tomb of Amphytrion^z. In this account Eu-

took place in the 102d or 103d Olympiad; and it may be fairly supposed that he flourished about Olymp. 97. 4. the year in which the second edition of the *Plutus* was brought forward, and he might have lived to be the master of Apelles, who had obtained great celebrity in the reign of Philip.—Concerning the battle, see Elmsley ad Eur. *Heraclid.* 860.; concerning the death of Eurystheus, Wesseling. ad *Diod.* IV. 57. and Staveren. *Misc. Obs.* vol. X. p. 383. Pallene is between Marathon and Athens; according to Strabo VIII. p. 377. the tomb was at Gargettus on the western coast; according to Pausanias I. 40. in Megaris. Concerning Macaria, see Pausan. I. 32. Schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1148. Zenob. II. 61. and other grammarians in v. βῶλλ' εἰς Μακαρίαν. A totally different tradition is preserved by Duris ap. Schol. Plat. p. 134. Ruhnck. In the above quoted passage of Strabo,

τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν τῇ Κορινθῷ, ἀποκόψαντος αὐτὴν Ἰολάου περὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Μακαρίαν should probably be written ἐν ΤΡΙΚΟΡΥΘῷ; thus in VIII. p. 383. one MS. has Τρικύρυνθος. (In this correction I now find that I was anticipated by Elmsley ad Eurip. *Heracl.* 103.) Heyne indeed (ad *Apollod.* II. 8. 1.) explains ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ of the tomb of Eurystheus in Pausan. I. 44. 14.; but this was in Megaris, and there never was any change in the boundaries of Corinth and Megaris. Heyne also considers the tomb near the temple of the Pallenian Minerva and that at Gargettus as identical; but this is not possible, on account of the situation of the two places. Concerning Gargettus see the article *Attika* in Ersch's *Encyclopædia*, p. 222.

^y Demosth. de Corona, p. 147.

^z It does not follow from Pindar *Pyth.* IX. 82. that Io-

rystheus is represented as having been conquered in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and in consequence by a Theban army. It is not however necessary to esteem the Athenian tradition as altogether groundless, and purposely invented: the greater probability is, that it was founded on some actual event, and afterwards modified and embellished. The connecting link was without doubt the temple of Hercules in Attica; it was natural that if the Athenians worshipped that hero, they should wish to have had the merit of protecting his descendants. Hence the sons of Hercules were said to have dwelt in the Tetrapolis at Marathon, where was the chief temple of Hercules in Attica, and in the neighbourhood of which flowed the fountain Macaria, represented as a daughter of that hero. It was on this account, as is reported, that the entire Tetrapolis was during the Peloponnesian war spared by the Lacedæmonians. Many circumstances which will hereafter be brought forward, seem to shew that an union and intercourse subsisted between the Dorians of the Peloponnese, and some of the northern boroughs of Attica^a, the foundation of which appears to have been laid in the times of the Doric migration, by a settlement of Dorians and Bœotians in these towns. But this settlement had doubtless, when those fables were invented, been already lost in the mass of the Athenian people.

6. After this battle, won by the aid of the Athenians, the Heraclidæ are said (and with good reason,

laus was restored to life, which must have been alluded to elsewhere. I follow the second Scholiast, *ἡβήσατο δὲ τῶ Διὶ ἐπὶ*

μὲν ὥραν ἡβήσας, &c. Compare Ovid. Met. IX. 408.

^a See book II. ch. 11. §. 10.

as they were assisted by the Athenians) to have obtained possession of the whole Peloponnese, and to have ruled undisturbed for one year (or some fixed period), at the expiration of which a pestilence (like a tragical catastrophe) drove them back again to Attica. The mythologists make use of this time to send Tlepolemus the Heraclide to Rhodes, in order that he may arrive there before the Trojan war. Of all this however Pherecydes could have known nothing, as he relates that Hyllus, having conquered Eurystheus, went to Thebes^b without subduing the Peloponnese, and there with the other Heraclidæ formed a settlement near the gate of Electra, a circumstance which we shall advert to hereafter^c. In the Peloponnese however, according to the traditions chronologically arranged, Eurystheus was succeeded by the Pelopidæ, who accordingly appear as the expellers of the legitimate sovereigns of the race of Perseus^d; whether however any such circumstance was known to the early poets, is very much to be doubted; thus much at least is clear, that in this case we are not in possession of the real tradition itself, but of scientific combinations of it. Against these new sovereigns were directed the expeditions of the Heraclidæ, of which it is generally stated that there were three. The account given of them follows the general idea of an entire dependance of the Dorians on the Delphian oracle^e; but the miscon-

^b Ap. Antonin. Lib. 33. There is also a trace of another tradition in Apostolius XVIII. 7.

^c See book II. ch. 11. §. 7.

^d Thus also Thucyd. I. 9. Plat. Leg. III. p. 686. In Schol. Eurip. Orest. 5. write αἰοὶς μὲν (the Atridæ) ἀποστῆναι Λακεδαι-

μονος, τοὺς δὲ ΠΕΡΣΕΙΔΑΣ βασιλεύσαι. Polyænus I. 10. is singular in mentioning Eurysthidæ in Sparta at the time of the migration.

^e See particularly Plato *ubi sup.*

ception of its injunctions, which embarrasses and perplexes the whole question, may, we think, be attributed entirely to the invention of the Athenians. The oracle mentioned the *third fruit*, and the *narrow passage by sea* (στενυγρὰ) as the time and way of the promised return, which the Athenians falsely interpreted to mean the third *year*, and the *Isthmus of Corinth*. But the account given in Apollodorus, nearly falling into Iambic or Trochaic metre, leaves no doubt that he took his account of the oracle from the Attic tragedians^f, as was remarked above. Deceived by these predictions Hyllus forced his way into the Peloponnese in the third year, and found at the Isthmus the Arcadians, Ionians, and Achæans of the Peninsula already assembled. In a single combat with Echemus the son of Aëropus, the prince of Tegea, Hyllus fell, and was buried in Megara; upon which the Heraclidæ promised not to renew the attempt for fifty, or one hundred years from that time^g. Here every one will recognise the battle of the Tegeate with the Hyllean as an ancient tradition. But in the arrangement, by which it was contrived that the expeditions of the Heraclidæ should not be placed during the Trojan war and the youth of Orestes, we do not hesitate to suspect the industry of ancient systematic mythologists.

^f Apollod. II. 8. 2. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀντίπε τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι τοὺς γὰρ χρησμοὺς οὐ συμβάλλειν λέγειν γὰρ οὐ γῆς ἀλλὰ γενεᾶς καρπὸν τρίτον καὶ στενυγρὰν τὴν εὐρυγιάστορα, δεξίαν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν. With the word εὐρυγιάστορα compare κύτους κοιλαγιάστορος, Æschyl. Theb. 478. and 1026. In

later times however these oracles were put into an epic form, as may be seen from Ctenomachus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. 20.

^g See Herod. IX. 26. Pausan. I. 41. 3. I. 44. VIII. 5. 1. VIII. 45. 2. Diod. IV. 58. Schol. Pind. Olymp. X. 80. Van Staveren Misc. Observ. X. 3. p. 385.

7. When the Heraclidæ had been once separated from the Dorians as belonging to a different race, and Hyllus set down as only the adopted son of the Doric king, it immediately became a matter of doubt at what time the junction of the Dorians and Heraclidæ in one expedition should be fixed. Sometimes the Dorians are represented as joining the Heraclidæ before the first, sometimes before the second, sometimes before the third expedition; by one writer as setting out from Hestiaeotis, and by another from Parnassus^b. There were doubtless no real traditional grounds for any one report, and still less any sufficient to place the name Hyllus, and the events connected with it, at any fixed epoch. Hence also Hyllus is at one time called the contemporary of Atreus, and at another of Orestes^c; Pamphylus and Dymas are stated to have lived from the time of Hercules to the conquest of the Peloponnese^d. Nor is there any absurdity in this, inasmuch as they are the collective names of races which existed throughout this whole period. The descendants of Hyllus however are no longer races, but, as it appears, real individuals, viz. his son Cleodæus^e, and his grandson Aristomachus. These names stood at the head of the genealogy of the Heraclidæ; i. e. of the kings of Sparta; and they can hardly have been mere

^b Pausan. VIII. 5. Apollod. II. 7. 7. Diod. IV. 58. Strabo IV. p. 427 C. Isocrat. Archidam. 6. τελευτήσαντος Εὐρυπύχου.

^c Manso, History of Sparta, vol. I. p. 61.

^d Apollod. II. 8. 3. In Pausan. II. 28. 3. Orsobia, a daughter of Deiphontes of Epidaurus, is the wife of Pamphylus.

^e He was mentioned by Hesiod; see above, p. 58. note ^b. A different genealogy is given by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 804. viz. that Cleodæus was the son of Hyllus, the brother of Lichas and Ceyx, the wife of a certain Peridea, and the father of Temenus.

creations of fancy. From their succession is probably calculated the celebrated epoch of the expedition of the Heraclidæ, viz. 80 years after the Trojan war, which was without doubt determined by the early historians, since Thucydides was acquainted with it. The Alexandrians generally adopted it, as we know expressly of Eratosthenes, Crates, and Apollodorus^m. But all that is recounted of the expeditions of these two princes, however small in amountⁿ, cannot have been acknowledged by those who, like Herodotus, and probably all the early writers, stated the armistice after the death of Hylus as lasting 100 years^o.

8. At length Apollo himself opens the eyes of the Heraclidæ to the meaning of the oracle. It was not across the *Isthmus*, but over the *Straits of Rhium* that they were to cross into the Peloponnese, and after the third *generation* had died away. They therefore first sailed from Naupactus, to the Molycrian promontory (Antirrhium), and thence to Rhium in the Peloponnese, which was only five stadia distant^p. That the Dorians actually came on that side into the Peloponnese, is a statement which may be looked on as certain; agreeing (as it does) with the fact that the countries near the Isthmus were the last to which the Dorians penetrated. The name *Naupactus* implies the existence of ship-building there in early times^q, and there was a tradition that

^m See Crates ap. Tatian. cont. Græcos, p. 107. ed. Oxf. Interpret. ad Vellei. I. 1.

ⁿ See particularly CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. 20. and concerning the second see Apollod. II. 8. 2. Pausan. II. 7.

^o Isocrates Archidam. 6. only

supposes one expedition.

^p Pausan. V. 3. Eusebius *ubi sup.* Polyæn. I. 9. Compare Heyne ad Apollod. p. 208.

^q See Strab. IX. p. 427. Ephorus, p. 105. ed. Marx. Compare Stephanus and Suidas in Ναύπакτος.

the Heraclidæ passed over on rafts, imitations of which were afterwards publicly exposed at a festival, and called Στεμματιαῖα, i. e. *crowned with garlands* *. This festival was doubtless the Carnea, since the Carnean Apollo was worshipped at Sparta under the name of *Stemmatias*. Now it is also stated that the Arcanian soothsayer Carnus (who was reported to have founded the worship of the Carnean Apollo) was killed at the time of this expedition by Hippotes the son of Phylas, for which reason the Heraclidæ offered expiatory sacrifices to his memory †. We see from this that some rites of a peculiar worship of Apollo were observed at this passage, which were probably for the most part of an expiatory nature. Now I have already shewn in a former work, and in treating of the religion of Apollo will give additional proofs, that the Carnean or Hyacinthian worship of the Ægidæ originated at Thebes, and prevailed in the Peloponnese before the arrival of the Dorians, particularly at Amyclæ ‡.

* Bekk. Anecd. Græc. p. 305. 31. στεμματιαῖον. μίμημα τῶν σχεδίων αἷς ἐπλευσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τὰς μεταξὺ τῶν Ῥίων τόπον. Hesychius, στεμματιαῖον. δίκηλόν τι ἐν ἑορτῇ πομπῶν δαιμόνων (as should be read for δαίμονος, rather than πομπῶν for πομπῶν with Siebelis ad Pausan. III. 20. 9). Δίκηλον is explained by Hesychius to be a Lacedæmonian word for "statue." These πομπῆες δαίμονες, the "conducting deities," were probably Jupiter Agetor (book III. ch. 12. §. 5.) and the Carnean Apollo: and their festival doubtless was connected with the Carnea. At

this solemnity then (as it seems) a boat was carried round, and upon it a statue of the Carnean Apollo (Ἀπόλλων στεμματίας), both adorned with lustratory garlands, called δίκηλον στεμματιαῖον, in allusion to the passage from Naupactus. Compare book II. ch. 3. §. 1. ch. 8. §. 15.

† Paus. III. 20. 9. See *Orchomenos*, p. 333. To the passages there quoted may be added Etymol. in v. Ἀλήτης εἰρηται, ὅτι ὁ Ἰσπότης διὰ τὸν Κάρνιδος (Κάρνον) θάνατον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡρακλείδων ἐκβληθεὶς καὶ λεγόμενος ἔσχεν αὐτόν.

‡ See book II. ch. 8. §. 15.

consequently, that prevalent near the straits of Naupactus might have been another, probably an Acarnanian^u branch of the religion of Apollo, which was afterwards incorporated in the Carnean festival; a supposition which, if admitted, would enable us to explain many statements of ancient authors. The religious rites and festivals are in fact often so intermingled and confused together, that it is necessary to trace their component parts to many and distant sources.

9. A most singular, but doubtless for that very reason a most ancient dress, has been given by mythology to the union of the Dorians and Ætolians. This connection, which was indispensable for the passage from Naupactus, (since by embarking here they necessarily passed near Calydon,) is also found implied in other legends, the general character of tradition being to express the same thing in various ways. Of these we may mention the marriage of Hercules with Deianira, the daughter of Æneus the Calydonian^x. At this time the Dorians were ordered by the oracle to seek a person with three eyes for a leader. This person they recognised in Oxylus the Ætolian, who either sat upon a horse, himself having one eye, or rode upon a one-eyed mule. Difficult as it is to rest satisfied with this interpretation of the oracle, so casual a circumstance having no connection with the general course of events, yet it appears impossible to discover the

^u There were in later times Acarnanian soothsayers at Thermopylae, Herod. VIII. 221. in the case of Pisistratus, and elsewhere.

^x And of Pleuron with Xanthippe the daughter of Dorus, Apollod. I. 7. 7. although Ætolus is also represented as killing Dorus the son of Apollo.

true meaning of the word *τρίοφθαλμος*⁷. In all probability this expression for the whole Ætolian race was only delivered in a fabulous shape, and the sorry explanation was not invented until a late period⁸. The family of Oxylus is stated to have come from Calydon; so that the Ætolians (who in later times made themselves masters of Elis) appear to have come for the most part from that place⁹. There existed however an ancient alliance and affinity between the inhabitants of Elis, the Epeans, and the Ætolians who dwelt on the farther side of the Corinthian gulf; and Oxylus himself was said to have originally belonged to Elis¹⁰; hence there does not appear to have been any actual war between these two states, but only that the Ætolians were received by the Eleans, and admitted to the rights of citizenship¹¹; and at the same time the same honours were permitted to the heroes and heroines of the Ætolians as to their own¹².

10. The systematized tradition next makes mention of a battle which took place between the united force of the Peloponnese, under the command of Tisamenus, the grandson of Agamemnon, and the sons

⁷ Perhaps the Ætolians had from early times worshipped the three-eyed Jupiter (*Ζεὺς τρίοφθαλμος*), which Sthenelus the Ætolian brought from Troy, according to Pausanias II. 24. 5.

⁸ Oxylus is said to have contracted an alliance with the Heraclidæ in the island of Sphacteria (Steph. Byzant.); but this story is probably founded merely on the etymology of the name Sphacteria.

⁹ As also Pausanias, V. 1. says.

¹⁰ Pausan. *ubi sup.* Strabo X. p. 463. Compare II. ψ, 630.

¹¹ This is the representation given by Pausanias V. 4. 1. ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ τῆς χώρας.

¹² Pausan. V. 15. 7. Concerning the Tyrrhenians who accompanied them, see *Orcho-menos*, p. 443. note 3. together with Pausan. II. 31. 3. Of the Thebans, who are said to have joined under Antesion, see a detailed account in the same place.

of Aristomachus; in which the latter were victorious, and the Peloponnese fell into their possession. According as it suits the object of the narrator, this engagement is either represented to have been both by sea and land, and to have taken place at the passage^c, or after the march through Arcadia. We may fairly suppose that it was assumed merely on probable grounds that a battle *must* have been fought by Tisamenus, whom the tradition represented as prince of the Achæans at the capture of Ægialea^f. Many traditions agree in stating that the Heraclidæ at that time took the road through Arcadia; Oxylus is said to have led them by this way, that they might not be envious of his fertile territory of Elis^g; Cresphontes is moreover stated to have been the brother-in-law of Cypselus king of Arcadia, who had his royal seat at Basilis, on the Alpheus, in the country of the Parrhasians^h.

11. Next comes the division of the Peloponnese among the three brothers Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodamus, or his sons. We have to thank

^c As, e. g., Apollodorus evidently.

^f The name of Tisamenus, as an epithet of his father (τισάμενος), corresponds to Eury-saces the son of Ajax, Telemachus and Ptoliporthus of Ulysses, Astyanax of Hector, Nicostratus the youngest son of Menelaus according to Hesiod, Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, Metanastes the son of Archander, Aletes of Hippotes; but it cannot be inferred from this that it was mere fiction, since this method of giving names existed in historic

times (Polyæn. VI. 1. 6.) even in the royal family of Macedonia. See also what Plutarch de Malignit. Herodot. 39. says on the names of the children of Adeimantus the Corinthian.

^g Pausan. V. 4. 1. See below, ch. 7. §. 6. note.

^h Pausan. VIII. 29. 4. It is related as a stratagem of Cypselus by Polyænus I. 7. Perhaps *Cypsela*, a fort in Parrhasia, near Sciritis in Laconia, is the same as Basilis, Thucyd. V. 33. It would not however be very accurate to say of Basilis that it lies ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι.

the Tragedians alone for the invention and embellishment of this fable¹; that it contains little or no truth is at once evident; for it was not till long after this time that the Dorians possessed the larger part of the Peloponnese^k; and a division of lands not yet conquered is without example in Grecian history. At the same time it is related, that upon the altars, whereon the brothers sacrificed to their grandfather Jupiter, there was found a frog for Argos, a snake for Sparta, and a fox for Messenia. It seems however probable that these are mere symbols, by which the inventors (perhaps the hostile Athenians) attempted to represent the character of those nations. For it cannot be supposed that national arms or ensigns are meant; unless indeed we give credit to the pretended discovery of Fourmont, who affirms that he found in the temple of the Amyclæan Apollo a shield with the inscription of Taleclus as general (βάγης), with a snake in the middle; and another of Anaxidamus, with a snake and two foxes^l. But he has represented the shield of so extraordinary a form, with sharp ends, and indentures on the sides, that the fraud is at once open to detection; and consequently the supposition

¹ See *Æginetica*, p. 39. note ^a, and Euripides ap. Strab. VIII. p. 366. Sophocl. *Aj.* 1287. (comp. Suidas in v. δραπετης), Hesychius in ἀνατομή and καταβολή.—Plato *Leg.* III. p. 686. Apollodorus, *Polyæn.* I. 6. The vase in Tischbein I. 7. represents an ἀγών ὑδροφορικὸς, and not this casting of lots, as Italinsky supposes. The same group indeed sometimes occurs on gems armed (*Gemmae*

Florentinae, tom. II. tab. 29. compare Winckelmann *Monum.* ined. n. 164. vol. III. of his works, p. xxvii.); but I believe that an ἀγών ὑδροφορικὸς is equally meant, as e. g. that of the Argonauts in Apollon. *Rhod.* IV. 1767, since the expedition of the Heraclidæ, early as it was, was not one of the usual subjects of art.

^k See below, ch. 5.

^l Boeckh *Inscr.* I. p. 81, 82.

that the snake was the armorial bearing of Sparta remains entirely unfounded ^m.

12. Although we cannot here give a complete account of the great revolutions which the irruption of the Dorians universally produced in the condition of the different races of Greece ⁿ, it may nevertheless be remarked, that a very large portion of the Achæans, who originally came from Phthia, retired to the northern coast of the Peloponnese, and compelled the Ionians to pass over to Attica. The reduction of the principal fortress of this country, the Posidonian Helice, is ascribed to Tisamenus; and that Helice was in fact the abode of the most distinguished families of the Achæan nation is evident from the legend, that Oxylus the Ætolian, at the command of the oracle, shared the dominion with Agorius, a Pelopide, who was descended from Penthilus the son of Orestes, and dwelt at Helice ^o. The chronological difficulty of Oxylus being called the cotemporary of a grandson of Penthilus is not of much importance. At Helice was also shewn the tomb of Tisamenus, whose supposed ashes the Spartans (doubtless with the idea of thus making

^m In an oracle preserved by Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 24. p. 289. the Spartans are called *ὀφιοβόροι*. The word of the oracle itself doubtless was *ὀφιοδερκοί* (*ὀπιφίοδερκοί*), as in Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. 23. which however might have been explained to have the same meaning as the former word, viz. "*drawing back the skin of serpents in order to eat them.*" The frog was the emblem of the Argives, as never coming out of their hole,

compare ch. 8. §. 7.

ⁿ Isocrates Panath. 99. says far too generally, *μάχη δὲ νικήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἡττηθέντας ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξέβαλον*, which he afterwards modifies considerably.

^o V. 4. 2. An Achæan from Helice occurs as the cotemporary of Hercules in Theocrit. XXV. 165.; a greater inconsistency with the received chronology than poets usually permit themselves.

amends for the injustice of his expulsion) afterwards brought to their city, as they also did the corpse of Orestes at Tegea^p. But hereupon follows a series of migrations to Æolis in Asia, which was founded in later times, in which the numbers of the Achæan race predominated. Although Orestes is called a leader of the first expedition^q, he probably is only put for his descendants: Penthilus also is perhaps put only for that part of his descendants who went with the colony to Lesbos and Æolis. For all the Penthilidæ did not go; we find indeed Penthilidæ in Mytilene^r; and others at Helice, as we have just seen. Pisander, a Laconian Achæan, is also mentioned as having gone with the expedition of Orestes; and there were men of his family in Tenedos at the time of Pindar^s.

CHAP. IV.

The geography and early inhabitants of the Peloponnese.

1. So wonderful is the physical organization of Greece, that each of its parts has received its peculiar destination and a distinct character; it is like a body whose members are different in form, but between which a mutual connection and dependance necessarily exists. The northern districts as far as Thessaly are the nutritive organs, which from time to time introduced fresh and vigorous supplies; as we approach the south, its structure assumes a more marked and decided form, and is impressed with

^p Pausan. VII. 1.

^q *Orchomenos*, pp. 398. 477.

^r Aristot. *Pol.* V. 8. accord-

ing to the most probable reading.

^s Pind. *Nem.* XI. 32.

more peculiar features. Attica and the islands may be considered as extremities, which, as it were, served as the active instruments for the body of Greece, and by which it was kept in constant connection with others; while the Peloponnese, on the other hand, seems formed for a state of life, included in itself, occupied more with its own than external concerns, and whose interests and feelings centred in itself. As it was the extremity of Greece, there also appeared to be an end set by nature to all change of place and habitation; and hence the character of the Peloponnesians was firm, steady, and exclusive. With good reason therefore was the region where these principles predominated considered by the Greeks as the centre and acropolis^t of their countries; and those who possessed it were universally acknowledged to rank as first in Greece.

2. This character of the Peloponnese will become more evident, if we examine the peculiar nature of its mountain-chains. Though the Isthmus of Corinth connected the peninsula with the continent by a narrow neck of land, yet it was not traversed in its whole length by any continuous chain of mountains; the Cænean hills being entirely separated from the mountains of the Peloponnese^u. The principal elevations in the Peloponnese form very nearly a circle, the circumference of which passes

The area of the Peloponnese is equal, according to my map, to 385 German geographical square miles, without the islands ($385 \times 16 = 6160$ English geographical square miles).

^t The Peloponnese is called the ἀκρόπολις γῆς in Phlegon de Olymp. p. 129. in Meurs.

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^u As Pouqueville several times remarks. The mountain-chains are more connected by the Cænean promontory, and the mountains running westward from Sicyon and joining mount Cyllene.

over the mountains of Pholoë, Lampe, Aroanius, Cyllene, Artemisium, Parthenium, and Parnon; then over Boreum, and from thence up to the northern rise of mount Taygetus, and finally over mount Lycaon along the river Alpheus. The highest ridge appears to be that part of Cyllene which looks to Parnon; Cyllene measures, according to the most exact statement, nine stadia wanting 80 feet ², i. e. 5320 Grecian feet, a considerable height, when it is remembered that the sea is near, and that the Peloponnese is the last link of the great chain, which runs down from the north of Macedonia. But the eastern plains also, for instance that of Tegea, are at a great height above the sea, and are often covered with snow late in the spring³. Now from the circle of mountains which has been pointed out, all the rivers of any note take their rise; and from it all the mountainous ranges diverge, which form the many headlands and points of the Peloponnese. The interior part of the country however has only one opening towards the western sea, through which all its waters flow out united in the Alpheus. The peculiar character of this inland tract is also increased by the circumstance of its being intersected by some lower secondary chains of hills, which compel the waters of the valleys nearest to the great chains either to form lakes, or to seek a vent by subterraneous passages⁴. Hence it is that

² Apollodorus ap. Steph. Byz. (p. 400. Heyn.) Eustath. Hom. p. 1951. 15.

³ Holland in Walpole's Travels, p. 426.

⁴ Aristot. Meteorol. I. 13. ὅτι δ' εἰσὶ τοιαῦτα φάραγγες καὶ δια-

στάσεις τῆς γῆς, δηλοῦσιν οἱ κατα-
πνόμενοι τῶν ποταμῶν. συμβαίνει
δὲ τοῦτο πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς, οἷον τῆς
μὲν Πελοποννήσου πλείστα τοιαῦτα
περὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ἐστίν, αἷτιον δὲ
τὸ ὀρεῖναι οὐσαν μὴ ἔχειν ἐκροὰς ἐκ
τῶν κοιλίων εἰς θάλατταν.

in the mountainous district in the north-east of the Peloponnese many streams disappear, and again emerge from the earth. This region is *ARCADIA*; a country consisting of ridges of hills and elevated plains, and of deep and narrow valleys, with streams flowing through channels formed by precipitous rocks; a country so manifestly separated by nature from the rest of the Peloponnese, that, although not politically united, it was always considered in the light of a single community. Its climate was extremely cold; the atmosphere dense, particularly in the mountains to the north^z; the effect which this had on the character and dispositions of the inhabitants has been described in a masterly manner by Polybius, who was himself a native of Arcadia.

3. *LACONIA* is formed by two mountain-chains running immediately from Arcadia, and enclosing the river Eurotas, whose source is separated from that of an Arcadian stream by a very trifling elevation. The Eurotas is, for some way below the city of Sparta, a rapid mountain-stream; then, after forming a cascade, it stagnates into a morass; but lower down it passes over a firm soil in a gentle and direct course^x. Near the town of Sparta rocks and hills approach the banks on both sides, and almost entirely shut in the river both above and below the town^y; this enclosed plain is without doubt the "*hollow Lacedæmon*" of Homer^c. Here the

^z See Polybius IV. 21. 1. who particularly mentions Cynætha. Close by was the cold spring of Λούσοι, or Λούσσα; and Sprengel in his translation of Theophrastus, vol. II. p. 383. well corrects in Theophrast. IX. 15. 8. τὸ δὲ κώνειον ἄριστον

περὶ Λούσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροτάτοις τόποις.

^x From the Journal of Fourmount the younger.

^y Polyb. V. 22.

^c According to the interpretation of the Venetian Scholiast and others.

narrowness of the valley, and the heights of Taygetus, projecting above in a lofty parapet, increase the heat of summer, both by concentrating the sunbeams, as it were, into a focus, and by presenting a barrier to the cool sea breezes^d: whilst in winter the cold is doubly violent. The same natural circumstances produce violent storms of rain, and the numerous mountain-torrents frequently cause inundations in the narrow valleys^e. The mountains, although running in connected chains, are yet very much interrupted; their broken and rugged forms were by the ancients attributed to earthquakes^f; one of which caused so great consternation at Sparta a short time before the war with the Helots. The country is not however destitute of plains; that indeed along the lower part of the Eurotas is one of the finest in Greece, stretching towards the south, and protected by mountains from the north wind; moreover, the maritime district, surrounded by rocks from Malea to Epidaurus Limera (Malvasia), is extremely fertile^g. Nor are the valleys on the frontiers of Messenia less productive; towards the promontory of Tanarum however the soil continually becomes harder, dryer, and more ferruginous. The error of supposing that this country was nearly a desert appears from the very large number of its vegetable productions mentioned by Theophrastus and

^d Abaris is said to have appeased a pestilence, which had been occasioned by this heat; Jamblich. in Vit. Pythagor. 19. Compare Apollon. Dyscol. Hist. Mirab. c. 4. p. 9. ed. Meurs.

^e Theophrastus calls Laco-

nia *ροώδης, επομβρος, καὶ ελευε* (de causis pluviae III. 3. 4).

^f *ρωχμοὺς ἀπὸ σεισμῶν ἔχουσα*, Eustath. ad Hom. p. 294. 10. p. 1478. 43. ed. Rom.

^g See Des Mouceaux in Corneille le Bruyn, tom. V. p. 465.

others: Alcman and Theognis also celebrate its wines; vines were planted up to the very summit of mount Taygetus, and laboriously watered from fountains in forests of plane trees^h; the country was in this respect able to provide for its own wants. But the most valuable product, in the estimation of the new inhabitants, was doubtless the iron of the mountainsⁱ. More fortunate still was the situation of the country for purposes of defence, the interior of Laconia being only accessible from Arcadia, Argolis, and Messenia by narrow passes and mountain-roads; and the most fertile part is the least exposed to the inroads of enemies from those quarters: the want of harbours^k likewise contributes to the natural isolation of Laconia from other lands. Euripides has on the whole very successfully seized the peculiar character of the country in the following lines, and contrasted it with the more favoured territory of Messenia^l:

Far spreads Laconia's ample bound,
With high-heaped rocks encompassed round,
The invader's threat despising;
But ill its bare and rugged soil
Rewards the ploughman's painful toil;
Scant harvests there are rising.

^h Alcman ap. Athen. I. p. 31 C. Theognis, v. 879 sq. ed. Bekker.

ⁱ Book III. ch. 2. §. 3. Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 386.

^k Ἀλιμενότης Xenoph. Hell. IV. 8. 7.

^l Strabo VIII. p. 366. περὶ δὲ τῆς φύσεως τῶν τόπων καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνιακῶν, ταῦτα

μὲν ἀποδεκτέον λέγοντος Εὐριπίδου. τὴν γὰρ Λακωνικὴν φησιν ἔχειν πολλὴν μὲν ἄροτον ἐκπονεῖν δ' οὐ ράδιον. Κοιλὴ γὰρ ὄρεσι περίδρομος τραχεῖά τε δυσείσβολός τε πολεμίοις. τὴν δὲ Μεσσηνιακὴν καλλίκαρπον, κατάρρυτον τε μυρίοις νάμασι, καὶ βουσι καὶ ποιμαῖσιν εὖβοτωτάτην, οὗτ' ἐν πνοαῖσι χεΐματος δυσχείμερον, οὗτ' αὖ τε θρίπποις ἡλίου θερμὴν ἄγαν.

While o'er Messenia's beauteous land
Wide-watering streams their arms expand,
Of nature's gifts profuse ;
Bright plenty crowns her smiling plain ;
The fruitful tree, the full-eared grain,
Their richest stores produce.

Large herds her spacious valleys fill,
On many a soft-descending hill
Her flocks unnumbered stray ;
No fierce extreme her climate knows,
Nor chilling frost, nor wintry snows,
Nor dogstar's scorching ray.

For along the banks of the Pamisus (which, notwithstanding the shortness of its course, is one of the broadest rivers in the Peloponnese), down to the Messenian bay, there runs a large and beautiful valley, justly called *Macaria*, or "The Happy," and well worth the artifice by which Cresphontes is said to have obtained it. To the north, more in the direction of Arcadia, lies the plain of Stenyclarus, surrounded by a hilly barrier. The western part of the country is more mountainous, though without any such heights as mount Taygetus ; towards the river Neda, on the frontiers of Arcadia, the country assumes a character of the wildest and most romantic beauty.

4. ARGOLIS is formed by a ridge of hills which branches from mount Cyllene and Parthenium in Arcadia ; and is connected with it by a mountain-chain, very much broken, and abounding in ravines and caverns (hence called Τρητόν)^m ; through which

^m It has been beautifully τε καὶ κοιλáινεται, Strabo VIII. said of this district that ὀφρυνᾷ p. 381.

runs the celebrated *Contoporia*ⁿ, a road cut out, as it were, between walls of rock, connecting Argos with Corinth. By similar passes Cleonæ, Nemea, and Phlius, more to the south, and eastwards Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Epidaurus, were connected together; and this natural division into many small districts had a very considerable effect upon the political state of Argos. The southern part of this chain ends in a plain, at the opening of which, and near the pass just alluded to, was situated Mycenæ, and in a wider part of it the city of Argos. The nature of this anciently cultivated plain is very remarkable; it was, as is evident, gradually formed by the torrents which constantly filled up the bay between the mountains; and hence it was originally little else than fen and morass°. Inachus, "*the stream*," and Melia, the daughter of Oceanus, "*the damp valley*" (where ash trees, *μελίαι*, grow), were called the parents of the ancient Argives; and the epithet "thirsty" (*πολυδίψιον* "Ἄργος,) which is applied to Argos in ancient poems, refers only to the scarcity of spring-water in the neighbourhood of the town. Yet, notwithstanding the rugged nature of the rest of Argolis, there are, both in the interior and near the sea, here and there, small plains, which by the fertility of their soil attract and encourage the husbandman; the south-eastern coast slopes regularly down to the sea. To the north of the mountain-ridge which bounded Argolis, extending from the Isthmus as far as a narrow pass on the bounda-

ⁿ Polybius XVI. 16. 4. places it about west-south-west from Corinth. Comp. Athenæus II. p. 43 E. Pindar Olymp. XI.

30. means the same place.

^o Aristot. Meteor. I. 14. p. 755 C. and Aristides Ægypt. vol. II. p. 351. ed. Jebb.

ries of Achaia, there is a beautiful, and in ancient times highly celebrated plain, in which Corinth and Sicyon were situated^p. With respect to the progress of civilization at Argos, it is important to know that the mountains between that town and Corinth contain copper^q: accordingly in the former town the forging of metals appears to have been early introduced; and hence arose the ancient celebrity of the Argive shields^r. But no precious metal has been ever found in any part of the Peloponnese; a circumstance which greatly tended to direct the attention of its inhabitants to agriculture and war rather than commerce and manufactures.

5. That region which was in later times called *ACHAIA*, is only a narrow tract of land along the coast, lying upon the slope of the northern mountain-range of Arcadia. Hence most of the Achæan cities are situated on hills above the sea, and some few in enclosed valleys. The sources of the numerous streams by which the country is watered lie almost without exception in Arcadia, whose frontiers here reach beyond the water-line.

But the lowest slope of the Peloponnese, and the most gradual inclination to the sea, is on the western side; and it is in this quarter that we find the largest extent of champaign country in the peninsula, which, being surrounded by the chain beginning from mounts Scollis and Pholoë, was hence called the *HOLLOW ELIS*. It was a most happy

^p Athen. V. p. 219 A. Lucian. Icaromenipp. 18. Nav. 20. Liv. XXVII. 31. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 969. Zenobius III. 57.

^q According to Fourmont's

Journal and Gell's Argolis.

^r See Schol. Pind. Olymp. VII. 152. Boeckh Comment. Pind. p. 175. Siebelis ad Pausan. II. 25. 6.

circumstance that these wide plains enjoyed an almost uninterrupted state of peace. Towards the coast the soil becomes sandy; a broad line of sand stretches along the sea nearly as far the Triphylian Pylos, which from this circumstance is so frequently spoken of by Homer as "*the sandy*.*" This tract of country being very little raised above the level of the sea, a number of small lakes or lagoons have been formed, which extend along the greatest part of the coast, and are sometimes connected with one another, sometimes with the sea. Such being the nature of the country, the river Alpheus runs gently between low chains of hills and through small valleys into the sea. Towards the south the country becomes more mountainous, and approaches more to the character of Arcadia.

6. If now we picture to ourselves this singular country before the improvements of art and agriculture, it presents to the mind a very extraordinary appearance. The waters of Arcadia are evidently more calculated to fill up the deep ravines and hollows of that country, or to produce irregular inundations, than to fertilize the soil by quiet and gentle streams. The valleys of Stympalus, Pheneus, Orchomenus, and Caphyæ in Arcadia required canals, dams, &c. before they could be used for the purposes of husbandry. One part of the plain of Argos was carefully drained, in order to prevent it becoming a part of the marshes of Lerna. In the lower part of the course of the Eurotas it was necessary to use some artificial means for confining the river: and that this care was at some time be-

* Elis in general is a χώρα ὑπαμμος according to Theophrastus Hist. Plant. I. 6.

stowed on it, is evident from the remains of quays^t, which give to the river the appearance of a canal. The ancient Nestorian Pylus was situated on a river (Anigrus), which even now, when it overflows, makes the country a very unhealthy place of residence: and no traveller can pass a night at Lerna without danger. Thus in many parts of the Peloponnese it was necessary, not merely for the use of the soil, but even for the sake of health and safety, to regulate nature by the exertions of art. At the present time, from the inactivity of the natives, the inevitable consequence of oppression, so bad an atmosphere prevails in some parts of the country, that, instead of producing, as formerly, a vigorous and healthy race, one sickly generation follows another to the grave. And that improvements of this kind were begun in the earliest periods, is evident from the fact, that the traces of primitive cities are discovered in those very valleys which had most need of human labour^u. This induction is also confirmed by the evidence of many traditions. The scanty accounts respecting the earliest times of Sparta relate, that Myles, the son of the earth-born Lelex, built mills, and ground corn at Alesia; and that he had a son named Eurotas, who conducted the water stagnating in the level plain into the sea by a canal, which was afterwards called by his name^x. Indeed the situation of Sparta seems to imply that the standing water was first drained off^y: nay, even

^t I here follow the Journal of the younger Fourmont, which appears deserving of credit; he also states that he saw iron rings on the blocks of stone.

^u Compare with this *Orcho-menos*, chap. 2.

^x See Schol. Eurip. *Orest.* 626. comp. Manso, *History of Sparta*, vol. I. p. 11.

^y Strabo VIII. p. 363 A.

in later times, it was possible, by stopping the course of the river, to lay most of the country between Sparta and the opposite heights under water².

7. The consideration of these natural circumstances and traditions obliges us to suppose, that the races which were looked on as the ancient inhabitants of the Peloponnese (the Pelasgi in the east and north, and the Leleges in the south and west) were the first who brought the land to that state of cultivation in which it afterwards remained in this and other parts of Greece. And perhaps it was these two nations alone to whom the care of husbandry, cattle, and every thing connected with the products of the soil, belonged through all times and changes. For, in the first place, the numbers of the invading Achæans, Ionians, and afterwards of the Dorians, were very inconsiderable, as compared with the whole population of the Peloponnese; and, secondly, these races conquered the *people* as well as the *country*, and enjoyed an independent and easy life by retaining both in their possession: so that, whatever tribe might obtain the sovereign power, the former nations always constituted the mass of the population. By means of these usurpations, however, agriculture was kept in a constant state of dependance and obscurity, so that we seldom hear of the improvement of the country, which is a necessary part of the husbandman's business. Agriculture was however always followed with great energy and success. For in the time of the Peloponnesian war, when the population of the Peloponnese must have been very great, it produced more corn than it con-

² Polyb. V. 22. 6.

sumed, and there was a constant export from Laconia and Arcadia downwards to the coast of Corinth^a.

8. It is not with any view of founding any calculation upon them, but merely of giving a general idea of the numerical force of a Greek tribe (which many would suppose to be a large nation), that I offer the following remarks. At the flourishing period of the Doric power, about the time of the Persian war, Sparta, which had then conquered Messenia, contained 8000 families, Argos above 6000; while in Sicyon, Corinth, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Ægina the Dorians were not so numerous, the constitution being even more oligarchical in those states. Although in the colonies, where they were less confined by want of sufficient space, and by the severity of the laws, the inhabitants multiplied very rapidly, yet the number of original colonists, as many of them as were Dorians, was very small. Now since in the states of the Peloponnese, even after they had been firmly established, the number of inhabitants, particularly of Dorians, never, from several causes, much increased^b, it seems probable that at the time of their first irruption the whole number of their males was not above 20,000^c. Nor were the earlier settlements of Achæans and Ionians more considerable. For the Ionians, as is evident from their traditions, appear as a military race in Attica, and probably formed, though perhaps together with many families of a different origin, one,

^a Thucyd. I. 120. κατακομὴν τῶν ἀπαύων.

^b See book III. ch. 10. §. 2, 5.

^c Isocrates Panath. 100. says,

that in the most ancient times there were only 2000 Dorians in Sparta; but his statement is too uncertain to found any calculation upon.

and certainly the least, of four tribes (the *ῥπλητες* ^d). The arrival of the Achæans is represented in ancient traditions in the following simple manner; "Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achæus, "having been driven from Phthiotis, came to Argos "and Lacedæmon^e." Their names signify "the "ruler," and "the chief governor." Certainly the Achæans did not come to till the ground; as is also evident from the fact that, when dislodged by the Dorians, and driven to the northern coast, they took possession of Patræ, dwelt only in the town, and did not disperse themselves into the smaller villages^f.

It seems pretty certain that the Dorians migrated together with their wives and children. The Spartans would not have bestowed so much attention as they did on women of a different race; and all the domestic institutions of the Dorians would have been formed in a manner very unlike that which really obtained. This circumstance alone completely distinguishes the migration of the Dorians from that of the Ionians; who, having, according to Herodotus, sailed from Attica without any females, took native Carian women for wives, or rather for slaves, who, according to the same writer, did not even dare to address their husbands by their proper names. And this was probably the case with all the early settlements beyond the sea, since the form of the ancient Greek galley hardly admitted of the transport of women.

9. It would have been less difficult to explain

^d See Boeckh on the four ancient tribes of Attica, *Museum Criticum*, vol. II. p. 608.

^e Pausan. VII. 1. 6, 7.

^f Pausan. VII. 18. 3. book III. ch. 4. §. 8.

by what superiority the Dorians conquered the Peloponnese, had they gained it in open battle: For, since it appears that Homer describes the mode of combat in use among the ancient Achæans, the method of fighting with lines of heavy armed men, drawn up in close and regular order, must have been introduced into the Peloponnese by the Dorians; amongst whom Tyrtæus describes it as established. And it is evident that the chariots and darts of the Homeric heroes could never have prevailed against the charge of a deep and compact body armed with long lances. But it is more difficult still to comprehend how the Dorians could have entered those inaccessible fortifications, of which the Peloponnese was full; since their nation never was skilful in the art of besieging, and main force was here of no avail. How, I ask, did they storm the citadel of Acro-Corinthus, that Gibraltar of the Peloponnese? how the Argive Larissa, and similar fortresses? On these points, however, some accounts have been preserved in regard to the conquest of Argos and Corinth, which, from their agreement with each other, and with the circumstances of the places, must pass as credible historical memorials. From these we learn that the Dorians always endeavoured to fortify some post at a short distance from the ancient strong hold; and from thence ravaged the country by constant incursions, and kept up this system of vexation and petty attack, until the defenders either hazarded a battle, or surrendered their city. Thus at a late period the places were still shewn from whence Te-

¶ Clarke's Travels, II. 2. p. 646, &c.

menus and Aletes had carried on contests of this nature with success^b. And even in historical times this mode of waging war in an enemy's country (called ἐπιτελισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ) was not unfrequently employed against places, which could not be directly attackedⁱ.

CHAP. V.

Successive conquests of the Dorians in the Peloponnese.

1. Before the time of the Dorians, Mycenæ, situated in the higher part of the plain at the extremity of the mountain chain, had doubtless been the most important and distinguished place in Argolis; and Argos, although the seat of the earliest civilization, was dependent upon and inferior to it. At Mycenæ were the Cyclopiæ hall of Eurystheus^k, and the sumptuous palace of Agamemnon; and though, as Thucydides correctly says, the fortified town was of inconsiderable extent, yet it abounded with stupendous and richly carved monuments, whose semibarbarous but artificial splendour formed a striking contrast with the unornamented and simple style introduced after the Doric period^l. The Doric conquerors, on the other hand, did not commence their operations upon fortresses secured alike by nature and art, but advanced into the interior from the coast. For near the sea between Lerna and Nauplia, on the mouth of the Phrixus^m, there was a fortified

^b Below, ch. 5. §. 1 and 8.

ⁱ See Thucyd. I. 122. III. 85. and the example of Decelea.

^k Εὐρυσθέος Κυκλώπια πρόθυρα Pindar. Fragment. Incert. 48. ed. Boeckh.

^l πολυχρυσόιο Μυκήνης, Homer. Compare book IV. ch. 1.

^m Fourmont supposes that he has recognised Temenium in a citadel to the south of Lerna, but it must lie to the north.

place named Temenium, from which Temenus the son of Aristomachus, together with the Dorians, carried on a war with Tisamenus and the Achæans, and probably harassed them by repeated incursions, until they were obliged to hazard an open battle. From thence the Dorians, after severe struggles, made themselves masters of the town of ARGOS^a. It is related in an isolated tradition, that Ergiæus, a descendant of Diomed, stole and delivered to Temenus the Palladium that his ancestor had brought from Troy to Argos, which immediately occasioned the surrender of the city^b. Argos was therefore supposed to have been taken by Temenus himself.

2. The further extension of the Doric power is however attributed not to Temenus, but to his sons; for such the Doric tradition calls Ceisus, Cerynes, Phalces, and Agræus^c. Of these, Ceisus is represented to have governed at Argos, and Phalces to have gone to SICYON. The ancient Meconè or Sicyon had in early times been in the power of the Ionians, and afterwards subject to the Achæans of Argos. The very copious mythology of this ancient city contains symbolical and historical elements of the most various nature: we will only touch upon a

^a See Callimach. *Fragm.* 108. ed. Benti. from Schol. Pind. *Nem.* X. 1. τοῖς μὲν ἀρισκιδῆς εἰδὸς αὐτῆς Διὸς Ἄργος ἔχειν ἰδιὸν περ ὅν λαχόν. ἈΛΛΑ ΓΕΝΕΘΑΗ ΖΗΝΟΣ ΟΠΙΟΣ ΣΚΟΤΗΙ ΤΡΗΧΥΣ ΑΕΘΛΟΣ ΕΟΙ. Concerning the taking of Argos see Polyæn. II. 12.

^b Plutarch. *Qu. Gr.* 48. p. 404. Cf. Schol. Callim. *Pall.* 37.

^c Pausan. II. 28. 3. The names given by Apollodorus

II. 7. 6., viz. Agelaus, Euryphylus, and Callias, are probably from the Temenidæ of Euripides. Ceisus and Phalces are mentioned by Ephorus ap. Strab. VIII. p. 389. Scymn. *Chi.* V. 525 sq. Pausan. II. 6. 4. II. 12. 6. II. 13. 1. Ceisus is also mentioned by Hyginus *Fab.* 124 (where read *Cisus* Temeni filius); but his account is very confused. See *Æginetica*, p. 40.

part of the story immediately preceding the Doric invasion. Phæstus, a son of Hercules, is stated to have been king of Argos before that event; and having gone to Crete, where he founded the town of his name^q, to have been succeeded by his descendants Rhopalus, Hippolytus and Lacestades, the last of whom lived in terms of friendship with Phalces. Between them however Zeuxippus, a son of Apollo, and the nymph Hyllis^r is placed. We here perceive the traces of a connexion between Phæstus in Crete, and the introduction of the worship of Apollo and Hercules; this tradition, however, cannot authorize us to draw any chronological inferences.

3. Whether PHLIUS (situated in a corner of Arcadia, in a beautiful valley, whence arise the four sources of the Asopus^s) was founded from Sicyon or Argos, was a matter of contention between these two towns: the latter simply called Phlias the son of Ceisus^t. This *Phlias* however is nothing else than the country personified, the name being derived from φλέω or φλιδάω, and signifying “damp,” or “abounding in springs,” which appellation was fully merited by the nature of the spot. Hence Phlias was with more reason called the son of Bacchus (Φλεῦς, Φλεών), who loved to dwell in such valleys. There is therefore greater probability in the account of the Sicyonians, that Phalces and Rhegnidas were the founders of the Doric dominion^u; it being moreover easier to force a way to Phliasia from Sicyon

^q Pausan. II. 6. 3. Eustath. ad II. V. p. 520. Stephanus Byzant. says, Φαίστος Ῥοπάλου, Ἡρακλέους παῖδός.

^r Νύμφης Συλλίδος; I conjecture Ὑλλίδος.

^s Fourmont's Journal contains a detailed and accurate account of this river.

^t Pausan. II. 11. 2.

^u Pausan. II. 13. 1. ἐπ' ἀναδασμῷ γῆς.

along the Asopus, than from Argos. It is known that Pythagoras the Samian derived his origin from a certain Hippasus, who had quitted Phlius on that occasion; and the Ionic town of Clazomenæ is said to have been partly founded by some inhabitants of Cleonæ and Phliasia, who had been expelled by the Dorians²; from which two facts we are justified in inferring the existence of a connexion between the early inhabitants of these places, and the Ionians. CLEONÆ, situated in a narrow valley, where the mountains open towards Corinth, and bordering upon Phlius, appears from this account to have been colonized at the same time with that town, but probably from Argos. For we find that the ruling power was there in the hands of the same Heraclide family, of which a branch went from Argos to Epidaureus³.

4. The ACTE, as the northern coast of Argolis, over against Attica was called², was reduced, according to the account of Ephorus, by Deiphontes and Agæus³. The former of these, who was called

² Pausan. *ubi sup.* and VII. 3-5.

³ Pausan. III. 16. 5. *Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνιδος, βασιλεύοντος μὲν ΚΛΕΕΣΤΩΝΑΙΩΝ, τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου.* Since some Doric state must be here meant, ΚΛΕΩΝΑΙΩΝ, the conjecture of Kühn, seems most probable; and all doubt is removed by a comparison of Ælian N. A. XII. 31., where however Thersander is called the son of Cleonymus, not of Agamedidas. Perhaps Pausanias means "Thersander,

"the son of the son of Agamedes."

² Sophocl. *Acris*. ap. Hesych. in *ἀκτίης*. Scymnus Chius 526. from Ephorus, Polyb. V. 91. 8. Conon. 7. Diodor. XII. 43. XV. 32. XVIII. 11. Strab. VIII. p. 389. Ælian. V. H. VI. 1. Plutarch. *Demetr.* 25. Pausan. II. 8. 4. *Ἐπιδαύριοι, καὶ Τροιζήνιοι, οἱ τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἀκτὴν ἔχοντες.* It is different from the *Ἀργολικὸς κόλπος*, which is the south coast.

³ Concerning these doubtful names (*Ἀγαῖος*, *Ἀγαῖος*), see

a descendant of Ctesippus, and son-in-law of Temenus, and whose fortunes afforded materials for the tragic poets, made himself master of the town of EPIDAUROS, and dislodged the Ionians from thence; these latter, under the command of their king Pityreus, crossed over to Attica, whence the king's son Procles went subsequently, at the general Ionic migration, to Samos^b. Of the Dorians of Epidaurus, however, a part under the conduct of Triacon withdrew to ÆGINA^c, in which place Hellenes of Thessaly had formerly ruled, and united the island and mother-state into one commonwealth, with equal rights, and the same magistrates. Now since besides Epidaurus, TRÆZEN alone belonged to the Actè, and since both Agæus and Deiphontes are mentioned as the Dorian colonizers of this coast, it was probably this Agæus who brought Træzen under the rule of the Dorians^d. In this city, too, he must have encountered some Ionians; since both the fabulous genealogies and religious rites of the ancient Træzen attest a close connexion between its earlier inhabitants and the Athenians^e. For Træzen even shared with the Ionic cities in the peculiar

Æginet. p. 40. The name was common in Macedonia in later times; see Harpocrat. in 'Αργαῖος.

^b This is stated by Pausanias. See also Jamblichus Pythagor. 2. concerning the Epidaurian colony in Samos. Aristotle ap. Strab. VIII. p. 374. states that the Ionians came *together* with the Heraclidæ from the Attic Tetrapolis to Epidaurus. The former account is by far

the most probable.

^c *Æginet.* p. 43. The account there given will, without danger, bear a comparison with Raoul-Rochette, II. p. 218.

^d Pausan. II. 30. 9.

^e Book II. ch. 2. §. 8. According to Pausanias II. 30. 9. Anaphlystus and Sphettus, the sons of Træzen, passed over to Attica, and gave their names to the two boroughs so called. See Appendix II.

worship of the Apaturian Minerva, as the goddess of Phratriæ and families'; as also in that of Neptune and his son Theseus.

'The Apaturia were a national festival of the Ionians, which was celebrated by the Asiatic Ionians, as well as by the Athenians (Herod. I. 147. *Vit. Homeri* 29); hence the Cyclic month 'Απατουρείων (Caylus *Recueil* II. p. 237.) brought over from Miletus, and the Apaturon of Phanagorea (Teian or Milesian). It was a festival in which the *Gentiles* or members of the same clan or family assembled together; for the citizens were collected according to Phratrias (see, e. g. *Vit. Homeri. ubi sup.* Plat. Tim. 21.), which were themselves composed of families; and Xenophon distinctly says, Hellen. I. 7, 8. 'Απατούριο, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε ΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ ΚΑΙ Οἱ ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΣ (i. e. γυνήται) ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. Now it is evident that the word 'Απατούρια, which the ingenuity of etymologists has derived from ἀπάτη, is compounded of either πατήρ or πάτρα, which expression varies in its signification between γένος and φρατρία, and with the Ionians coincided rather with the latter word; see book III. ch. 5. §. 5. Whether it was formed immediately from πατήρ (Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 146.) or πάτρα is difficult to determine on etymological grounds, on account of the antiquity of the word: reasoning however from the analogy of φρατήρ or φράτωρ, φρατορία, and φράτρα, the most natural transition ap-

pears to be πατήρ (in composition πατῶρ), πατόριος (whence πατούριος, ἀπατούρια), πάτρα; and accordingly 'Απατούρια is a festival of the paternal unions, of the πατορίαί, of the πάτραι. Now as the Athenians worshipped an 'Αθηνᾷ φρατρία (Plato Euthyd. p. 302.), and doubtless at the Apaturia (the scholiast to Aristoph. Acharn. 146. and Suidas mention Ζεὺς φράτριος and 'Αθηνᾷ together with reference to this point); so at Træzen they worshipped Minerva 'Απατούρια: and as on the day named Κουρεῶντι during the Apaturia, the γαμηλία was offered for the adult virgins among the Phratores (Pollux VIII. 9. 107, &c.); so at Træzen it was the custom for the virgins ἀνατίθηναι πρὸ γάμων τῇ ζώνῃ τῇ 'Αθηνᾷ τῇ 'Απατοურίᾳ, Pausan. II. 33. 1. For the origin of Phratriæ was, according to the passage of Dicæarchus (*ap. Steph. Byz. in v.* as emended by Buttmann in the Berlin transactions), that women marrying from one πάτρα into another, formed a κοινωνικὴ σύνοδος; and for this reason women on the point of marriage worshipped the 'Απατούρια, the goddess who united families. It is plain that the Minerva Apaturia of Træzen is the same deity that was worshipped in Athens at the Apaturia; and consequently it was an Ionian worship at the former city. This is made still more evident

5. The accounts already given shew that Sicyon, Phlius, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Ægina received their share of Doric inhabitants either mediately or immediately from Argos. We can only regret the want of any accurate accounts respecting Mycenæ and Tiryns; the conquest of which cities must have been most difficult; but, when accomplished, decisive for the sovereignty of the Dorians. Pindar ^g considers the expulsion of the Achæan Danaï from the gulf of Argos, and from Mycenæ, as identical with the expedition of the Heraclidæ; and Strabo states that the Argives united Mycenæ with themselves ^h. Nevertheless we find that in the Persian war Mycenæ and Tiryns were still independent states, and it admits of a doubt whether they had previously belonged for any length of time to Argos. That some ancient inhabitants at least still maintained themselves in the mountains above Argos, is shewn by the instance of the Orneatæ. The inhabitants of Orneæ, a town on the mountainous frontier of Mantinea, having long been hostile to the Dorians, and at war with the Sicyonians ⁱ, were at length overpowered by Argos, and degraded to the state of Periœci ^k. Now since it is more probable that such a proceeding took place against the people of a different race, than against a colony of Argos, and also as there is nowhere any mention of a Doric settlement at Orneæ, it is evident that the inhabitants of Orneæ had up to that time been either Achæans or Arcadians.

by the tradition that Theseus was begotten upon the site of the temple, Pausan. *ubi sup.* Hyginus Fab. 37.

^g Pyth. IV. 49.

^h Strab. VIII. p. 372, 377.

ⁱ Plutarch. de Def. Orac. p. 620. Paus. X. 18. 4.

^k See book III. ch. 4. §. 2.

6. Although from the foregoing accounts it appears that Argos almost entirely lost its power over the towns which it had been the means of bringing under the rule of the Dorians, yet in early times there existed certain obligations on the part of these cities towards Argos, which at a later period became mere forms. There was in Argos, on the banks of the Larissa, a temple of Apollo Pythæus, which had probably been erected soon after the invasion of the Dorians, as a sanctuary of the national deity who had led them into the country. It was a temple common to all the surrounding district, though belonging more particularly to the Argives¹. The Epidaurians were bound at certain seasons to send sacrifices to it^m. The Dryopians in early times, and afterwards also, in their character of Craugallidæ, or servants of the Delphian god, had at Asine and Hermione erected temples to Apollo Pythæus, in acknowledgment of a similar dependence; and this was the only one spared by the Argives at the destruction of the townⁿ.

7. The fragments preserved respecting the ancient history of the DRYOPIANS having been collected in a previous chapter^o, we shall here only remark that this people possessed a considerable district in the most southern part of Argolis, the boundaries of which, so long as they remained inviolate, were defined by two points; viz. the temple of Ceres Thermesia on the frontier between Hermione and Trœ-

¹ This is evident from Thucyd. V. 53. ΚΥΡΙΑΤΑΤΟΙ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι.

^m Ibid. According to Diodorus XII. 18. the Lacedæmonians were bound to send sacri-

fices to Apollo Pythæus (Πύθιος); but his account is confused.

ⁿ Pausan. II. 35. 2. 36. 5. compare book II. ch. 3. §. 4.

^o Above, ch. 2. §. 4.

zen, eighty stadia from Cape Scyllæum, and a hill between Asine, Epidaurus, and Trœzen^p, and they may still be pointed out with tolerable certainty. Hercules, who, according to the Doric tradition, brought the Dryopians hither, had accurately marked out these boundaries. It is however also related that the Dryopians established themselves beyond these limits at Nemea^q in Argolis; this however, as well as Olympia, was not any particular town, but merely the name of a valley, and particularly of a temple of Jupiter there situated.

8. The history of the establishment of CORINTH, though marvellous and obscure, contains nevertheless some historical traces by no means unworthy of remark. In the first place it is stated that this town did *not* receive its inhabitants from Argos. The purport of the tradition is as follows: "When Hippotes at the time of the passage of the Dorians from Naupactus slew the soothsayer, he was banished (according to Apollodorus for ten years^r), during which time he led a roaming and predatory life^s;" whence his son was called Ἀλήτης, or the *Wanderer*^t. It is also recorded in the fragment of a tradition^u that Hippotes, when crossing the Melian gulf, imprecated against those who wished to remain behind, "*That their vessels might be leaky, and themselves the slaves of their wives.*" In like manner his son Aletes passed through the

^p Pausan. II. 28. 2. 34. 6.

^q Steph. Byz. in Νέμεα, where, from the context, τῆς Ἀργολίδος should be written for Ἠλίδος.

^r II. 8.

^s Conon. 26. Etymol. Mag. in Ἀλήτης.

^t Compare p. 72. note f.

^u Aristot. ap. Proverb. Vatic. IV. 4. Μηλιακὸν πλοῖον. Compare Apostol. XIX. 89. and Suidas. Diogenianus VII. 31. explains it differently.

territory at that time called Ephyra, where he received from scorn a clod of earth^x; which in the ancient oracular language was a symbol of sovereignty^y. We might almost guess from these traditions that the Dorian warriors had harassed, and at length subdued the ancient Ephyreans, by ravaging their lands, and by repeated invasions. This is confirmed by the very credible account of Thucydides relating to this point^z. There was in the mountainous country, about sixty stadia from Corinth, and twelve from the Saronic gulf, a hill called Solygius, of which the Dorians had once taken possession for the purpose of making war against the Æolian inhabitants of Corinth. This hill was however (at least in the time of Thucydides) entirely unfortified. Here we may recognise the very same method of waging war as in the account of Temenus given above, a method which in the Peloponnesian war was again adopted by the Spartans at the fortifying of Decelea. Again, it is related in a tradition connected with the Hellotian festival, that at the taking of Corinth the Dorians set fire to the town, and even to the temple of Minerva, in which the women had taken refuge^a. In another it is stated that Aletes, being advised by an oracle to attack the city on a "crowned day," took it during a great fu-

^x Δέχεσθαι καὶ βῶλον ἰαλήτης. See Duris in Plutarch. Prov. 48. p. 593. Diogenian IV. 27. Zenobius III. 22. Suidas in Δέχεσθαι, Schol. Pind. Nem. VII. 155. Perhaps Suidas in ἀθλωσας refers to this story.

^y Orchomenos, p. 352. See also Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 13. The delivery of a clod of earth (a

common symbol of transfer of possession of land) also occurs in the history of the Ionic colony, Lycophron 1378. and Tzetzes Chil. XIII. p. 468. v. 112.

^z Thucyd. IV. 42. compare Polyæn. I. 39.

^a Schol. Pind. Olymp. XIII. 56.

neral solemnity by the treachery of the youngest daughter of Creon: these however are for the most part mere attempts at an historical interpretation of ancient festival ceremonials. As Aletes (according to his genealogy) lived one generation after the conquerors of the Peloponnese, the capture of Corinth was dated thirty years after the expedition of the Heraclidæ^b; whence probably also arose the error of supposing that there had previously been Dorians at Corinth; as it was supposed that the Dorians had obtained their whole dominion over the Peloponnese at *one* time, by *one* expedition. The city appears to have received the name of Corinth at this time, instead of its former one of Ephyra^c; and it seems that the Dorians called it with a certain preference "*The Corinth of Jupiter*;" although ancient interpreters have in vain laboured to give a satisfactory explanation of this name.

9. The early inhabitants of Corinth were, according to the expression of Thucydides^d, Æolians; and their traditions and religion shew that they were very nearly connected with the Minyans of Iolcus and Orchomenus^e. Their kings were the Sisypheidæ, whose genealogy closes with Hyantidas and Doridas. We find in the last name the same confusion which has been pointed out (amongst others) in the tradition of Thessalus the son of Jason^f; viz. that the arrival of a different nation was expressed

^b Didymus Schol. Pind. Olymp. XIII. 17. Conon *ubi sup.* Compare Diodorus in Euseb. Chronic. p. 35. (Fragment. 6. p. 635. Wessel.) Ephorus in Strab. VIII. p. 389 D. and Scymnus Chius 526.

^c According to Velleius Pa-

terc. I. 3. 3.

^d IV. 42.

^e Orchomenos, p. 140. According to Conon *ubi sup.* Aletes found Sisypheidæ and Ionians mixed with them.

^f Orchomenos, p. 257.

by connecting the new comers genealogically with the heroes of the ruling race. Thus Doridas, i. e. the Dorians in a patronymic form, is the descendant of Sisypheus. Here begins the sovereignty of the Dorians, who however did not, as Pausanias^g states, altogether expel the ancient inhabitants; but merely formed exclusively the aristocratic class of the new state. Pindar and Callimachus indeed call the whole Corinthian nation *Aletiadae*^h, but merely by a poetical license; the only lineal descendants of Aletes being the ruling family, the Bacchiadae, from which for a long time were taken the kings and Prytanes of Corinth and all its colonies. There were however at Corinth distinguished families of a different origin. The family of Cypselus, which afterwards obtained possession of the tyranny, was, according to Herodotus, of the blood of the Lapithae, and descended from Cæneusⁱ. They came, according to Pausanias, from Gonusa near Sicyon, to assist the Dorians against Corinth^k; Aletes however, at the advice of an oracle, at first refused to receive them, but presently admitted them into the city, where they afterwards overthrew his own descendants. We shall allow this narrative, which contains a *post eventum* prophecy of the tyranny of the Cypselidae, to rest on its own merits, remarking only that the Cænidæ had more reason to assist the ancient Æo-

^g II. 4. 3.

^h Pindar. Olymp. XIII. 11. Compare Boeckh's Commentary, p. 213. Callimachus ap. Plutarch. Symp. Qu. V. 3. p. 213. Ἀλητιάδαι παρ' Αἰγαιῶνι θεῶ θύσσουσιν εἰς τὴν σὺμβολον Ἰσθμιάδος Ζῆλον τῶν Νεμείθου.

ⁱ Herodot. V. 92. 2. This perhaps may afford some explanation of the ancient affinity between the Cypselidae and Philaidæ (see Herodot. VI. 128.), by a comparison of the table, Orchomenos, p. 465.

^k II. 4. 4. compare V. 18. 2.

lians than the Dorians; and shall merely infer from it the existence of distinguished families in Corinth not of Doric descent.

10. As in this chapter we have hitherto rather followed a geographical than a chronological arrangement, we will now pass to the founding of MEGARA¹. That event is represented by the ancient tradition as connected with the expedition of the Peloponnesians against Athens^m; which is doubtless a correct statement, since Megara had before that epoch been closely united with Attica, and comprehended in Ionia. This expedition was, according to most authors, undertaken by the whole Peloponnese; by some however the Corinthians are called the real authors of it, and Aletes the leader, Althæmenes of Argos the son of Ceisus being nevertheless joined with him. The defeat of the Doric invaders by the voluntary sacrifice of Codrus, has been a favourite subject both with poets and rhetoriciansⁿ. It is sufficient for our purpose to oppose to this celebrated legend an obscure tradition that some Athenians, whom Lycophron calls Codri, had a share in the expedition of the Heraclidæ^o. Whether or not the Ionians and Dorians met at the borders on this occasion, thus much is certain, that Megara in con-

¹ See Blanchard *Recherches sur la ville de Megare*, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XVI. p. 121.

^m Herodot. V. 76. Lycurg. in Leocrat. p. 196. Strabo IX. p. 293. XIV. p. 653. Conon 26. Scymnus Chius 503.

ⁿ See Raoul-Rochette III. p. 56. who has omitted the remarkable passage of Pausan. VII. 25. according to which

the Lacedæmonians had partly taken Athens. There was at Athens a Delphian family named Cleomantidæ, whose ancestor was said to have communicated to the Athenians the prophecy concerning the king's death, Lycurgus in Leocrat. p. 196.

^o Lycophr. 1388. and Tzetzes' note.

sequence of this invasion became a Doric town, and indeed soon afterwards a Corinthian colony^p. It also remained for some time in complete dependance on Corinth, as Ægina upon Epidaurus; in proof of which it is mentioned that the Megarians were bound to mourn for every death that occurred in the family of the Bacchiadæ at Corinth^q. When, however, the internal strength of Megara increased, it ventured to dissolve this connexion, and in defiance of the Corinth of Jupiter, to rout the Corinthians in the field^r. The border-wars of the Megarians and Corinthians were carried on without intermission^s. Megara appears not to have raised itself to the situ-

^p See particularly Schol. Pind. Nem. VII. 155. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 440. Pausan. I. 39. 4.

^q Schol. Pind. et Aristoph. ubi sup. According to Zenobius V. 8. the Megarians mourned for a daughter of their own king Clytius, and of Bacchus the Corinthian.

^r This event is always narrated in explanation of the proverb; see Schol. Pind. ubi sup. Schol. Plat. Euthydem. pag. 97. edit. Ruhnken. and Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 440 (from Demon). Compare Aristoph. Eccles. 823. Zenob. III. 21. Vatic. Prov. III. 13. Apostolius VII. 17. XIV. 97. Suidas, Hesychius, Dissen *ad Pind. ubi sup.* It is probably of this victory of the Megarians that Pausanias (VI. 19. 9.) had read in some document that it took place before the commencement of the Olympiads, when Phorbas was archon for life at Athens; but in my opinion he

is incorrect in referring it to a treasury of Dontas the Lacedæmonian (Olymp. 60.), the inscription of which spoke indefinitely of a victory of the Megarians over the Corinthians, in which the Argives were supposed to have had a share. Phorbas was Archon from the 173d to the 148th year before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius.

^s Thucyd. I. 103. Diod. XI. 79. Plutarch Cimon. 17. It was probably in some war of this kind that Orsippus of Megara, the conqueror at the 32d Olympiad, enlarged the territory of his native city, according to Etymol. M. p. 242. (from which the Venetian scholiast to Il. XXIII. 683. should be corrected); according to others, conqueror in the 15th Olympiad, see book IV. ch. 2. note ¹. Pausan. I. 44. 1. and the epigram in Anthol. Pal. II. App. 272. See Siebelis *ad Pausan. ubi sup.*

ation of a ruling city till after it had obtained its independence; since in earlier times it had been one of the five hamlets (*κῶμαι*) into which the country was divided; viz. the Heræans, Piræans, Megarians, Cynosyrians, and Tripodiscians^t. These small communities also waged war with each other, but with a singular lenity, of which some almost marvellous accounts have been preserved; the conquerors carried their prisoners home, treated them as guests and companions, who were hence called *δορύξενοι*, in opposition to *δορυάλωτοι*.

11. We now turn to *LACONIA*, which, according to the above-mentioned legend concerning the division of the Peloponnese, fell to the share of Aristodemus or his sons^u. According to the common tradition (which was derived from the epic poets^x) the twin brothers Eurysthenes and Procles^y, took possession of Sparta after the death of their father; whereas the national tradition of Sparta, as Herodotus informs us, represented Aristodemus himself to have been the first ruler^z, and that the double dominion of his children was not settled till after his death; the first-born, however, enjoying a certain degree of precedence^a. This is indeed contradicted by the account of Thucydides^b, who mentions as a

^t See the account in Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 17. p. 387.

^u Above, ch. 3. §. 11.

^x See above, ch. 3. §. 3.

^y Called in the Doric dialect *Προκλέας*, Kühn ad Pausan. III. 1. According to Polyænus I. 10. Procles and Temenus together conquered Lacedæmon.

^z Herod. VI. 52. and it is followed by Xen. Agesil. 8. Plutarch. Agesil. 19. [The same

tradition is preserved in a fragment of Alcæus (Mus. Crit. I. p. 432.) *ὥς γὰρ δὴ ποτε φασὶν Ἀριστόδαμον ἐν Σπάρτῃ λόγον οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον εἰπεῖν*, as Niebuhr has remarked, History of Rome, note 94. ed. 2.]

^a The words of the oracle, which Herodotus paraphrases, probably were *μᾶλλον δὲ γεραίτερόν ἔστι γεραίρειν*.

^b V. 16. Also in Plato Leg.

Lacedæmonian tradition, that the kings who first took possession of Lacedæmon (i. e. Eurysthenes and Procles) were conducted thither with dances and sacrifices, an honour which at the command of the Delphian oracle was afterwards given to Pleistoanax at his restoration. This variation however is perhaps merely the effect of a pardonable negligence in the author.

12. It is however far more difficult to ascertain what was the condition of Laconia immediately after the invasion of the Dorians. For it is plain that the history, as it was arranged by Ephorus, and derived from him to other authors, is in contradiction with many isolated traditions, but which for that very reason are of the greater importance. So far indeed from the whole of the Laconian territory immediately falling into the hands of the Dorians^c, it is certain that a powerful fortress of the ancient Achæans, at a short distance from Sparta itself, held out for nearly three centuries after the Doric invasion.

There was a saying well known in antiquity, of the "silent Amyclæ;" thus called because its citizens had been so often alarmed by the report of the enemy coming, that they at last made a law that no one should give tidings of the enemy's approach; in con-

III. p. 683. Megillus the Spartan, to the question καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν—Λακεδαιμόνιος Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης; answers, πῶς γὰρ οὐ, against his national tradition.

^c Pindar Pyth. I. 65. says that the Dorians "coming down" from Pindus, immediately "took Amyclæ." Compare Boeckh Comment. p. 479. This is equally fallacious with his other statement, that Pylos fell at the invasion, see below, §.

15. According to Ephorus ap. Strab. p. 364 D., Philonomus the Achæan, who had betrayed Lacedæmon to the Dorians, received Amyclæ from them as a reward for his treachery, and held the νόμος Ἀμυκλαῖος (to which his name seems to allude) as a vassal. Compare Conon Narr. 36. who calls Philonomus a Spartan, Nicol. Damasc. p. 445. Vales.

sequence of which the town was at length taken^d. This proverb, and the story on which it was founded, prove the existence of a long and determined contest between two neighbouring cities. They also confirm the account of Pausanias, that the Dorians in the reign of Taleclus built a temple^e to Jupiter Tropæus, because they had at length, after a tedious and severe struggle, overcome the Achæans of Amyclæ and taken their city. This city of Amyclæ, one of the most ancient and considerable in the Peloponnese, of which there still remains a fort situated upon a rock on the side of mount Taygetus, was therefore so far from being reduced by the Spartans immediately, that it held out until the reign of Taleclus, 278 years after the invasion, a short time before the first Messenian war; and then was only taken after a tedious contest, which, from the proximity of Amyclæ and Sparta, must have been very dangerous to the latter city. Now it is not possible that before this victory Amyclæ and Sparta, distant only 20 stadia ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from each other, should have been engaged in constant war, as it must have soon ended in the destruction of one or the other city: their truces and armistices were however doubtless interrupted frequently by sudden incursions. The important territory near mount Taygetus belonged at that time to Amyclæ, and all this country was still in the possession of the Achæans, with whom some Minyans from Lemnos, and Cadmean Greeks, known by the name of Ægidæ, had

^d Servius ad Æn. X. 564.

and Lucilius *ibid.* compare Heyne Excurs. II. ad Æn. X. Sosibius ap. Zenob. Prov. I.

^e Pausan. III. 2. 6. *ib.* 12. 7.

ib. 19. 5. The temple was still standing in his time. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 313—321.

united themselves. This is the territory (as I have shewn in a former work) from which the colonies of Thera, Melos, and Gortyna proceeded; so, according to Pindar, Amyclæ was the point from which the first colonies to Lesbos and Tenedos set out, and also (as may be inferred from other notices) those Achæans who took possession of Patræ^ε.

Sparta, on the other hand, must have been of very slight importance before the Doric migration; by which event alone it was enabled to become the ruler of all the surrounding states. For, in the first place, Sparta was not built in the same manner as Mycenæ, Tiryns, and other ruling cities founded before the Doric invasion; the Acropolis is a hill of inconsiderable height, and easy of ascent, without any trace of ancient fortifications or walls. Secondly, it is remarkably deficient in monuments and local memorials of the times of the Pelopida and other fabulous princes; much as the Spartans in other instances clung to traditions and records of this kind: while Amyclæ and Therapne had these in great abundance. Amyclæ, in a beautiful and well-wooded country^h, was the abode of Tyndareus and his family; here were the tombs of Cassandra and Agamemnon, who, according to a native tradition (preserved by Stesichorus and Simonidesⁱ), ruled in this city. At no great distance was situated the town of Therapne. Alcman calls it the "well-fortified Therapne^k;" Pindar mentions its high situa-

^ε Pausan. VII. 6. 2. where Preuges, their leader, is stated to have been descended from Amyclas.

^h Polyb. V. 19. 2.

ⁱ Ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest.

46. Simonides fragm. 177. ed. Gaisford.

^k *Εὐρυργὸς Θεράπνια*, ap. Priscian. p. 1328. Fragm. 1. ed. Welcker.

tion¹; by which they clearly imply a position and fortification similar to that of Tiryns. The latter also calls it the ancient metropolis of the Achæans, amongst whom the Dioscuri lived; here were the subterraneous cemeteries of Castor and Pollux^m, vaulted perhaps in the ancient manner; here also the temples of the Brothers and of Helen in the Phœbæum, and many remains of the ancient symbolical religionⁿ. It is also very remarkable, that on the banks of the Eurotas, in the district between Therapne and Amyclæ, there should have been discovered a building^o which resembles the well-known treasury at Mycenæ, and which affords a certain proof that the dominion of the Pelopidæ extended to this district.

It is not however easy to determine what city is meant by the Lacedæmon of Homer. For at one time he appears to distinguish it from^p, at another to identify it with Sparta^q. It must be also confessed that the epithet "the *hollow* Lacedæmon" agrees most accurately with the valley of Sparta described above^r, while it applies less properly to the district of Amyclæ, which opens more widely

¹ Isthm. I. 31.

^m Ἐν γυάλοις Θεράπνας Pindar Nem. X. 55. The δόκανα were, according to some, tombs of this description.

ⁿ See Dissem's Commentary to Pindar *ubi sup.* p. 471.—Concerning Helen at Therapne, see Euripid. Hel. 211. and Tryphiod. 520. Schol. Lycophr. 143. Isocrat. Encom. Hel. 17. ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐν Θεράπναις (Μενελάω καὶ Ἑλένῃ) θυσίας ἁγίους καὶ πατρίους ἐπιτελοῦσιν οὐχ ὡς ἥρωσιν ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῖς.

Concerning the Menelaia, see Athenagoras Leg. p. 14 A. Θεραπναῖος Ἀπόλλων Apollon. Rhod. II. 162. Therapne, according to some, was ἐν Σπάρτῃ, Schol. Apollon. et Pind. *ubi sup.*; according to other authors, referred to by Steph. Byz., it was Sparta itself. Both are in the wrong.

^o It was first discovered by Gropius.

^p Od. Δ. 1, 10.

^q Od. Λ. 459. N. 412, 414.

^r Ch. 4. §. 3.

down to the sea^{*}. In my opinion we must rest satisfied with the supposition, that Homer had only an obscure and imperfect knowledge of this region, which even in his time was very inaccessible to strangers.

13. Amyclæ, however, is not the only Achæan city which was not reduced by the Dorians till a late period. Ægys, on the frontiers of Arcadia, is said to have been taken from the Achæans by Archelaus and Charilaus a short time before Lycurgus; Pharis, together with Geronthræ, by Taleclus[†]; and Helos in the plains, near the mouth of the Eurotas, by Alcamenes, the son of Taleclus[‡]. So long as these places belonged to the Achæans, the Spartans were shut out from the sea, and surrounded on all sides by the possessions of a different race. It appears however that other places besides Sparta were held by the Dorians themselves preparatory to their obtaining possession of the whole of Laconia; such were for instance Bœæ near Malea[§], and perhaps also Abia on the confines of Messenia^{||}. But of the numerous contests which doubtless took place at this period, little information has come down to us, as they just lie between the provinces of mythology and history.

Thus much however we may with safety say, that Ephorus is clearly in error when he mentions a division of Laconia made by the Dorians, immediately after their conquest, for the sake of an un-

^{*} Polyb. *ubi sup.*

[†] Pausan. III. 2. 6.

[‡] Pausan. III. 2. 7. Phlegon Trallianus ap. Euseb. Arm. p. 130. According to Strabo VIII. p. 365 A. however it was con-

quered by Agis. Concerning a war between Sparta and its Perioeci in the time of Lycurgus, see Nicol. Damasc. fragm.

[§] Pausan. III. 22. 9.

^{||} See above, ch. 3. §. 4.

disturbed dominion over the country². The same historian further states that "Sparta was reserved by the Dorians as the seat of their own empire; that Amyclæ^a was granted to Philonomus, who had delivered the country to them by treachery, and that governors were sent into the other four divisions." Also, that "the principal towns of these four provinces were Las, Epidaurus Limera (or Gytheium), Ægys, and Pharis; of which the first served as the citadel of Laconia^b, the second as an excellent harbour, the third as a convenient arsenal for the wars with Arcadia, and the fourth as an internal point of union. That the Pericæci dwelt in these towns, and were dependent upon the Spartans, though without losing their freedom." This account doubtless suited the historical style of Ephorus; but it does not agree with the isolated but genuine traditions already mentioned.

The division into six provinces is nevertheless, in my opinion, to be considered as an historical fact; only that the arrangement was not actually made till a much later period. Of these provinces, the first comprehended the district of the city; the second, the mountain-chain of Taygetus, with the western coast; the third, the Laconian gulf; the fourth, perhaps the modern Zaconia, on the eastern

² This is now evident from the restoration of the fragment of Ephorus in Strabo VIII. p. 364 D. Χρησθαι δὲ ΛΑΙ ΜΕΝ ὁ[χυρώματι, Ἐπιδάυρω (or Γυθείω) δὲ ἐμπορίῳ διὰ τὸ] εὐλίμενον, ΛΙΓΥΙ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους [ἐπιτειχισμῶ, ταύτην] γὰρ ὁμορεῖν τοῖς κύκλω [πολεμίους], ΦΑΡΙΔΙ δὲ [εἰς συνόδους] ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς

ἀσφάλειαν ἐχούσῃ. Polybius II. 54. 3. calls Λίγυτις a boundary-district of Sparta, where no alteration is required. See Meursius ad Lycophr. 831.

^a The νόμος Ἀμυκλαῖος according to Nicol. Damasc.

^b See Steph. Byz. and Pausanias. The Διοσκοῦροι Λαπέρσαι are derived from this town.

side of the Eurotas; the fifth, the northern frontier; and the sixth, the lower valley of the Eurotas. The reality of such a division is also confirmed by the existence of a similar one in Messenia; which is spoken of by other writers besides Ephorus^c. For this country also is said to have been divided by Cresphontes, so that Stenyclarus was the habitation of the Dorians and their king, under whose authority were placed the Messenian districts of Pylos, Rhium, Mesola, and Hyamia; of these, Pylos apparently comprehended the whole western coast; Rhium is the promontory of Methone and the neighbouring southern coast; Hyamia may perhaps be the shore of the Messenian bay nearest to the frontiers of Laconia; Mesola signifies the inland district^d near the Pamisus; and Stenyclarus is the northern plain of Messenia.

14. We have now another instance of the arbitrary manner in which Ephorus composed his history by probable arguments. He proceeds upon the fact that Eurysthenes and Procles, although the

^c Ὑαμία πόλις Μεσσηνίων ΤΩΝ ΠΕΝΤΕ, Stephanus Byz. Compare Pausan. IV. 14. 3. Μεσόλα πόλις Μεσσήνης μία ΤΩΝ ΠΕΝΤΕ. Νικόλαος τετάρτῳ, Stephanus. From this Ephorus in Strabo VIII. p. 361 C. should be thus restored, ὥστε τὴν Στενύκλαρον μὲν ἐν τῷ μίσῳ τῆς χώρας ταύτης κειμένην ἀποδείξαι βασιλεῖον αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας, πέμψαι δὲ εἰς Πύλον τε καὶ Ῥίον [καὶ Μεσόλαν καὶ] Ὑαμίτιν ποιήσοντας ἰσονόμους πάντας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. In the text, as it now stands, there

is a reading made by Casaubon, on the authority of which Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 13. speaks *bona fide* of Iamites, an envoy of Cresphontes. Compare Μεσόλα καθήκουσα εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ κόλπον τοῦ Ταυγίτου καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, Strab. VIII. p. 360; Ῥίον ἀπεναντίον Ταινάρου, *ibid*.

^d The same termination may be observed in the name of the ancient Laconian city Ἰππόλα, Pausan. III. 26.6. Steph. Byz.; and in the ancient Gentile name of Argos, Ἀργόλας.

founders of Sparta, were not honoured as such (as ἀρχηγέται), that they did not enjoy any divine honour, did not give their name to any tribe, &c. (Now the very first of these statements is false; for Eurysthenes and Procles, according to the native tradition, were *not* the founders of Sparta, as was shewn above.) Hence Ephorus infers that they must have offended the Dorians; and he finds the cause of this offence in the adoption of foreign citizens, through whose assistance they had extended their power. This instance is a sufficient justification for our rejecting the historical system of Ephorus, and neglecting the results which he obtained by it.

There must have been many stories concerning Eurysthenes and Procles current in ancient times which have not come down to us. The tradition of their continual discord was everywhere prevalent; and we know that the military fame of Procles was as great as that of Eurysthenes was insignificant^c. There is however something peculiarly worthy of notice in an incidental remark of Cicero^f, that Procles died a year before Eurysthenes. Could there have been chronicles of so early a period, or is it possible that tradition should preserve such precise dates? It is also a remarkable statement that the wives of both kings were likewise twin sisters, Lathria and Anaxandra by name, daughters of Thersander king of the Cleonæans, whose descent we mentioned above^g. Some great heroic actions of Soüs^h (the "violent"), the son of Procles,

^c See Herodotus, Pausanias, Cicero de Divin. II. 43.

^g See above, p. 93, note ^y.

^f Cicero *ut sup.*

^h See Valckenaer. ad Theocrit. Adoniaz. p. 266.

were also celebrated in Spartaⁱ. It was even said that he had carried on war against the Cleitorians; and it was related, that in the narrow valley of Cleitor, when surrounded by enemies, and oppressed by intolerable thirst, he promised to give up all his conquests, on the condition of himself and his army being allowed to drink from the fountain: that upon this he offered the crown to any one who would abstain from drinking, but no one being willing to gain it at this price, he moistened himself with water from the fountain, and departed without drinking^k. But a Spartan king would hardly have ventured, even some centuries afterwards, to lead an army through the hostile territory of Arcadia, to a place at so considerable a distance as Cleitor, leaving behind so many hollow defiles, ravines, and mountains.

15. In the country which from this time forth obtained the name of MESSEⁿIA^l, Pylos was before the Doric migration the most important town, whither the families of the Nelidæ had retired from the Triphylian territory^m. The Dorians under Cresphontesⁿ at first seated themselves in the opposite part of the country, at Stenyclarus, in the midland region; they must however have soon pressed so

ⁱ Plutarch. Lycurg. 2, 3.

^k Plutarch. Lycurg. 2. Lac. Apophth. p. 234.

^l From what is not clear, though probably from the *Mécorry* of the Homeric Catalogue, the position of which is however quite uncertain, since it is not connected with the city of Messene.

^m *Orchomenos*, p. 366. The territory of Pylos had, according to the tradition in Pausan. IV. 15. 4. once extended as far as *Καποῦ σῆμα*, near Stenyclarus.

ⁿ Cresphontes, as well as Aristomenes, were names in Messenia in late days, Boeckh Inscript. N^o. 1297.

closely upon Pylos, that part of the inhabitants was forced to emigrate. For that many of the noble families, both at Athens and in Asia Minor, came originally from Pylos, is placed out of doubt by the agreement of many national and family traditions; and it is equally certain that they did not leave the Peloponnese long before the Ionic migration. Mimermus, the most ancient witness to this fact, says that the founders of his native city Colophon came from the Nelean Pylos^o; i. e. he calls Andremon, the founder of Colophon, a Pylian; where it almost seems that the poet meant a direct migration from that place. Pylos however (though it is generally considered to have been in the possession of the Dorians from this epoch) probably remained for some time an independent town, with a limited territory: even in the second Messenian war some Nestoridæ went as allies to the Messenians^p; and, after the defeat of the Messenians, the Pylians and the Methonæans were able to harbour them for a considerable time^q.

16. Of the internal condition of Messenia we cannot even know so much as of Laconia, since, at the cessation of its political existence, its monuments, and even its inhabitants perished, and thus all means of perpetuating a knowledge of its former state were entirely lost. Yet, setting aside the accounts of Ephorus, there remain some very simple

^o Ap. Strab. p. 633 B. He was one of the Colophonians, who had settled in Smyrna.

^p Strabo, p. 355 D. Pausanias IV. 3. 3. and others speak too generally of the expulsion of the Nestoridæ.

^q Pausan. IV. 18. 1. IV. 23. 1. Pindar Pyth. V. 70. is not so accurate; *Λακεδαιμόνι ἐν Ἀργεὶ τε καὶ Ζαθέῳ Πύλῳ ἔνασσαν ἀλκάντας Ἡρακλῆος ἐκγόνοις Αἰγυμοῦ τε* ("Ἀπολλων").

circumstances from which we may form an idea of the condition of the country. It is related, that when Cresphontes was treacherously assassinated, the Arcadians, in conjunction with the kings of Sparta and Ceisus king of Argos, reestablished in his place his son Æpytus^r, who had been brought up with Cypselus the Arcadian, the father of his mother Merope^s, and who rendered himself so celebrated, that all his descendants were called Æpytidæ. The name of Æpytus is evidently connected with Æpytis, a district on the frontiers of Arcadia and Messenia, near the ancient Andania, the earliest seat of civilization and religious worship in the country. The names of his descendants, Glaucus, Isthmius, Dotades, Sybotas (swineherd), Phintas (or Φιληγής), are in remarkable contrast with those of the Lacedæmonian kings, as Eurysthenes (widely-ruling), Procles (the renowned), Agis (the general), Soüs (the violent), Echestratus (the general), Eurypon (the widely-reigning), Labotas (shepherd of the people), and so forth; for whilst the latter signify powerful warrior princes, there sounds in the former something peaceable, pastoral, and Arcadian. What

^r Apollod. II. 8. 5. Pausan. IV. 3. VIII. 5. 5. Isocrates Archidam. 7. represents the Lacedæmonians as having long governed Messenia, which had been given them by the sons of Cresphontes. Euripides in the Merope told the story as follows, viz. that Polyphontes killed Cresphontes, and obtained possession of his queen Merope and of his empire: that on this her son Telephon, whom Merope had sent to a

friend in Ætolia, returned, and, after various tragic scenes, slay the usurper by stratagem. See the fragments of the Merope, and Hyginus, Fab. 137, with the continuation in Fab. 184. The narrative of Apollodorus is made to coincide more with the national tradition.

^s The pedigree is, Æpytus—Cypselus—Merope—Æpytus—Æpytidæ.

Pausanias relates of these Messenian princes refers almost exclusively to a peaceful office, viz. the establishment of festivals; the gods also to whom they were consecrated agree with the same general character. Glaucus and Isthmius, we are told, established or promoted the worship of Æsculapius at Gerenia and Pharæ: Sybotas joined to the ancient worship of the great gods at Andania the funeral sacrifices of the hero Eurytus, brought over from the Thessalian to the Messenian Æchalia; and others in the same manner. In fact this Cabirian worship of Ceres at Andania, allied in its nature to that prevalent in Attica at Eleusis and Phlya, was one of the most ancient in the Peloponnese, and at that time flourished in Messenia[†]; whereas, according to Herodotus, the Dorians every where exterminated the ancient rites of Ceres[‡]. Hence also the mystical consecration of Andania was discontinued as long as Messenia was governed by the Spartans, and it fell into oblivion, until many centuries afterwards Epaminondas solemnly reestablished it, either from the mere recollection of the inhabitants, or, if the account be true, upon the authority of an inscription on a tin plate found in a brasen urn, containing some obscure words referring to ancient mystic ceremonies[§].

The reestablishment of Æpytus may however have been effected by the threefold alliance of both the princes and nations of Argos, Sparta, and M

[†] As is evident from several passages in the 4th book of Pausanias.

[‡] II. 171.

[§] Pausan. IV. 20. 2. 26. 5. 6. 27. 4. 33. 5. It is to this

time probably that Methone the Athenian belongs, who stored the ancient worship at Andania, with some changes, Pausan. IV. 1.

senia, by which they guaranteed their respective rights, an alliance of which Plato has preserved an undoubted though faint trace, marked out in the spirit of his political philosophy^y.

From the settlements of the Dorians *within* the Peloponnese, we now turn to those *without* that peninsula.

CHAP. VI.

The settlements of the Dorians without the Peloponnese.

I. On account of the multiplicity of subjects which it will be now necessary to consider, we shall be compelled to shorten the discussion of several points, and to take for granted many collateral questions, except where we may be encouraged to enter into greater detail by the hope of disclosing fresh fields for the inquiries of others.

It will be the most convenient method to make the mother-states the basis of our arrangement, as these are known with far greater certainty than the dates of the foundation of their respective colonies; by which means we shall also be enabled to take in a regular order those settlements which lie near to, and were connected with, one another.

First, the colonies of ARGOS, EPIDAUROS, and TREZEN. We will treat of these together, as they all lie in the same direction, and as the colonies of the two last states more or less recognised the supremacy of Argos, and not unfrequently followed a common leader. These extend as far as the southern extremity of Asia Minor.

^y Leg. III. p. 684.

The Dorians on the south-western coast of Asia Minor derived their origin, according to Herodotus^z, from the Peloponnese. And indeed they were generally considered as an Argive colony^a (from which state Strabo derives Rhodes, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cos), led by princes of the Heraclidæ, from whom the noble families of Rhodes, for example the Eratidæ or Diagoridæ at Ialysus, claimed to be descended^b. This emigration was considered contemporary, and as having some connexion with the expedition of Althæmenes the son of Ceisus from Argos to Crete^c. Now we know from Herodotus^d that the Coans, Calydnians, and Nisyrians came from Epidaurus; yet, as is evident from arguments already brought forward, two different expeditions cannot be understood to have taken place. Thus also Ægina was called a colony of Argos as well as of Epidaurus. The account of Herodotus is confirmed by the similarity of the worship of

^z In the following discussion, although beginning somewhat in advance, I still take for granted what is stated in my *Æginetica*, p. 42. The ancient expression *Λιμοδαρπεῖς* was referred to this migration; see Hesychius, Plutarch. Prov. 34. p. 590. Yet Didymus in Hesychius calls the Dorians who dwelt under mount Œta *Λιμοδαρπεῖς*. See above, page 47. note ^c.

^a The Rhodians came from Argos, according to Thucyd. VII. 57.

^b The Eratidæ refer to Argos, according to the note of Boeckh, *Explic. ad Pind. Olymp.* VII. p. 165.

^c There were different ways of making the 100 towns of Crete mentioned in the *Iliad* agree with the 90 in the *Odyssey*, as may be seen from Schol. Venet. Catal. 156.—According to Ephorus, Althæmenes founded 10 cities in Crete, so that in the time of Ulysses there were only 90, but in Homer's time 100, Strabo X. p. 479. This was the manner in which Ephorus wrote history. "Py-læmenes the Lacedæmonian" in the Venetian Scholiast is probably only a corruption of the name. Conon 47. derives the Tripolis from Althæmenes.

^d VII. 99.

Æsculapius at Cos and at Epidaurus, which was sufficiently great to prove a colonial connexion^e. We have also a tradition of some sacred missions between Cos and Epidaurus; a ship of the latter is said to have brought a serpent of *Æsculapius* to the former state^f. If this is considered as a historical fact, we may, as it appears, deduce more from it than is commonly inferred, viz. that the Doric colonists of Cos, Calydna, &c. remained in Epidaurus a sufficient time before their passage into Asia Minor to adopt the worship of *Æsculapius*. And since we find that the worship of *Æsculapius* also prevailed in Cnidos and Rhodes^g, it may be fairly inferred, that of the inhabitants of these islands a part at least passed through Epidaurus. This is further confirmed by the orator Aristides, who, on the authority of the national tradition, states of the Rhodians, "that from ancient times they had been Dorians, and had had *Heraclidæ* and *Asclepiadæ* for their princes^h." Thus also there were families of the *Asclepiadæ* and *Heraclidæ* at Cos, to the former of which Hippocrates was related on his father's side, to the latter on his mother'sⁱ. Contemporaneous with this migration from Argos and Epidaurus was that from Trœzen^k, in which Halicar-

^e We find in both the worship of serpents, incubation, the custom of votive tablets, &c.

^f Pausan. III. 23. 4.

^g Sprengel's History of Medicine, vol. I. pp. 343, 326. new edit.

^h Rhod. Orat. II. p. 396. Concerning the *Asclepiadæ* in Cnidos, see particularly Theo-

pompus in Phot. cod. 176.

ⁱ Sprengel, *as above*, p. 554.

^k Vitruvius II. 8. 12. *Cum Melas et Areuanius ab Argis et Trœzene coloniam communem eo loco induxerunt, barbaros Caras et Lelegas ejecerunt.* The 1200 years, mentioned by Tacitus, from the time of its founding to Tiberius, must be taken as a round number.

nassus, *the citadel upon the sea* (ἀλι-κάρηνον), was founded; which fact also receives confirmation from the similarity of religious worship¹. And indeed there is reason for believing that it was only one Doric tribe, the Dymanes, which colonized this city^m; who strengthened themselves by collecting together the earlier inhabitants, the Leleges and Cariansⁿ.

2. Those towns however only which composed the Doric Tripolis of Rhodes (a number which probably originated from the division of the tribes), together with Cnidos, Cos, and Halicarnassus, formed the regular Doric league (before the separation of Halicarnassus called the Hexapolis, afterwards the Pentapolis). The members of this alliance met on the Triopian promontory to celebrate in public national festivals the rites of Apollo and Ceres, which last were of extreme antiquity^o; its influence in political affairs was however probably very inconsiderable^p. But, besides those already mentioned, many towns and islands in this district were peopled by Dorians^q. The small island of Telos, near Triopium, was probably dependent upon Lindos^r: Ni-

¹ The religious ceremonies of Halicarnassus, as shewn on its coins, can be completely traced up to their origin. The head of Medusa, and of Minerva, the trident, and head of Neptune, belong to the worship of Minerva and Neptune at Træzen and Athens: the tripod, lyre, and heads of Apollo and Ceres to the *sacra Triopia*. At Cos the insignia of Æsculapius predominated, besides those of Hercules as father of Pheidip-

pus.

^m Callimach. ap. Steph. in v. Ἀλικάρνασος. compare *Æginetica*, p. 140.

ⁿ Vitruvius, *as above*, note 11.

^o See book II. ch. 3. §. 5.

^p Dionys. Hal. Rom. Hist. IV. 25. probably ascribes to it too much influence.

^q Herodot. I. 144.

^r According to the account of Gelon's ancestors in Herodot. VII. 153.

syros and Calydna (or Calymna) have been already mentioned; the inhabitants were Epidaurian Dorians, who belonged to the colony of Cos^a: Carpathus and Casus also received some Argive colonists; the latter is said to have been taken by Ioclus, the son of Demoleon, an Argive by descent^b. Syme also was colonized from Cnidos: of this town we shall make further mention when speaking of the Laconian settlements. The inhabitants of Astypalæa were partly derived from Megara^c; their Doric origin is attested by the dialect of decrees now extant^d; and by the same circumstance we are enabled to recognise as a Doric colony Anaphe^e, which is situated near the Doric islands of Thera, Pholegandros^f, and Melos; the position of these islands, together forming a chain across the southern part of the Ægæan sea, shews that they were colonized in a connected and regular succession. Myndus however upon the mainland had received inhabitants from the same town as Halicarnassus^g; perhaps Mylasa had also had some connexion with the Dorians^h. Cryassa in Caria was colonized by

^a Compare Herodotus with Diod. V. 54.

^b Diod. *ubi sup.* Tacit. *Annal.* XII. 91.

^c Scymnus Chius 549. Probably with the colony of Althæmenes.

^d E. g. «[δοξε] ται βουλαι και ται δαμναι φυλ θεων επεσταται γνωμα πρυ[τανων], &c. from Villosion's papers.

^e See the quotations in Villosion in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* tom. XLVII. p. 287. An inscription among his pa-

pers refers to the building of the temple of Apollo and Venus at that place. The worship of Venus appears to indicate a Laconian colony.

^f Concerning Pholegandrus, see *Mém. de l'Acad.* tom. XLVII. p. 307, 339.

^g Paus. II. 30. 8. Raoul-Rochette is wrong in stating that Scylax declares Caryanda to have been Doric.

^h Herodot. V. 121. Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανωλῖος, ἀνὴρ Μυλασεὺς as leader of the Carians.

inhabitants of the Doric island of Melos^c. Even Synnada and Noricum, further to the interior in Phrygia, had inhabitants of Doric origin^d: of these towns indeed the situation of the latter is not precisely known, and with regard to the former we are wholly unable to state how the Dorians could have penetrated thus far. I have now, though not without in some measure forestalling the regular course of these investigations, given an account of all the known cities in this territory which were founded by Dorians of the Peloponnese; and if to these we add the colonies from Rhodes upon the opposite coast of Asia, and the cities of Lycia founded from the island of Crete, in which the Doric dialect was doubtless spoken, we shall have before us a very extensive range of colonies belonging to that race. Some of these were probably dependent upon the more considerable; many on the contrary stood entirely alone, some very early disagreements having, as it appears, separated and estranged them from the league of the six towns^e. Hence the Calymnians (or Calydnians) at a later period, on the occasion of embarrassing lawsuits,

^c Plut. de Mul. Virt. p. 271, 4. Polyæn. VIII. 56. According to Lycophron, v. 1388. the Doric colony also possessed Thingrus and Satnium, which were places in Caria, according to Tzetzes, in whose notes *Ἰκαρίας* should be twice altered into *Καρίας*.

^d Concerning Noricum, see below, §. 11. The coins of Synnada have ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ ΔΩΡΙΕΩΝ; also ΣΥΝΝ. ΙΩΝΩΝ, and both together; also the expression *Καστολού πεδίου Δω-*

ριών. The Dorians in Lydia were all called *Καστωλοί*, Stephan. Byz.

^e Compare Steph. Byz. in *Ἀρά*, *Ἰωνίας* (this is false. They were situated between Syme and Cnidos, Athenæus VI. p. 262.) *ἡῆσοι τρεῖς οὕτω λεγόμεναι διὰ τὰς ἀράς, ἃς Δωριεῖς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς τοὺς Πενταπολίτας, ὥς Ἀριστείδης*. According to Dieuchidas in Athenæus the curse was in the time of Triopas and Phorbas.

had recourse not to the larger states of the same race, but to the Iasians (who, though a colony from Argos, had afterwards learned the habits and character of the Ionic race by a settlement from Miletus¹), which nation sent them five judges; this circumstance however may be accounted for by a temporary resemblance of their constitutions².

3. Having thus put together the most simple historical accounts respecting the foundation of these Doric cities, we have still to examine the fabulous and mythological narrations with which they are accompanied, and which were invented by representing the same colonies under different names, and attributing a false antiquity to their establishment. That this was in fact the case is evident from the fabulous account which is connected with the colony of Trœzen, viz. "that Anthes and his son Aëtius, ancient princes of the Trœzenians, had in early times founded Halicarnassus³." This tradition however contradicts itself when compared with the additional account in Callimachus⁴, "that Anthes had taken out Dymanes with him;" which was *exclusively* a civil division of the Dorians. It is therefore far preferable to follow the statement of Pausanias⁵, that the descendants of Aëtius passed over to Halicarnassus and Myndus long after his death. It must not however from this circumstance

¹ Polyb. XVI. 12. 1.

² See the decree of the Jasiens, which includes that of the Calymnians, in the Doric dialect. Chandler's Inscript. P. I. 58.

³ Strabo VIII. p. 374. endeavours to give the tradition an historical colouring by

supposing that Pelops drove away *Anthes*. compare XIV. p. 656. Apollod. ap. Steph. in Ἀλικάρνασσος.

⁴ Ap. Steph. Raoul-Rochette also perceives this, tom. III. p. 31.

⁵ II. 30, 8.

be inferred that these descendants of Aëtius were leaders of the colony, since it was necessary that these should be Doric Heraclidæ. But they were in all probability a family which cultivated the worship of Neptune in preference to any other, and carried it over with them to the colony. But that a family of this kind, and with it the tradition and name of Anthes, actually prevailed in Halicarnassus, is seen also from the poetical name of the Halicarnassians (Antheadæ¹).

There is also a great similarity in the part which Tlepolemus bears in the history of the colonies of Rhodes. In this case also the fabulous hero is represented as coming from Argos^m, as well as the historical colony, only at an earlier period. But, it may be objected, the colony is related to have come immediately from Epidaurus, and not the hero. We have however still an evident trace of fabulous genealogies of Rhodes, in which Tlepolemus was represented as immediately connected with the Heraclidæ of Epidaurus. For Pindar celebrates the Diagoridæ as descended on the father's side from Jupiter, from Amyntor on the mother's, because both these were the grandfathers of Tlepolemusⁿ. Now Deiphontes of Epidaurus was also descended on his mother's side from Amyntor, and was therefore very

¹ Steph. Byz. in Ἀθηναί. Hence Anthes is called the son of Neptune, Paus. II. 30, &c. It is well known that Posidonia in the south of Italy received the worship of Neptune, and also its name, from a Træzenian colony.

^m Indeed Pindar appears to represent him as dwelling at

Argos, the native place of the descendants of Hercules, at a time when all the Heraclidæ were there living together undisturbed; and from Argos he sails to Rhodes.

ⁿ Olymp. VII. 24. Concerning the mother of Tlepolemus, see the epigram, quoted below, p. 126. note ^r.

nearly related to Tlepolemus. We may also probably suppose that there was in this Argive and Epidaurian colony a family which derived itself from Tlepolemus the son of Hercules, by which means the traditions concerning him were connected with this migration^a. The same want of consistency which we observed above, may here also be perceived in the statement of Homer, that the colony of Tlepolemus was divided into three parts, according to the different races of the settlers^p; whence it is evident that he was always considered as a Doric prince.

Thirdly, the colony of Cos, Nisyrus, Carpathus, and Casos also possessed leaders or heroic founders, whose expedition is reported to have taken place at a time different from that at which the colony was founded, and is placed back in a remote period, viz. Phidippus and Antiphus, sons of Thessalus, the He-

^a In *Iliad* E. 628 sqq. there is no necessity for assuming that the poet intended to represent Tlepolemus as a Rhodian. In the catalogue indeed four insular Greeks are mentioned, Nireus of Syme, Antiphus and Phidippus of Cos, and Tlepolemus of Rhodes (*Il.* B. 653—680). But of these the three first are not elsewhere mentioned. Tlepolemus therefore remains the only Greek, of the Asiatic colonies, on the Achæan side, in the *Iliad*; and the connexion of the catalogue with the other parts of the poem does not seem so intimate as to prove this exception to have been intended by the writer of the

fifth book. Tlepolemus must therefore be considered as a Grecian of the mother country. I feel convinced, that, according to Homer, no enemy of Troy comes from the eastern side of the *Ægean* sea.

^p *Il.* B. 668. When Strabo XIV. p. 653. states that Tlepolemus did not lead out Dorians, but Achæans and Bœotians (as a Heraclide of Thebes), he does not follow any ancient tradition, but the chronological system of his times. The ancestors of Theon of Rhodes (*Schol.* *Pind.* *Olymp.* II. 14.) have no reference to this: and Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 272. mixes various accounts.

raclidæ, or of Hercules himself. Their origin is derived by the fable from the irruption of Hercules into Cos, where he made pregnant the daughter of Euryphylus; afterwards they are said to have migrated to Ephyra in Thesprotia, and their descendants to have gone from thence to Thessaly, where the Aleuadæ, the most distinguished and the wealthiest family of Larissa, claimed them as ancestors⁹. Again, I do not deny that Heraclide families in exile at Cos derived their origin from both these heroes (it was indeed by this means that the name of Thessalus found its way into the Asclepiad family of Hippocrates); but that these families were born in the island of Cos itself, is evidently a patriotic invention of the Coans. There were, as we have seen, traditions respecting Phidippus and Antiphus in Cos, and also at Ephyra in Thesprotia; which traditions the fables and poems, on the returns of the heroes from Troy, endeavoured to reconcile, by making Antiphus reach Ephyra, after a series of wanderings, instead of going directly to Cos; a supposition which will not gain many believers. It is also plain from the epigram of Aristotle^r, that, according to the traditions of Ephyra, that city was considered as the *native country*, and the domicile of the two heroes; and therefore was in direct opposition to the Coan tradition. Now that a Heraclide family should have gone from Cos to Ephyra in Epirus, is contrary to all other examples of the migrations of Greek races and colonies, and all that we know of the dispersion of Heraclide clans or families. On the other hand, a part

⁹ See book II. ch. 12.

^r Peplus, Troj. Her. Epig. 27.

of the mythology of Hercules, which appears to be of great antiquity*, refers to this Ephyra in Epirus; and it was then quite natural, that with the conquest of Ephyra (a fabulous exploit of Hercules) the origin of a branch of the Heraclidæ should be connected, who then came with the Dorians into the Peloponnese, and by means of the Epidaurian colony to the island of Cos.

4. The favourable situations of these Doric cities on islands and promontories, possessing roadsteads and harbours convenient for maritime intercourse, attracted in early times a considerable number of colonies. It is remarkable that the RHODIANS should have founded fewer and less considerable colonies on the coast of Asia Minor than in the countries to the west: for, with the exception of Peræa, which was not till later times dependent on this island, the only Rhodian towns in Asia Minor were Gagæ† and Corydalla‡ in Lycia, Phaselis*, on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia, and Soli in Cilicia‡. On the other hand, in Olymp. 16. 4. 713 B.C., according to Thucydides, about the time of their colonizing Phaselis, they founded in Sicily the splendid city of Gela, the mother town of Agrigen-

* Book II. ch. 11. §. 4.

† See particularly Etymol. Mag. p. 219. 8. also Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 157.

‡ Hecataeus ap. Stephan. Byz.

* As Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 251. clearly shews from Herodotus and Aristænetus περὶ Φασηλίδος ap. Steph. Byz. in Γόλα and other words.

‡ Eckhel D. N. III. p. 68. According to Strab. XIV. p.

671 D. Ῥοδίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, which Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 379. proposes to refer to Achæa in Rhodes, and leave out καὶ, but the Gentile name would be rather Ἀχαιῶς than Ἀχαιοί. Solon, the Lindian of Rhodes, is called the founder of this Soli in Cilicia, *Vita Arati*, vol. I. p. 3. vol. II. p. 444. Buhle; a testimony which Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 376. has overlooked.

tum. This colony was sent from Lindus, which furnished its leader Antiphemus (or Deinomenes^z). It was accompanied by inhabitants of the small island of Telos^a; and was at the same time joined by some Cretan emigrants. That however the numbers of those who came from the first mentioned town predominated, is shewn by the original name of the settlement, *Λίνδοι*, and by the religion there established. Doric institutions (*νόμιμα Δωρικά*) were common to all the founders above mentioned, and were consequently established in their settlements^b. The connexion and intercourse with those islands continued without interruption; hence it was that, in later times, the family of Phalaris, coming from Astypalæa, found a welcome reception at Agrigentum^c; and the family of the Emmenidæ, which overthrew Phalaris, had come from the same region, viz. from Thera^d. Moreover, Parthenope, in the country of the Osci, and Elpiæ, or Salapiæ, in the territory of the Daunians (in the founding of which the inhabitants of Cos had a share), were beyond doubt settlements of the Rhodians; and indeed this same people penetrated even to Iberia at an early period, and there founded Rhodes; and we have also traces of their presence at the mouth of the Rhone^e. Hence also perhaps arose the account

^z Both names in Etymol. Magn. in v. Γελα.

^a Herodot. VII. 153. The coins of Telos have the head of Jupiter and the *Crab*, like those of Agrigentum; the last symbol is also on those of Cos and Lindus.

^b Thucyd. VI. 4.

^c According to the spurious

letters, which are in many places correctly treated of by Bentley in his Dissertation (without however noticing the historical connexion), and also by Lennep in the notes.

^d According to Hippostratus ad Pind. Pyth. VI. 4.

^e Compare, besides Meursius, Heyne, *Nov. Comment. Gotting.*

of the expedition of Tlepolemus to the Balearic islands; which account, and the statement that Sybaris was founded by him, may be understood merely as fabulous expressions for the voyages undertaken by the Rhodians in the western sea.

5. It is however a matter even of still greater difficulty to determine the true history of several cities in Asia Minor, which are reported by tradition to have been colonies of Argos, and generally of the greatest antiquity. But it requires nothing short of absolute superstition to believe that Tarsus was founded by Io, or Perseus the Argive^f, who, with his descendant Hercules, was worshipped in this place as a tutelar deity^g; or that Mallus, Mopsuestia, Mopsucrene, and Phaselis were founded by Argive soothsayers at the time of the Trojan war^h. To these may be added Aspendus in Pamphylia, Cyrium in Cyprus, and even Ione, near Antiochia, in Syriaⁱ, the founding of which place is attributed to the Argives. For, without considering the period at which the ancient Peloponnesians are represented to have undertaken such distant (and at that time impossible) voyages round the Chelidonian islands, it is most singular that Argos, which is at no time mentioned among the maritime nations of

II. *cl. philol.* p. 40 sqq. That Lyons was a Rhodian colony, has, though without any grounds, been lately maintained, after Father Colonia, by count Wigrin de Taillefer, *Antiquités de Vézère*.

^f See Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 124. who also believes in the victory of Perseus over Sardanapalus.

^g See particularly Dio Chry-

sost. Orat. Tars. 33. pp. 394, 406, 408. Hercules was called ἀρχηγός, and on the day of his festival a funeral pile was built to his honour; compare Athenæus V. p. 215 B. on the Stephanephorus or priest of Hercules at Tarsus.

^h Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 403 sqq.

ⁱ Steph. Byz. in Ἰώνη.

Greece, should have planted upon that one line of coast a series of colonies in so connected an order, and so completely useless to herself. We will therefore venture to advance an hypothesis, to which, though perhaps no complete proofs of it can be adduced, we have still sufficient traces to lead us, viz. that all these towns were colonized from Rhodes; but that, by a form frequently in use, they were led out in the name of Argos, the mother-country of Rhodes, and under the auspices of Argive gods and heroes^k. In the first place, Argives and Rhodians are mentioned together as founders; as in the instance of Soli, which nevertheless only defended the Rhodians as a sister state before the Roman senate^l. Of the manner in which heroes were adopted as founders, the city just mentioned furnishes a good instance. For the Argive soothsayer Amphilochous is said to have come hither, who, according to poems that went under the name of Hesiod, had been put to death by Apollo at Soli^m. The following example gives a still clearer notion of the manner in which these fables were formed. The Rhodians built Phaselis at the same time with Gela (Olymp. 16. 713 B. C.); the founder is called Lacius, whom the Delphian oracle had sent to the east, as it had Antiphemus to the westⁿ. Now I have shewn in another part of this work^o that Lacius is

^k The arrival of Diomedes the Argive among the Daunians may likewise refer to the founding of Elpiæ. He is said to have come with *Dorians*. Antonin. Liber. 37.

^l Polyb. Exc. Leg. XX. 7. 11. Liv. XXXVII. 56.

^m Ap. Strab. XIV. p. 676.

ⁿ Steph. Byz. in Γέλα. Compare Athen. VII. p. 297. from the Ἄρροι Κολοφωνίων of Heropythus, and Philostephanus περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων.

^o Book II. ch. 2. §. 7.

a Cretan form for Rhacius; and this was the name of the husband of Manto, and father of Mopsus, the ancient fabulous prophet of the temple at Claros. For, leaving no doubt that this person is intended, the tradition also says, that this Mopsus, the son of Rhacius, founded Phaselis^p: Pamphylia itself is called the daughter of Rhacius and of Manto^q; and lastly, the same Lacius is represented as a contemporary of Mopsus, and as having been sent out by Manto as a founder at the same time with the latter^r. The inference that we must draw is, that there was no such individual as Lacius who led the Lindians in person to Phaselis, but that he was merely a mythological being, and represents the Clarian oracle, which seems to have cooperated on this occasion^s. Those who are versed in the interpretation of fabulous narratives will also hence infer, that the same was the case with his contrary, *Ἀντιόφημος*. In order however to give the mother-state, Argos, a share in the fabulous account of the foundation of the Pamphylian colonies, it was necessary that Amphilochous, who belonged to the family of the Amythaonidæ, should, together with Calchas, have some connexion with them all; and, in fact, it is not impossible that soothsayers from

^p Pompon. Mela I. 14. The tradition is very ancient. Strab. XIV. p. 668. from Callinus. τοὺς λαοὺς μετὰ Μόψου τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβάντας τοὺς μὲν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ μῦναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ μερισθῆναι καὶ Συρίᾳ, μέχρι καὶ Φουσίᾳς. Concerning Mopsus in Pamphylia, see also Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 334.

^q Strab. XIV. p. 675. and others.

^r Philosteph. *ubi sup.*

^s Rhodia, near Phaselis, is also without doubt a Rhodian colony; and Mopsus (Theopompus ap. Phot. cod. 176.) was the founder merely in the above sense. In the same manner probably Lyrnessus; compare Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 404 sqq. who however has not perceived any thing of all this.

Argos, who called themselves descendants of this prophet and hero, were procured by the Rhodians for this service.

6. We may now penetrate somewhat deeper into the obscure traditions of the Cilician cities Mallus, Mopsuestia, and Mopsucrene. In the fables concerning the founding of these towns, Amphiloclus and Mopsus are always mentioned together; at the same time that the account of their Argive origin is very much brought into notice. Cicero calls both these prophets on this occasion kings of Argos^t. Here then we may also assume that soothsayers were brought from the mother-country, and suppose that the prophets of the Amphilochian oracle of Mallus were actually natives of Argos; and although, as will be shewn below, the influence of the Clarian worship was also felt^u, yet the persons who were the real colonizers could only have been a seafaring people, such as the Rhodians. In consequence however of these settlements having been founded at a very early period, when all colonies were as yet entirely dependent upon the oracles, and therefore were always under the direction of prophets, and as an inventive and imaginative spirit was then in full vigour, their true history has been enveloped in a thick cloud of mythological fiction, which we have at least begun to remove.

7. We next proceed to the CORINTHIAN colonies, the geographical situation of which alone affords a remarkable result with regard to the maritime expeditions undertaken by the mother-country. For although Corinth had two harbours, Lechæum in

^t De Div. I. 40.

^u Book II. ch. 2. §. 7.

the Crisæan, and Cenchreæ in the Saronic gulph, it is evident that all its colonies were sent out from the western port. They were founded almost without exception on the coasts of the Ionian sea, at the entrance of which the Corinthians had, perhaps at a very early period, founded the city of Molycreium². Notwithstanding this, the very first colony from Corinth, the date of which is known within a few years (Olymp. 5. 760—757 B. C.),³ ventured to cross the Ionian sea, and to found in the most beautiful part of Sicily the far-famed town of Syracuse. The founder was Archias a Heraclide, and probably also of the family of the Bacchiadæ⁴; he was followed by Corinthians chiefly from the borough of Tenea⁵, and on the road was joined by some Dorians from Megara⁶, the expedition was also accompanied by a prophet of the sacred family of Olympia, the Iamidæ, whose descendants flourished at Syracuse in the time of Pindar⁷. It appears however that Syracuse at that time borrowed many religious institutions from Olympia, as is proved by the worship of Arethusa, of Diana Ortygia, and of the Olympian Jupiter⁸. These original founders built

² Thucyd. III. 102.

³ See §. 10.

⁴ For what Plutarch. Amator. and Diodor. Exc. II. 228. p. 548. Wess. relate of the expulsion of Archias, is stated by the Scholiast to Apollonius IV. 1211. of the family of the Bacchiadæ. The former affirm the accidental murder of the son of Melissus to have been the cause of the founding of Syracuse, the latter of that of Coreyra. Yet this is contradicted by the Parian Marble, l. 47. Archias

δέκατος ἀπὸ Τημένου, since the Bacchiadæ derived themselves from Aletes, not Temenus. In either case Archias is an Heraclide. See Boeckh. Explic. ad Pind. Olymp. 6. p. 153. Compare Göller *de situ Syracusarum*, p. 5. 89.

⁵ Strab. VII. p. 380 D.

⁶ Strab. VI. p. 269. Compare Scymnus Chius v. 274.

⁷ See Boeckh's Introduction to the sixth Olympiad.

⁸ Book II. ch. 9. §. 4. ch. 10. §. 1.

a town in the island of Ortygia, the name of which can be explained only from the worship of the goddess just mentioned. The lands taken from the aboriginal Sicilians they divided into lots (κληῖραι), according to the number of the colonists. For the method universally observed in founding these colonies was, that the adventurers received beforehand a promise of a share in the territory; which also was called a lot (κληῖρος). On the occasion of this very settlement, Æthiops, a Corinthian glutton, is said to have sold a promise of this kind to a companion for one honey-cake^e. Eumelus the Bacchiad, the celebrated poet of Corinth, seems to have been one of these colonists^f, as he is mentioned in connexion with Archias. Although the *demus*, or populace of the city, chiefly perhaps consisted of inhabitants of various nations, which put themselves under the protection of this colony, and although the territory around was peopled by Sicilian bondsmen, yet in its dialect, and probably for a considerable period in its customs also, Syracuse remained a purely Doric state; as the women in Theocritus say^g, "*Our origin is Corinthian, and therefore we speak the language of the Peloponnese. For it is permitted, I suppose, to the Dorians to speak Doric.*" Hence the Syracusans were so greatly pleased with an ambassador from Lucania, who had learnt to speak Doric in order to address them in

^e Athen. IV. p. 167. from Demetrius Scepsius. Archilochus made mention of this Æthiops (Siebel. Fragn. p. 233).

^f Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 298. His προσόδιον was com-

posed before the Messenian wars, about the same time.

^g Adonias. 53. compare Thucyd. VI. 77. ὅτι οὐκ ἴωνες τὰδε εἰσὶν,—ἀλλὰ Δωριεῖς, ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ' αὐτανόμου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες.

their native tongue^b. Syracuse increased so rapidly in population and power, that 70 years after its foundation it colonized Acraë, and also Enna, situated in the centre of the island; 21 years after this, the town of Casmenæ; and in 45 more, Camarina. Also some Syracusan^c fugitives named Myletidæ, together with Chalcideans from Zancle, are said to have founded Himera; hence the dialect there in use was a mixture of Chalcidean and Doric: but the institutions (νόμιμα) were entirely Chalcidean.

8. The other Corinthian colonies, as has been already remarked, were all situated on the eastern side of the Ionian sea. The nearest of these are, besides their colony of Molycreium, Chalcis in Ætolia^d, and Solium in Acarnania^e; further on, we find that Ambracia was in very early times founded by Corinth^f, and accordingly was governed by a brother of Periander^g; by the influence of this settlement Amphi-

^b Dio Chrys. Or. XXXVIII.

^c According to Thucyd. VI. 5. Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 319. supports the contrary opinion.

^d Raoul-Rochette, ib. p. 290. The coins of Alyzia do not necessarily prove it to be of Corinthian origin, since barbarous towns frequently adopted the devices of the neighbouring Greek cities. Herodotus IX. 31. does not afford any reason for supposing that Pale was a Corinthian colony: yet both here and in Thucyd. I. 27. it appears as closely united with Corinth.

^e Thucyd. I. 108. where this Chalcis is evidently intended.

^f This I believe, because it was founded by Heraclidæ, i. e. by Bacchiadæ, according to Anton. Lib. 4. hence also the worship of Hercules existed there. Compare also concerning the Doric migration to Ambracia, the Epigram of Damagetus in the Palat. Anthol. VII. 231.

^g Γόργος is probably the most correct form of those in Plut. Conv. VII. Sap. 17. p. 42. Strab. X. p. 452. 7. p. 325. Scymn. Ch. 427. Antonin. Lib. I. 4. p. 23. Teuchn. who alone considers him as the brother of Cypselus. See book III. ch. 9. §. 6. note.

lochian Argos changed its language and customs for those of the Greeks^o. Anactorium was founded by the Corinthians, under the command of Periander, in conjunction with the Corcyræans. At the same time, and in connexion with the same persons, they occupied the island of Leucadia^p; to the possession of which however the Corcyreans, as they were at that time subject to Corinth, had no just claim; and Themistocles unquestionably did wrong in attributing any such right to them^q; the Leucadians also always remained firm to their real parent-state. Next comes Corcyra itself, the founding of which by Chersicrates the Bacchiad^r is represented as having been a secondary branch of the colony sent to Syracuse^s: but it had at a very early period set itself up as a rival to the mother-state in the Ionian sea, whose ancient power had been probably broken before the Persian war. On the opposite coast lay Epidamnus, which city was chiefly founded by Corcyræans, but under the command of Phalius the son of Eratocleides, a Corinthian Heraclide, whom the Corcyreans, according to the ancient colonial law, had sent for, together with some of his countrymen (in Olymp. 38. 2. 629 B. C. according to Eusebius), and were afterwards strengthened by emigrants from

^o Thucyd. II. 68.

^p See Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N^o. 43.

^q Plutarch. Themist. 24. but the whole history is inaccurately related.

^r Thus Schol. Apollon. IV. 1212. and from Timæus at V. 1216.

^s Yet Timæus *ubi sup.* places Chersicrates 600 years after

the Trojan war, the date of which he fixed (according to Censorinus de die Nat. 21.) 417 years before the first Olympiad; consequently the date which he gives to Chersicrates, is Olymp. 46. 3. 594 B. C. in the time of the Cypselidæ. Compare Mustoridi *Illustrazioni Corciresi*, I. 5. p. 65.

Dyspontium in Pisatis. Lastly, Gylax a Corinthian, together with 200 of his own countrymen, and a greater number of Corcyraeans, founded Apollonia in the time of Periander. Here ends the list of Corinthian colonies, which formed a strong and continuous chain along the coast; and thus even the barbarians of the interior, especially the Epirots of Thesprotia, were forced to maintain a perpetual connexion with Corinth¹: hence also the kings of the Lyncestæ in Macedonia esteemed it an honour to derive their origin from the Bacchiadæ². At a still further distance lay the island of Issa, which was colonized from Syracuse³. Corcyra however possessed settlements as far as the Flanatian gulph⁴. From these facts it is evident that there was a time when Corinth exercised a sovereign power in these seas, and by means of Corcyra and Ambracia, and other towns, ruled over many nations of barbarians. But the loss of Corcyra, which had been at war with its mother-state in the 28th Olympiad (about 668 B. C.)⁵, even before the time of Periander (though it was for a short time again reduced to subjection by the enterprising Cypselidæ) was an incurable wound for Corinth. The other colonies however shewed a remarkable obedience to her⁶. It was not till after the loss of their maritime dominion in these quarters (an event which had nevertheless taken place before the Persian war) that the Corinthians

¹ Thucyd. I. 47.

² Strab. VII. p. 326. Scymn. Ch. 620.

³ Scymn. Ch. 412. According to Raoul-Rochette, IV. p. 86, it was founded at the same time that Dionysius founded

Lissus.

⁴ *Orchomenos*, p. 297.

⁵ Thucyd. I. 13.

⁶ *μάλιστα ἐπὶ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα*, the words of the Corinthians in Thucyd. I. 38. compare I. 26.

appear to have founded Potidæa on the opposite side of Greece in Chalcidice, which colony they sought to retain in their power by continually interfering in its internal administration, and for this purpose sent thither every year magistrates named Epidemiurgi^b.

9. MEGARA on the other hand was induced by its situation to send even its first colonies to the opposite side of Greece on the Thracian coast. Thus in Olymp. 17. 3. 710 B. C. it founded Astæus in Bithynia^c; afterwards Chalcedon, on the entrance of the Bosphorus^d in Olymp. 26. 2. 675 B. C. (according to Eusebius); and 17 years later (Olymp. 30. 3. 658 B. C.) Byzantium in a more favoured spot, opposite to Chalcedon^e. The Argives also had a share in the foundation of this town; for which fact we may trust the general assertion of Hesychius of Miletus, that his circumstantial and fabulous history of the early times of this city was derived from ancient poets and historians. For the transmission of the worship of Juno (whose temple both at Byzantium and Argos was on the citadel)^f, and the traditions concerning Io, the attendant of the Argive Juno, confirm in a manner which does not admit of a doubt, the pretensions of Argos to a share in this colony. Io, who was represented with horns on her forehead, is said to have here produced to Jupiter a

^b L. 56. book III. ch. 8. §. 5.

^c According to Eusebius. See Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 233.

^d According to Hesychius Milesius de Constant. p. 48. the founder's name was Dineus.

^e The situation of Byzantium, in a political and commercial point of view, is well described by Polybius, IV. 44.

^f Dionys. Byzant. de Thracio Bosporo in Hudson's Geogr. Min. vol. III. sacrifices were offered to her on the first day of the year. Heyne Comment. Rec. Gotting. tom. I. p. 62. has treated of the fables of Io at Byzantium with sufficient fulness; but without tracing the origin of the traditions.

daughter, Ceroëssa the "Horned" by name (which is however only a different name for Io herself), who being suckled by the nymph Semestra, afterwards brought forth Byzas^g. Thence the fable of the cow swimming over the sea became peculiar to this place^h. In other respects the combinations of religious ceremonies as found at Byzantium, almost exactly resembled that which existed in Megara. Nay so carefully did the Byzantians, though far removed from their mother-state, preserve the remembrance of it, that they carried over almost all the names of their native country and the neighbouring region. We find on the coast a temple of Neptune, whose son was named Byzas; also of Ceres and Proserpine: the Scironian rocks, an Isthmian promontory, with the tomb of Hipposthenes a Megarian hero, the temple of Apollo on the high promontory of Metopum, also an altar of Saron, a pretended hero, whose name referred to the Saronic gulphⁱ. Thus Byzantium was never estranged from its Peloponnesian ancestors, although it adopted a large number of additional colonists (ἐποίκοι)^k, and ruled over Thracian subjects. Moreover the prevailing dialect, which occurs in some public decrees still extant, remained

^g Ibid.

^h See, besides others, Palat. Anthol. VII. 169. Why does not Raoul-Rochette admit here, as elsewhere, the supposition of an ancient colony under the guidance of Io an Argive princess?

ⁱ See Dionysius. There is something on this head also in Hesychius. Besides the names

in the text, there are Minerva Ecbasia—Diana Dictynna (also *Lucifera in piscinis*), Ajax Telamonius, and Achilles—Rhea—Hecate and Fortune—The Dioscuri—Amphiaraus ἐν στυγαίς, Venus the preserver of peace, and Venus Πάρθεμος.

^k With whom there were at times dissensions; see Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 10.

for a long time Doric¹. The Byzantians, together with the Chalcedonians, either at the time of the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, or of the Ionic revolt, founded Mesambria on the Pontus^m, which some consider as a colony of Megara. The Megarians had also founded Selymbria even before the settlement of Byzantiumⁿ, and probably carried on from this place a war with the Samians at Perinthus^o, when that island was still governed by Geomori, before the time of Polycrates. Moreover the Megarians had a large share in the founding of Heraclea on the Pontus; for although they were strengthened by some Tanagræans from Bœotia, their numbers so predominated that this city was in general considered as Doric^p.

10. Megara, however, at the same time founded some very considerable colonies to the west, viz. in Sicily. It will be sufficient to state in general terms that Hybla in Sicily was a Megarean colony, established in the 13th Olympiad (about 728 B. C.), and was even called Megara^q. It probably kept up a

¹ See, besides the decrees in Demosthenes, Constantin. Porph. Them. I. p. 1452. in Meursii Opp.

^m Μεραμβριανων and Μεσαμβριανων on coins.

ⁿ According to Scymnus Chius, v. 714.

^o Plut. Qu. Gr. 57. *Æginetica*, p. 67. It is probable that Perinthe also at that time received a party of Doric colonists, as it is called an allied town by the Byzantians (Demosth. de Corona, p. 255.), and the worship of Hercules

was prevalent there. Compare Panofka *Res Samiorum*, p. 22. where however several passages are incorrectly applied.

^p Arrian, *Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus*, p. 14. Hudson. Compare Orelli *Heracleot.* p. 115. Raoul-Rochette places it as far back as the 30th Olympiad, but according to Scymnus Chius, 231. the founding took place in the time of Cyrus.

^q Megara was founded in the same year as Naxos, Olymp. 11. 3. according to Ephorus

constant intercourse with the mother-state; since Theognis, who was a Megarian from Sicily, according to Plato, dwelt nevertheless for a long time in the Megara near Athens, to which state many of his poems refer¹. The founding of the small town of Trogilus, and of the more important city of Thapsos, preceded the building of Megara. Some inhabitants of Megara 100 years later, founded Selinus in the neighbourhood of that part of the island, which in early times the Phœnicians, in later the Carthaginians, held in possession.

11. The colonies of SPARTA, which still remain to be considered, were more numerous than would be expected of a state so averse to maritime affairs.

(in Strabo and Scymnus); according to the more exact Thucydides some time after, 245 years before its destruction by Gelon. Gelon reigned from Olymp. 72. 2. in Gela, from Olymp. 73. 4. till 75. 3. in Syracuse (Boeckh *ad Pind. Olymp.* I. *Explic.* p. 100). From the narrative of Herodotus VII. 156. it appears that he conquered Megara in the interval of Olymp. 74. 1—3. In which case the foundation would fall about Olymp. 13. 1. 728 B. C. According then to the account of Thucydides, the arrival of Lamis the Megarian must have been some years before. This event was contemporary with the founding of Leontini, which was five years after that of Syracuse: this cannot therefore be reconciled with the account of Eusebius, who dates the building

of Syracuse Olymp. 11. 4. (Hieron. Scal.). The statement of the Parian Marble agrees better, viz. Olymp. 5. 3. Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 214. reckons on false suppositions. Compare Heyne *Opusc. Academ.* tom. II. pp. 259 sq.

¹ See Passow *ad Theogn.* 773. Welcker *ad Alcman.* p. 85. adds Schol. Platon. p. 220. See also Welcker's *Theognis*, p. 14. In literary history many instances occur of the same persons being called citizens of the mother state, and of the colony; *e. g.* Archilochus was a Parian and Thasian; Protagoras and Hecætæus the younger were citizens both of Teos and Abdera; Terpander belonged to Arne in Bœotia and Lesbos at the same time; Mimnermus was both a Colophonian and citizen of Smyrna, &c.

In the history of the migrations of the Heraclidæ, we find introduced the colonies of Thera, Melos, Gortyna, and Cyrene; which, although for the sake of honour they recognised Sparta as their mother-state, had been in fact founded by Achæans, Minyans and Ægidæ, who dwelt at that time in a state of almost entire independance in a district of Lacedæmonia^s. All these states however retained the Doric name; and Cyrene, though even the founders married Libyan women^t, always preserved to the utmost of its power the institutions, customs, and language of its mother-country^u. The founding of Cnidos also took place at an early period, and was generally ascribed to the Lacedæmonians^x. The leader of the colony was, according to Diodorus, one Hippotes^y. Syme also was at that time peopled from Cnidos^z. The principal religion of this city, that of Venus^a (who was here worshipped in a three-fold capacity), was without doubt the same as that which existed at Cythera, having been carried over by the Lacedæmonian colonists. The splendid city of Cnidos, protected toward the east by an Acro-

^s See *Orchomenos*, pp. 313—359. Thirge's *Res Cyrenensium* (1828), pp. 23—35. Concerning a family of the Heraclidæ, see the interesting passages of Synesius, *Kataart.* (p. 10. Morell.) and of Theodorus Metochita in the *Supplem. ad Nicol. Damasc. Orellii*. The account of the latter is very confused.

^t Pind. *Pyth.* IX. Boeckh *Explic.* p. 325. Thirge *ibid.* 121 sq.

^u *Δωρικοί τάφοι*, Synesius, *ubi*

sup.

^x Herodot. I. 174. Diodorus V. 53. speaks of an Argive-Lacedæmonian colony in this district.

^y V. 9. 53. Tzetzes *ad Lycophr.* 1388. calls him *Ἰππότης ὁ Ἀλήτης*, but I can hardly think that he is the same as the ancestor of the Corinthian Heraclidæ.

^z Diodor. V. 53.

^a Also at Nisyrus according to its coins.

polis, which both its Cyclopiian architecture^b and fabulous history prove to have existed before the time of the Dorians, was situated on a neck of land, with a harbour on each side, one of which was among the largest in Greece. Thus fitted by nature for commerce, Cnidos also founded colonies of its own, among which Lipara, established (in Olymp. 50. about 580 B.C.) upon one of the Æolian islands under the direction of descendants of Hippotes^c, overcame the Etruscans in several wars, and adorned Delphi with offerings of victory^d. Another colony from Cnidos, remarkable chiefly for its distance from the mother-country, is Black-Corcyra on the coast of Illyria. Lacedæmon herself however is said to have sent out colonies to Phrygia, Pisidia and Cyprus. In the former country Pisistratus a Spartan is said to have founded Noricum near Celænæ on the river Marsyas^e. Selge in Pisidia is generally considered

^b I here speak on the authority of some beautiful drawings by M. Huyot, amongst which is a plan of Cnidos; an accurate plan of the harbour was shewn me by captain Beaufort. Compare Clarke part II. §. 1. plate 13.

^c It is stated by Diodorus V. 9. that the Cnidians in the 50th Olympiad (580 B.C.) sent a colony to Lipara under the guidance of three descendants of their countryman Hippotes, Gorgus, Thestor and Epithersidas, who, in conjunction with 500 of the former inhabitants, founded a state. Now it was natural to call Æolus the god of the winds, who was supposed to reside on these islands, a son of the new national hero,

Hippotes; and hence he became Αἰολος Ἰπποράδης. If this is true, then the name Ἰπποράδης in the Odyssey (K. 2. 36.) is certainly *later* than the Homeric age; which might be almost supposed from the statement of the learned Asclepiades, that the Æolus of Homer was the son of Neptune (not of Hippotes), which he could hardly have said, if all the copies of the Odyssey had Ἰπποράδης.

^d See particularly Pausan. X. 11. 3. from Antiochus, and Diodorus V. 9. probably from the same author.

^e Pseud-Plutarch. de fluv. Mars. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 321.

by the ancients to have been a Lacedæmonian colony, and we frequently find on coins of a late date this origin recognised. The representative of the state is Hercules, the Doric hero; moreover the free spirit, the bravery, and the good laws of the Selgæans (although the reverse is sometimes attributed to them) were derived from their mother-state^f. The wrestling youths in the act of grasping one another (*ἀκροχειρίζομενοι*) represented on their coins, bespeak a love for gymnastic exercises. It should however be remembered, that the founders of this colony were, according to a more exact statement, Amyclæans^g, i. e. fugitive Periæci, who perhaps had passed through Cnidos in their way to these districts. It appears that the Selgæans founded Sagalassus^h, which city is styled on its coins *The Lacedæmonian*. Perhaps Praxander went at the same time from Therapne in Laconia, with Cephass of Olenus (both Achæans by birth) to the island of Cyprus, where they founded Lapathus and Ceroniaⁱ.

12. But the most celebrated of all the Lacedæmonian colonies, and which really proceeded from Sparta, was Tarentum. The history of its origin is buried in fable, in the accounts of the first Messe-

^f See Strab. XII. p. 570. The inscription on their coins is *Σελγέων Λακεδαιμονίων δμόνοια*, Compare Mionnet *Descript.* III. p. 525. Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 427. with whom I do not entirely agree. See also Nicephorus Blemmidas ed. Spohn. p. 13.

^g Dionys. Perieg. 860. where I consider that "the Amyclæans" is not a mere poetical ornament, although the testi-

mony is not to be much depended upon. Compare Eustathius ad l.

^h See Raoul-Rochette's argument, tom. II. p. 428.

ⁱ Lycophr. vv. 452, 593. Strab. XIV. p. 682. *Λακεδαιμόνων ἐν Κύπρῳ* Eustath. ad Homer. p. 293. 45. ed. Rom. Golgi in Cyprus was founded by *Sicyonians* (Steph. Byz. in *Γόλγοι*), and it was the *only* colony sent out by that state.

nian war; the accompanying circumstances will be mentioned below. The leader of this colony was Phalanthus, son of Aratus a Heraclide^k. Taras on the other hand is called the son of Neptune, because this colony carried over the worship of that deity from Tænarum to Italy. These emigrants also brought with them other religious rites, as for instance the worship of Hyacinthus^l; likewise many names from their native country, as that of the Eurotas, which they gave to the river Galæsus^m. But the fruitful and luxuriant territory to which they had moved, its soft and voluptuous climate, and the commerce, for which Tarentum was well situatedⁿ, and always open (although it never carried it on in an active manner), helped to engender that effeminacy of character, which gave countenance to the fable of the founders having been the sons of unmarried women (*παρθενίαι*). Still, amidst all its degeneracy, Tarentum retained a certain degree of dependence on its mother-country: at the foundation of Heraclea the Tarentines allowed Cleandridas a Spartan to be one of the original colonists^o. The friendship moreover of the Cnidians with the Tarentines^p, as well as that with the Cyreneans, was founded on the recognition of a common origin. The

^k *Ut fertur, octavus ab Hercule*, Schol. Vetust. ad Hor. Carm. II. 6. 12. and so likewise Servius ad Virgil. Georg. IV. 125. Æn. III. 551. Compare concerning the Phalantidae, Steph. Byz. in Ἀθήναι. Callimachus is referred to in a verse quoted by Schol. ined. ad Dionys. Perieg. (Spohn. Opusc. Niceph. Blemm. 29.)

πάντες ἀπ' Ἡρακλῆος ἐτίτυμον ἔσσε Λάκωνες according to Goettling's conjecture.

^l Ὑακίνθου or Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑακίνθου τάφος Polyb. VIII. 30. 2.

^m Ib. VIII. 35. 8.

ⁿ Scymn. Ch. 330.

^o Strabo VI. p. 264. from Antiochus.

^p Herodot. III. 138. IV. 164.

colony of Crotona (Olymp. 19. 2. 703 B. C. according to Eusebius) consisted indeed of Achæans, who came partly from the maritime town of Rhypæ^q, and partly from Laconia^r: it must however have been established under the authority of the Doric state of Sparta, since Apollo and Hercules, the Doric god and hero, were here worshipped with especial honour^s; the early constitution was also Doric; and although in general we are not to look for truth in the poetry of Ovid, yet in this instance we may credit his statement that Myscellus the founder was a Heraclide^t. In like manner the Locrians, who (in Olymp. 24. 2. 683 B. C.) founded Locri, must have procured Spartans as leaders^u, since (as their coins also shew) they paid particular honours to the Dioscuri, in time of distress in war the statues of these gods having been sent to them from Sparta, as being a people of the same origin^s; and even in the Peloponnesian war they still adhered to the cause of Sparta^v. Of a nature wholly different were the rapid and transitory settlements of Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, which this noble adventurer founded in Sicily and Libya; when, scorning to submit to a worthless brother, and confiding

^q Strabo VIII. p. 387.

^r Pausan. III. 3. 1. Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. 10. Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 187.

^s See book II. ch. 3.

^t Metam. XV. 15. *Grates agit ille parenti Amphitryoniadæ*. [Diodorus VII.—X. 10. Exc. Vat. p. 8. Mai. calls him an Achæan, *Μύσκελλός τις Ἀχαιὸς ὡν τὸ γένος*. See however ch. 3. §. 1. near the end.]

^u See Pausan. *ubi sup.* The

newly discovered fragments of Polybius confirm the participation of Sparta in the colonization of Locri, p. 384. Mai.

^s Justin. XX. 2.

^v Thucyd. VI. 44. Raoul-Rochette, p. 194. derives it from Dorians, who had previously settled at Cape Zephyrium: but even if there were Dorians there, they must have been Megarians.

in his own strength, he hoped to obtain by conquest a kingdom in a distant country². Finally, the Lycians of Crete and other inhabitants of this island called themselves colonists of Sparta. In all probability many of the ancient Doric cities of this country received fresh settlers from Lacedæmon; which state, at the beginning of the Olympiads^a in the time of Alcarnenes, and even during the life of Lycurgus^b, exercised a very considerable influence upon the internal affairs of Crete.

Having taken a view of the Doric settlements without the Peloponnese, we now return to the history of that Peninsula, which we will divide into two periods, namely, before and after the 40th Olympiad, or the year 620 B. C.

CHAP. VII.

History of the Peloponnese from the Doric invasion till the 40th Olympiad. 948—620 B. C.

1. Before we begin to collect and arrange the accounts extant concerning the early history of the Peloponnese, it will be first necessary to ascertain what are the sources from which we are to obtain

² It would lead us too far from our subject to explain the tradition concerning the Lacedæmonians among the Sabines and Samnites. It is remarkable that, according to Silius Italicus, these Lacedæmonians came from Amyclæ and Therapne, the ancient settlements of the Achæans. I must also pass over the Cretan colonies,

for many reasons.

^a Paus. III. 2. 7.

^b A war with Cnosus is very improbable, and almost impossible (Paus. II. 21. III. 11.). Vell. Patere. I. 4. *Lacedæmonii in Asia Magnesiâ*, had probably some account of the share of the Spartans in these Cretan colonies, which will be discussed book II. ch. 3.

the information we appear to possess respecting the events of this period. For the epic poets, who carried on an uninterrupted series of traditions on the events of the fabulous ages, and have thus thrown over this dark period some faint glimmerings which may in many places be condensed into a distinct and useful light, only touch on a few points of the period whose history we are about to examine. On the other hand, indeed, the art of writing was during this time introduced among the Greeks through their intercourse with Asia; but that it was long before it came into general use, is evident from the almost surprising imperfection of those written documents which have been preserved to us of a date anterior to the 60th Olympiad, in comparison with the great perfection of their art. For this reason writing was long regarded in Greece as a foreign craft, and letters were considered (for example in the Tean curses) as Phœnician symbols. Nevertheless, these few and scanty registers are the first materials for real history and chronology now extant. As such, the following have been made known to us from the Peloponnese.

2. The *Quoit of Iphitus*, upon which was inscribed in a circle the formula for proclaiming the sacred armistice of Elis, and in which Iphitus and Lycurgus were mentioned as the founders of it^c. There is no reason for doubting its genuineness, which was recognised by Aristotle, and the institution which it mentioned was considered by all ancient writers as a real fact^d. Secondly, the *lists of the conquerors*

^c Pausan. V. 20. 1. according to Clavier, Plutarch. Lycurg. I.

^d Λυκοῦργος ὑπὸ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩΣ ἱστορεῖται μετὰ τοῦ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρῶτην ἀριθ-

at the Olympic games brought down uninterruptedly from the victory of Coræbus^c, which always recorded the conquerors in the foot race, and in later times at least those in the other games^d. It is probable that they were originally engraved on single pillars, and afterwards collected under the inspection of the Hellanodicæ^e. Similar catalogues of conquerors in other games, besides the four great ones, were also probably not uncommon, but they were generally inscribed on separate pillars, and therefore of little use to the historian^f. The names of the conquerors at the Carnean games at Sparta were also registered, so that Hellanicus was enabled to compose from them a work called Καρνεονῆκαι. The register (ἀναγραφὴ) at Sicyon contained a list of the priestesses of Juno at Argos, and the poets and musicians of the games^g. But this also contained fabulous accounts; for example, the invention of playing and singing on the harp by Amphion. Nor were the catalogues of the priestesses of Juno, which were probably kept at Argos, altogether free from fable, as may be perceived from the fragments extant of Hellanicus's chronological work on these priestesses, which was probably founded on the official catalogues^h.

3. There were also at Lacedæmon public registers (ἀναγραφαι), in which Plutarch found mention of the

μηδεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θείων διαθεῖσθαι, Athen. XIV. p. 635 F.

^c Pausan. V. 8. 3. ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμας ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐστὶ—

^d γράμματα Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Pausan. V. 21. 5. VI. 2. 1.

^e See Aristodemus ap. Syn-cell. Chron. p. 196 C. Compare

Göller de Situ Syracusarum, p. 198.

^f Pind. Olymp. VII. 86. ἐν Μεγάροισιν ἔ' οὐχ ἕτερον λιθίνα ψάφος ἔχει λόγον. Comp. Boeckh Explic.

^g Plutarch. de Musica, 3. 8.

^h Sturz. Hellanici fragment. p. 79 sqq. ed. 2.

daughters of Agesilaus^l, and in those of the earliest times the same author discovered the Pythian oracle concerning Lycurgus^m, the same that Herodotus refers to in his first book. These doubtless contained the names of *all the kings*, and probably also the years of their reigns, as far back as Procles, who, according to a statement noticed above, died one year before his brother Eurysthenesⁿ. This fact could hardly have been derived from any other source than some national annals, though it is not impossible that it was first transferred to them from oral narrative; in which case however it is difficult to understand how tradition, contrary to its general character, preserved dates. It was without doubt from these registers that Charon of Lampsacus, before the time of Herodotus, composed his work entitled "*the Prytanes, or Rulers of Lacedæmon*;" in which he also noticed the sacred offerings and monuments of ancient times^p. With respect to the chronological labours of Timæus, Polybius^q says that "this writer compared the ephors with the kings of Lacedæmon from the beginning, and the archons at Athens and priestesses at Argos with the conquerors at the Olympic games, and noted the errors which the cities had made in the registration, even when they only differed by three months." Eratosthenes and Apollodorus founded their chro-

^l Agesil. 19.

^m In Colot. 17. p. 268. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν περὶ Λυκούργου χρησμόν ἐν ταῖς παλαιοτάταις ἀναγραφαῖς ἔχοντες. Concerning this oracle see Theodoret Græc. Affect. 9, 10. Max. Tyr. Diss. XIII. 1. The oracle in Cænomaus (Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. p.

113.) is evidently a modern forgery.

ⁿ Above, ch. 5. §. 14. Eurysthenes, according to Eusebius, reigned 42 years.

^o Suidas in Χάρων.

^p Athen. XI. p. 475 B. concerning the *καρχήσιον*.

^q XII. 12. 1.

nology, especially before the Olympiads, upon the same list of the kings^r; they both nearly agreed in reckoning 327 or 328 years from the expedition of the Heraclidæ to the first Olympiad (776 B.C.)^s, which calculation would have been impossible without knowing the period which each king reigned; since if this computation is made by generations, reckoning about three to a century, quite a different number comes out^t. Lycurgus however was placed by Eratosthenes 108 years before the first Olympiad^u; in which computation he certainly went on the authority of the Quoit of Iphitus; which agrees with the statement of Apollodorus, that Homer, who according to this chronologist flourished 148 years before the first Olympiad, was a contemporary of Lycurgus when the latter was a young man^x.—It appears however that the name of Lycurgus was not preserved in any register of the kings, since in that case it would have been impossible that he should

^r Plutarch. Lycurg. I. Diod. I. 5. who calls the *ἀναγραφὴ* of the kings a *παράπηγμα*. Eusebius says that at the beginning of the Olympiads *Lacedæmoniorum reges defecerunt*, which error arose from the lists ending here, which had been made for computing the preceding periods.

^s Apollod. ap. Diod. ubi sup. Eratosthenes ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 336. ed. Colon. Compare Tatian. adv. Græcos, p. 174. Censorinus de Die Natali 21. Euseb. Scalig. p. 23. Cicer. de Rep. II. 10. who also followed the *Χρονικὰ* of Apollodorus.

^t Dieuchidas however pro-

bably computed the era of Lycurgus by generations (*ἔκγον ἀπὸ Προκλέους* in Plutarch. Lycurg. 2. Comp. Strabo X. p. 481.), when he fixed it at 290 years after the siege of Troy, i. e. $33\frac{1}{2} \times 8 + 24$ (the latter number for the *ἀκμὴ* of Lycurgus), Clemens *ubi sup.* p. 328.

^u Ap. Clem. comp. Diod. de Virt. et Vit. p. 547. ed. Vales.

^x P. 411. Fragm. ed. Heyn. from Tatian and Clemens I. p. 327. comp. p. 309. Pausan. III. 2. 4. Eusebius's quotation of Apollodorus at the 18th year of Alcamenes is incorrect, as may be seen from Plutarch. Lycurg. I.

have been called by Herodotus the guardian of his nephew Labotas the Eurysthenide^y, by Simonides (who lived in great intimacy with king Pausanias)^z the son of Prytanis, and the brother of Eunomus the Proclide, and by others the son of Eunomus, and guardian of his nephew Charilaus^a, had there existed any genealogy of him which was sufficiently accredited. Hence we must infer that these catalogues only contained the names of the kings, and not even of the royal guardians or protectors (πρόδοικοι), such as Lycurgus. On the other hand, the variations in the enumeration of the kings are unimportant, being confined to this, that in the pedigree of the Proclidæ Herodotus^b (or his transcribers) leaves out the name of Soüs, which occurs in all the rest, and, contrary to Pausanias, changes the order of Eunomus and Polydectes. There must also have been registers of the names and years of the princes of Corinth, and the family of the Bacchiadæ, since no one could have had the boldness to invent them^c.

^y I. 65. Pausan. III. 2, 3.

^z Ælian. V. H. IX. 41.

^a Ap. Plutarch. Lyc. 2. and compare Schol. Plat. Rep. X. p. 474. 21 Bekker. The latter also, according to Aristot. Polit. II. 7. 1. Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 482. Compare Dieuchidas. Dionys. Hal. Arch. Rom. II. 49. calls Lycurgus the uncle of Eunomus, whom he probably places with Herodotus (VIII. 121.) after Polydectes. Thucydides I. 18. places Lycurgus not long before 800 B. C. Timæus escaped the difficulty by supposing that there were two Lycurguses. Xenophon disagrees the most (Rep. Lac. 10.

quoted by Plutarch. Lyc. 1.), as he says that Lycurgus lived κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας, i. e. κατὰ τὴν Ἡρακλείδων κάθοδον.

^b VIII. 131.

^c The dates of these are given, doubtless from Alexandrine chronologists, by Diodorus fragm. 6. p. 635. where (with Wesseling after Didymus) 30 years must be assumed from the return of the Heraclidæ to the reign of Aletes, by which the computation comes out right. This has been overlooked by Eusebius, since he makes Aletes cotemporary with Eurysthenes. See the Armenian Eusebius, p. 16. Mai.

Indeed there were altogether many pedigrees, particularly of the Heraclidæ; as, for example, of families at Cyrene^d, and the Ptolemies^e; their authority however could not have been very great; in the latter indeed we cannot fail to recognise the unscrupulous hand of Alexandrine flatterers. The ancient chronicles (γράμματα ἀρχαῖα) of Elis, which Pausanias saw, appear to have contained complete pedigrees from Oxylus down to Iphitus^f; although the descendants of the former were not kings. The father of Iphitus was there stated to have been also named Iphitus, in contradiction to the common account^g.

4. None of these registers appear to have contained any thing beyond the names of conquerors at the games (which have seldom any reference to history), and princes with the years of their reigns. If any thing more was noted down, it was perhaps here and there an oracle, as those belonging to the history of Sparta in Herodotus^h, which were without doubt brought by the Pythians to Sparta in writing at a very early period. To these may be perhaps added some ancient *rhētras*ⁱ; under which term the ancient Dorians included all political documents, laws, and treaties. The most ancient instance of the last kind is the treaty between the Eleans and the inhabitants of Heræa, discovered by sir William Gell^k, the writing of which is so extremely rude,

^d See above, p. 142. note *.

^e *Æginetica*, p. 62. Comp. Theocritus XVII. 27.

^f As may fairly be inferred from V. 4. 3.

^g V. 4. 4. In an inscription at Olympia (Brunck, *Anal.* II. p. 193.) he was called the son of Hæmon; according to com-

mon tradition he was the son of Praxionides. In Eusebius (Hieronym.) should be written, *Iphitus Praxionidis vel Æmonis f.*

^h I. 66, 67.

ⁱ Concerning this word see Boissonade *Classical Journal*, vol. XX. p. 289.

^k Boeckh *Inscript.* N^o. 111.

as to prove that they were little practised in that art when it was engraved. It is however very doubtful how the Spartan Rhetras of Lycurgus were drawn up. By some it has been supposed that they were originally composed in metre, in order to be chaunted by the youth of Sparta^k; but this is contradicted by the certain testimony^l that Terpander of Antissa, whom the Spartans so highly esteemed, was the first who set these laws to music (ἐμελοποίησε), and first gave them a metrical and poetical form; and Terpander did not live till after the 26th Olympiad, or 672 B.C.^m But the Rhetra, which Plutarch has preserved as the genuine constitutional formula, bears a truly archaic character, since it contains a command of the Pythian Apollo to the lawgiver in the infinitive mood, and does not fall into verse. I do not perceive why it might not have been written, as well as the cotemporaneous inscription on the Quoit of Iphitus, and the ancient oracles cited by Herodotus; at least we cannot in any other way account for the preservation of the words. The original Rhetras however were very few, and formed merely the nucleus of a system of laws, more as a help to the memory than as a perfect code; hence the ancients could with propriety say, that Zaleucus was the first who committed laws to writingⁿ. The three Rhetras, which were preserved besides the former one, were merely certain general formulas, and by no means explicit laws; they had the form of an oracle, as having proceeded

^k E. g. by Wolf *Proleg. Homer.* p. 67.

^l Of Clem. Alexand. *Strom.* I. p. 308.

^m For the date of Terpander, see book IV. ch. 6. §. 1. note.

ⁿ Scymnus Chius, v. 313. Strabo VI. p. 259.

from the Pythian god^o, but were written entirely in prose^p. Next in the list of public monuments come the *ὄροι*, or landmarks of territory. It is well known that we are in possession of such records of a later period, belonging to the sacred territory of the Pythian Apollo (in which earlier *surveys of the Amphictyonic Hieromnemons*, and ancient inscriptions on boundary-stones are appealed to), belonging to Cretan towns, and likewise to Samos and Priene, in which the inhabitants of Priene cite ancient records, preserved from the time of Bias in the temple of Minerva^q. Historical works were also composed from these memorials^r. Now there must also have been records of this kind in the Peloponnese, although the inscriptions, by which the Messenians wished to prove to the Romans their original boundary towards Laconia, were evidently not made till after their reestablishment by Epaminondas^s.

^o Plutarch. Lyc. 13. whose words should be thus understood: "*Lycurgus did not enact any written laws, but merely sanctioned existing customs.*" The *ρήτραι* however were evidently not mere *ἔθη*, but oracular dicta, expressed in definite words, which had been preserved from ancient times. Plutarch. Agesil. 26. calls them *αἱ καλούμεναι τρεῖς ῥήτραι*, and also de Esu Carn. II. 1. *ὁ θεῖος Λυκούργος ἐν ταῖς τρεῖσι ῥήτραις*; consequently this was in a certain degree a fixed number. One of these very regulations was *μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις*.

^p Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. 19. *αἱ ῥήτραι, δι' ὧν ἐκόσμησε τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν Λυκούργος, ἐβόησαν αὐτῷ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΑΔΗΝ*.

^q The Delphian Inscription in Cyriacus p. xxviii. n. 197. Dodwell Classical Tour, vol. II. p. 510. (Boeckh Corp. Inscript. n. 1711). The Cretan in Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 135. The Samian and Prienian in Chandler Inscript. p. 1. 38. 1, 2, 3. Marm. Oxon. p. 25.

^r I agree with Creuzer Histor. Ant. Fragm. p. 122. that it is unnecessary *always* to alter writers concerning *ὅροι* into *ὠρόγραφοι*, i. e. chronologists. The above Samian inscriptions expressly refer to historical works; and are we then to alter in Herodian p. 7. (where see the passages quoted), and in p. 39. *ἐν Σαμίων ὄροις*?

^s *Monumenta saxis sculpta et ære prisca*, Tacitus Annal. IV. 44.

5. These documents, if we were in possession of them, would afford a valuable foundation for an account of the three centuries before regular history begins; but merely an outline, which would require to be filled up from other sources. This might partly be done from the writings of the *Lyric poets*, who flourished at that time, as Eumelus, Thaletas, Tyrtæus, Alcman, and Terpander¹; which writers had frequent intercourse with the Spartans, and introduced the events of the time into their poetry to a much greater degree than the epic poets. And in fact we find in the fragments of Tyrtæus and Alcman much of what we chiefly wish to know, viz. a lively representation of the feelings and manners of the period. The next source of information is *oral tradition*, which, though erring continually with regard to names and numbers, yet always relates something essential: and finally the *political institutions* continuing to exist in later times, which had their origin in this period.

These, and no other than these, can have been the means employed by the authors who wrote on the affairs of Laconia, in the century when history was approaching to maturity, such as Hellanicus, Charon, and Herodotus; and either directly or indirectly must have afforded materials to those who treated of the times of Lycurgus during the later age of Greek learning. But how little do we recognise the ancient simplicity and liveliness which characterise all the genuine remains of that time, in the historical style of Ephorus and Hermippus, and

¹ I mention Eumelus in this place, as being a Lyric poet in the modern sense of the word, on account of his *ᾠσμα προσόδιον* for the Messenian Theoria to Delos, Pausan. IV. 4. 1.

their followers^u. The object of these writers was to assimilate, as much as possible, the notions of antiquity to those of their own time, and to attempt in some way or other to represent every deed as proceeding from such motives as would have actuated their own cotemporaries. They have with a truly unsparing hand rubbed off the venerable rust of ancient tradition, and, totally mistaking the most powerful springs of action then prevalent, moulded all events of which any records had been preserved into a connected form more suited to a modern history. It is almost impossible to describe with what unlucky zeal Plutarch, where Lycurgus only embodied in laws the political feelings of his race and nation, ascribes to that legislator plans and views generally unsatisfactory, and often absolutely childish.

6. If now we apply the method above stated to the history of Lycurgus, we shall find that we have absolutely no account whatever of him as an *individual character*. Tradition very properly represents him as intimately connected with the temple of Delphi (by which the Dorians, and especially the state of Sparta, were at that time entirely led), and with Crete, the earliest civilized state of the Doric race. This connexion was generally represented under the form of a journey to both places; his tomb was also shewn both at Cirrha and at Pergamia in Crete. It was easy to imagine that the reforms of Lycurgus were violently opposed, and

^u Περὶ νομοθετῶν. He must however have either invented himself, or adopted the inventions of others, if he mentioned

the names of the twenty assistants and friends of Lycurgus, Plutarch. Lyc. 5.

produced tumults and disturbances^x. But the story of Alcander putting out one of Lycurgus's eyes (probably a popular tale) is founded on a false explanation of the title of Pallas Optiletis^y. It was indeed an ancient tradition that he was guardian (πρόδικος) of a Spartan king; but the common report of this being Charilaus^z is not quite certain, as we have seen above; and in order to account for both his travels and regency, he was reported to have abdicated the latter in order to avoid suspicion^a. If we set aside all fictions of this description, which have almost the spirit of a moral tale, like the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, there remains very little traditional lore. Of his legislation we will treat hereafter^b.

7. It is very singular that historians should have mentioned so little of the action of Lycurgus, which comes next in importance to that which has been just discussed^c; I mean the share that he had in founding the sacred armistice and games at Olympia, which event was without doubt the commencement of a more tranquil state of affairs in the Peloponnese. Lycurgus, as the representative of the Doric race, Iphitus, of the Ætolians and Eleans, Cleosthenes^d, the son of Cleonicus of Pisa, the city

^x Plutarch. *Lyc.* 31. and 11.

^y See book II. ch. 10. §. 2.

^z He was anciently celebrated for his mildness. Plutarch in the *Life of Lycurgus*, and *de Adul.* 16. On the other hand, Heraclides Ponticus 2. καὶ τὸν Χάριλλον (ΧΑΡΙΑΑΟΝ) τυραννικῶς ἄρχοντα μετέστησε.

^a Plutarch. *Lyc.*

^b Book III. ch. 1. The names of *Eunomus* as the father and

of *Eucosmus* as the son of Lycurgus (Pausan. III. 16. 5.) belong to the class pointed out above, p. 72. note 1.

^c Only Plutarch. *Lycurg.* 23. and Heraclid. *Pont.* 2. καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν τὰς ἐκχειρίας (the Pythian are probably meant) κατέστησε. The account of Hermippus is evidently, in part at least, invented.

^d This Cleosthenes is men-

to which the temple of Olympia properly belonged, and which had not then lost the management of it, in conjunction perhaps with several others, drew up the fundamental law of the Peloponnesian armistice (*ἐκεχειρία*). This contained two heads. First, that the whole territory of the Eleans (who acted as masters of the games, after the expulsion of the Pisatans, every year with more exclusive power) should remain for ever free from hostile inroads and ravages, insomuch that even armed troops were only to be allowed a passage on condition of first laying down their arms^c; secondly, that during the time of the festival a cessation of arms should also be proclaimed throughout the rest of the Peloponnese. But, since there was little agreement among the individual states in the computation of time, and as the Eleans alone were acquainted with the exact time at which the quadriennial festival came round, and perhaps also in order to make the injunction of the god more impressive, the Eleans always sent *feciales* round to the different states, "*heralds of the season, the Elean truce-bearers*" (*σπονδοφόροι*) of *Jupiter*^f;" these persons proclaimed the armistice of Olympia (*Ὀλυμπιακαὶ σπονδαί*) first to their own countrymen, and then to the other Peloponnesians; after which time no army was to invade another's territory^g. The fine which was to

tioned in Phlegon Trallianus ap. Meurs. Opera, vol. VII. p. 128. and Schol. Plat. Rep. V. p. 246, 7. Bekker.

^c Συγχώρημα Ἑλλήνων ἱερὰν καὶ ἀπόρρητον εἶναι Ἡλείαν, Polyb. IV. 73, who calls the peaceable existence of the Eleans in early times a *ιερός βίος*; Strab.

VIII. p. 357. Diod. Excerpt. p. 547. Wessel., where very absurd motives are attributed to the Lacedæmonians.

^f Isthm. II. 23. Boeckh Explic. p. 494. Schneider Lexicon in v. et ad Xen. Hell. IV. 7. 2.

^g The determination of this

have been paid by the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war for having sent out soldiers after this period was two minas for each hoplite, the very sum which by the agreement of the Peloponnesians was required for the ransom of prisoners of war^h; whence it is evident that the transgressors of the truce were considered as becoming slaves of the god, and were to be ransomed again from him. The decree was pronounced by the tribunal of the temple at Elis, according to the "Olympian lawⁱ." The fine was divided between the Eleans and the treasury at the temple of Olympia. To this temple also were paid all penalties incurred by the infraction of treaties^k; nay sometimes whole cities were bound to pay a fixed tribute every year to the god^l. By these and similar laws was the armistice protected, which doubtless was not intended merely to secure the celebration of the games from disturbance, but also to effect a peaceable meeting of the Peloponnesians, and thus to give occasion for the settling of disputes, and the conclusion of alliances. It is certain that even in the Peloponnesian war public business was transacted at this assembly^m. But one chief effect of the Olympian festival appears to have been the production of a more friendly connexion between the Ætolian and Doric races. This fact appears to be established by the tradition

time was somewhat ambiguous. See Thuc. V. 49. ἐπαγγέλλειν is the proper word for the announcement.

^h Herod. VI. 79. see also V. 77.

ⁱ Thucyd. V. 49. comp. Pausan. V. 6, 4. VI. 3, 3.

^k As in the well-known treaty between the Eleans and Heræans, αἱ δὲ μὰ συνίαν, τάλαντόν κ' ἀργύρῳ ἀποτινοῖαν τῷ Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ.

^l Thuc. V. 31.

^m Thuc. III. 8, 14.

that Iphitus introduced the worship of Hercules at Elis, which therefore had previously been peculiar to the Dorians^a. Apollo, the Doric god, was also at this time regarded as the protector of the sacred armistice of Olympia, as we shall see hereafter^b.

8. We now proceed immediately to the *Messenian wars*, since it is hardly possible to find one independent event between the commencement of them and the time of Iphitus. These however are really historical, since we have in Tyrtaeus a nearly contemporaneous account of the first, and one actually so of the second. The fragments and accounts remaining of his poems are our principal guides for obtaining a correct knowledge of these transactions. And in these alone many circumstances appear in quite a different light from that in which they are represented in the romance of Pausanias. In the latter the Spartans only are the aggressors, the Messenians only the subjects of attack; but, if we listen to Tyrtaeus, the former also had to fight for their own country^c. But, since even the ancients possessed few remains of Tyrtaeus, and as nearly all the historical part of his poems appears to have come down to us, whence did Pausanias derive his copious narrative, and the details with which he has adorned it? Was it from ancient epic poets? Yet of these there is nowhere any mention: and in general a historical event, if it could not be put into an entirely fabulous shape, like the stories of the origin and foundation of many colonies, lay altoget-

^a Pausan. IV. 4.

^b Book II. ch. 3. §. 2.

^c Frank *Callinus*, p. 153. de-

nies the authenticity of the fragment preserved in Lycurgus, but without any reason.

ther without the province of the early poetry. It is indeed possible that in the Naupactia, which are referred to for the fabulous history of Messenia^q, some historical notices may have occasionally occurred, perhaps too in the works of Cinæthon and Eumelus: but the ancients, who disliked the labour of compiling a history from scattered fragments, probably gave themselves very little trouble to discover them. On the other hand, there existed a series of traditional legends, whose character announces their high antiquity; thus, that of the Messenians, that Aristomenes had *thrice* offered a *hecatomphonion*, or sacrifice for a hundred enemies slain in battle^r; whether or no of human victims is doubtful^s. A share in this sacrifice was also performed by Theoclus, who is called an Elean, because he belonged to a family of the Iamidæ, which, as it appears, was settled in Messenia; but this clan, though scattered about in different places, yet always retained their rights at Olympia^t. The same character may also be perceived in the legend of Aristomenes thrice incurring the danger of death. On the first of these occasions, when thrown into the Ceadas, he was preserved by a fox, the symbol of Messenia; on the second, whilst his guards were

^q Pausan. IV. 2. 1.

^r Plutarch Romul. 25. Sympos. Qu. IV. 1. 1. Sept. Sap. Conviv. 16. Polyæn. II. 31. 2. Plin. H. N. XI. 70.

^s See Fulgentius in Staveren Mythograph. Latin. p. 770. *Si quis enim centum hostes interfecisset, Marti de homine sacrificabat apud insulam Lemnum,*

quod sacrificatum est a duobus, Aristomene Gortynensi et Theoclo Eleo, sicut Sosicrates scribit. Apollodorus ap. Porphyry. de Abstin. II. 55. p. 396. (comp. Meursius, Misc. Lac. II. 14.) says that the Lacedæmonians also had sacrificed a man to Mars.

^t Paus. IV. 15. 5.

asleep, he turned to the fire and burnt in two the cords that bound his limbs^a, a story more certainly derived from tradition than the love-adventure which supplies its place in Pausanias; the third time however that he fell into the hands of his enemies, they cut open his breast, and found a hairy heart (*λάσιον κῆρ*^x).

9. Traditions of this kind were probably circulating in different forms among the victorious Lacedæmonians^y, amongst the refugee Messenians in Italy and Naupactus, the subject Messenians who remained in the country, and the other Peloponnesians; when they were recalled into existence by the re-establishment of the Messenian state by Epaminondas. Even before the battle of Leuctra, the Bœotians, on the advice of an oracle, hung up as a trophy the shield of Aristomenes^z, the device of which was a spread eagle^a; and when Epaminondas recalled the Messenian fugitives from Italy, Sicily, and even from Libya, and had erected them, with numerous Helots and people collected from various quarters, into a new state^b, Aristomenes was

^a Polyæn. II. 31. 3. Plin. XI. 70. Valer. Maxim. I. 8. ext. 15.

^x Stephanus Byz., who quotes Herodotus, Rhianus, and Plutarch. Herodotus, however, does not mention the subject. What Stephanus says is taken from Plutarch de Herodot. Maled. 2. p. 291. where however for *φῆσιν αὐτὸς* should probably be written *φασὶν αὐτόν*.

^y Isocrates (Archidam. 11.) connects the Messenian war with the assassination of Cres-

phontes, and relates that the Spartans were much encouraged by the oracle: the narrative evidently had not at this time received the form in which it was afterwards represented. Yet he mentions the twenty years' siege (on the authority of Tyrtæus), §. 66.

^z See Antip. Sidon. VII. 161. Anthol. Palat.

^a Pausan. IV. 16. 4. VI. 32. 5. IX. 39. 5.

^b Lycurgus in Leocrat. 15. p. 155. comp. Isocrates Archidam. 10.

especially invoked before the foundation of the city^c. In this manner the ancient traditions were enabled to gain a new footing, and to be developed in a connected form. Several writers now seized upon a subject which had begun to excite so great interest, of whom Rhianus the poet and Myron the prose-writer are known to us^d. Myron gave an account of the first Messenian war down to the death of Aristodemus; but, in the opinion of Pausanias, utterly regardless whether or no he related falsehood and incredibilities; thus, in the teeth of all tradition, he introduced Aristomenes, the hero of the second war, into the first; and he wrote with an evident bias *against* Sparta^e. Rhianus, however, a native of Benna in Crete, celebrated the actions of Aristomenes, in the second war, from the battle near the Great Trench (Μεγάλη Τάφρος), until the end of the war, as Homer had done those of Achilles; and although Pausanias has disproved some of his statements of particular facts from Tyrtæus^f, yet he has frequently followed him, and especially in the poetical embellishments of his narrative^g. He never mentions any historians, such as Ephorus, Theopompus, Antiochus, or Callisthenes^h. Rhianus, however, though he might not have exclusively adopted the Messenian accountⁱ, yet, as far as we

^c Pausan. IV. 27. 4.

^d Also Æschylus of Alexandria wrote Messeniaca, Athen. XIII. p. 599 E.

^e See Athen. XIV. p. 857 D. Diodorus probably follows him, since he represents Cleonnis in the first war and Aristomenes as fighting together, Fragm. X. p. 637, Wessel. In

XV. 66. he means him among the *ἔνιοι*. Boivin and Wesseling endeavour in vain to reconcile the contradictions.

^f IV. 15. 1.

^g Concerning Rhianus see Jacobs in the *Index Auctorum* to the Anthology.

^h See Strabo VIII. p. 362.

ⁱ *E. g.* it was a *Messenian*

can judge from Pausanias, gave the reins to his fancy, and mixed up many circumstances and usages of later times with the ancient tradition^k. It is not therefore our intention either to divert the reader

account which Myron followed (Pausan. IV. 6. 2.), that Aristomenes killed the king Theopompus (contrary to Tyrtæus, as may be seen from Plutarch Agid. 21.).

^k I will now point out some instances of modern fiction in the narrative of Pausanias. The account of Polychares and Eusephnes supposes a greater power in the Areopagus than it ever possessed: nor did the quarrel come at all within the province of the Argive Amphictyons. Besides Pausanias, see Diodorus Excerpt. p. 547, who generally follows the same authorities. The Cretan bowmen must have been introduced by Rhianus from his own country; it is certain that there were no mercenaries at so early a period. How could the Corinthians have gone to Laconia without passing through an enemy's country, and who would have allowed them a free passage? The flight of the initiated to Eleusis is contrary to all probability; and this the more, as in the second war they were quiet spectators, Pausan. IV. 16. 1. Yet we are told the sacred torchbearers (*δαδούχοι*) fought at Athens in military array. The disposition of the light-armed troops in separate bodies (IV. 7. 2.) is contrary to the account of

Tyrtæus and to ancient usage, compare IV. 8. 4. *Οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ δρόμον ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρῶντο* (IV. 18. 1.) is contrary to Herodotus (VI. 112). Many events are attributed to very improbable causes, *e. g.* that they left the fortified cities (IV. 9. 1.) from want of money. There is absolutely no reason given for the subjection of Messenia. That the Argives came in a private capacity, and not at the command of the state, appears from Herodot. VI. 92. The oracle in IV. 9. 2. in iambic verses is of a late date, but nevertheless *more* ancient than the corresponding one in hexameters preserved by Eusebius Præp. Ev. V. 27. p. 130. ed. Steph. The verse in Pausan. IV. 12. 1. *ἀλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαίαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός*, refers to the fraud of Cresphontes at the original division. In the oracle in Pausan. IV. 12. 3, and Eusebius *ubi sup.* should be written, *ἦ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων εὐήρεα τείχη, καὶ τειχέων στεφάνωμα πικροῦς οἰκίτορας ἔξει*. Whence these oracles were derived does not appear: nor is it easy to decide concerning the date of such short pieces. (The above oracle is differently, and perhaps more correctly, emended by Lobeck ad Phrynich. Par. p. 621).

with a continued narration of these fictions, at the expence of truth, or fatigue him by a detailed criticism of them, but merely to lay before him the chief circumstances, as they are known with historical certainty.

10. The first war is distinctly stated by Tyrtæus to have lasted nineteen years, and in the twentieth the enemy left their country, and fled from the mountain Ithome¹. The same authority also gives the time which elapsed between the first and second wars, viz. that the grandfathers were engaged in the first, the grandchildren in the second^m. The date of the first war is fixed by Polychares, who is stated to have been the author of itⁿ, having been conqueror in the race at the 4th Olympiad^o (764 B. C.); and it agrees well with this date that Eumelus, who was contemporary with Archias the founder of Syracuse (in the 5th Olympiad), composed a poem for *free* Messenia. Pausanias places the commencement (we know not on what grounds) at Olymp. 9. 2. (743 B. C.) the termination nineteen years later, Olymp. 14. 1. (724 B. C.) The interval between the two wars he states (though on what authority we know not, and contrary to Tyrtæus) to have been thirty-nine years^q; so that the second would have lasted from Olymp. 23. 4. to Olymp. 28. 1. (or from 685 to 668 B. C.^r) We

¹ See the Fragments as arranged by Frank *Callinus*, p. 168.

^m Ap. Strab. VIII. p. 362.

ⁿ By Pausanias and Diodorus de Virt. et Vit. p. 540.

^o Pausan. IV. 4. 4.

^q Justin. III. 5. says eighty years.

^r The same date is in the Parian Marble Ep. 34. But Pausanias IV. 15. 1. proves *only from Tyrtæus* that Rhianus was incorrect in calling Leotychides a contemporary of the *second* war; consequently the numbers cannot have much authority. Pausanias had how-

shall however find hereafter that the date of this war was probably later by several years. We also know from Tyrtaeus the name of the Spartan king who completed the subjugation of Messenia, viz. Theopompus⁸. Now with respect to the origin of this war, it may be first traced in the increase of power, which Sparta, before the beginning of the Olympiads, owed to the exertions of its king Taleclus, this prince having succeeded in subduing the neighbouring city of Amyclæ, and in reducing several other Achæan towns to a state of dependance on Sparta¹. Indeed if we correctly understand an insulated notice², Taleclus razed the town of Nedon, on the frontiers of Messenia and Laconia³, and transplanted its inhabitants to the towns of Pœessa, Echeiæ, and Tragis. Hence arose border wars between the Dorians at Sparta and those at Stenyclarus. The temple of Diana Limmatis⁴, the possession of which was disputed between the two nations (though its festival was common to both), afforded,

ever various means of judging: *e. g.* after the expulsion and subjugation of the inhabitants no Messenian occurred in the Ὀλυμπιονίκαι, Pausan. VI. 2. 5. Different writers however vary remarkably. Dinarchus (in Demosth. p. 99. 29.) places the subjection of the Messenians 400 years before their restoration (370 B. C.) Lycurgus (in Leocrat. p. 155.) 500, Isocrates (Archidam. 9.) only 300 (and yet he gives so early a date to the subjection), Plutarch (Reg. Apophth. p. 126.) 230 years before the death of Leonidas, i. e. 711 B. C. or Olymp. 17.

2; the date of Eusebius is Olymp. 12. 1. or 732 B. C. The beginning of the second Messenian war is placed by Eusebius at Olymp. 35. 3. (638 B. C.), and Tyrtaeus at Olymp. 36. 3. (636. B. C.).

⁸ Pausan. IV. 6. 2. (comp. Frank *Callinus*, pp. 172, 196. who proposes Πολυδώρη without any reason); see Polyæn. I. 15.

¹ See above, ch. 5. §. 12, 13.

² Strabo VIII. p. 360.

³ In the time of Augustus it was in Messenia. The name Nedon was only preserved in that of Ἀθηνᾶ Νεδουσία.

⁴ IV. 4. 2.

as may be discovered from the romance of Pausanias², the immediate ground for the war. For even in the reign of Tiberius the Lacedæmonians supported their claim to this temple by ancient annals and oracles^a; while the Messenians, on the other hand, brought forward the document already quoted, according to which this temple, together with the whole territory of Dentheleatis, in which it was situated, belonged to them. Dissensions in Messenia must have hastened the breaking out of the war, since it is certain that Hyamia, one of the five provinces of Messenia, was given by the Spartans to the Androclidæ, a branch of the family of the Æpytidæ^b. The history of the first war contains traces of a lofty and sublime poetical tradition: e.g. that Aristodemus, though ready to appease the wrath of the gods by the blood of his own daughter^c, yet was unable to effect his purpose; that the damsel was put to death in vain; and upon this, recognising the will of the gods that Messenia should fall, and being terrified by portentous omens, he slaughtered himself upon the tomb of his murdered child^d. The war seems to have been confined chiefly to the vicinity of Ithome, which stronghold, situated in the midst of the country, commanded both the plain of Stenyclarus and that of the Pamisus. The reduction of this fortress neces-

² Strabo V. p. 257. has nearly the same account as that of the *Lacedæmonians* in Pausanias; and so also Heraclides Ponticus, and Justin III. 4.

^a *Annalium memoria vatun-que carminibus*, Tacit. Annal. IV. 43.

^b Pausan. IV. 14. 2. See

above, ch. 5. §. 13.

^c Probably tradition had preserved some report of a sacrifice to Diana Orthia (Iphigenia), concerning which see book II. ch. 9.

^d Plutarch also mentions the same expedition, de Superstit. 7. p. 71, Hutten.

sarily entailed the subjugation of the whole country, and many of the Messenians began to emigrate. With this event the Doric colony of Rhegium is connected. Heraclides of Pontus^e merely relates, that some Messenians (who happened to be at this time at Macistus in Triphylia, in consequence of the violation of some Spartan virgins) united themselves to the Chalcidian founders of this town (who had been sent out from Delphi). He probably means those Messenians who wished to make a reparation for the violation of the Spartan virgins in the temple of Diana Limnatis, and were in consequence expelled by their own countrymen^f. But, according to Pausanias^g, even this body of Messenians received the district of Hyamia; and the Messenians did not migrate to Rhegium until after the taking of Ithome under Alcidas, and again after the second Messenian war under Gorgus and Mantichus, son of Theoclus, one of the Iamidæ^h. Anaxilas the tyrant (who lived after Olymp. 70.) afterwards derived his family from the Messeniansⁱ, who constituted in general the first nobility of the town of Rhegium^k.

The establishment of Tarentum is, as is well known, connected with the history of the first Messenian war; but it is wrapped up in such unintelligible fables (chiefly owing perhaps to an ignorance

^e Fragm. 25.

^f Pausan. IV. 4. Strabo VI. p. 257.

^g IV. 14. 2. 23. 3.

^h Hence Hercules Mantichus was worshipped at Messana, Pausan. IV. 23. 5. IV. 26. 3.

ⁱ See particularly Thucyd. VI. 5.

^k Strabo *ubi sup.* The Rhegini considered the Messenians of Naupactus as kinsmen, Pausan. IV. 26. We may pass over the often corrected error of Pausanias concerning Anaxilas (last by Jacobs *Amalthea* I. p. 199. where Bentley is forgotten).

of Lacedæmonian institutions), that all we can learn from them is, that Tarentum was at that time founded from Sparta¹.

11. In a fragment of Tyrtaeus we find some very distinct traces of the condition of the subject Messenians after the first war, which will be separately considered hereafter. The second war clearly broke out in the north-eastern part of the country, on the frontier towards Arcadia (Æpytis), where the ancient towns of Andania and Echalia were situated. In all probability this tract of country had never been subjugated by the Spartans. Aristomenes, the hero of this war, was born at Andania^m, from which town he harassed the Spartans by repeated inroads and attacks. In his first march he advanced as far as the plain of Stenyclarus; but after the victory at the Boar's Grave he returned to Andania. But this attempt of the Messenians to recover their independence became of serious importance by the share which the greater part of the states in the Peloponnese took in it. For Straboⁿ, quoting Tyr-

¹ Yet it should be observed that Dionysius Perieg. 376. mentions Amyclæans as colonists in Tarentum, which is probably not a mere poetical embellishment.

^m Ἀνδανία.—ἐκ ταύτης Ἀριστομένης ἐγένετο, Steph. Byz. The words οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μεσσηνία Ἀνδανία ἐκαλεῖτο, ἦν οἰκίσαι φασὶ τινὰς τῶν μετὰ Κρεσφόντου καὶ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι, &c. contain two errors; comp. Pausan. IV. 26. 5.

ⁿ The whole of the following passage is evidently taken from Tyrtaeus. VIII. p. 362. τὴν μὲν πρώτην κατακτ. φησὶ Τυρ-

ταῖος—γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἠλείους καὶ Ἀργείους [καὶ Ἀρκάδας addendum] καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχόμενων στρατηγόν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωτος. It is stated by Strabo, p. 355 C. that at the ἐσχάτη κατάλυσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων the Eleans assisted the Spartans. They must therefore have espoused the cause of the latter out of hatred towards Pisa. That Sparta rejected the claims of Pantaleon to the ἀγωνοθεσία after the 34th Olympiad, is also implied in

tæus, states, that the Eleans, Argives, Arcadians, and Pisatans^o assisted the Messenians in this struggle. The Pisatans were led by Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, who celebrated the 34th Olympiad in the place of the Eleans^p; which fact enables us accurately to fix the time (644 B. C.) At the head of the Arcadians was Aristocrates, whom Pausanias calls a Trapezuntian, the son of Hicetas, and mentions his treachery at the battle near the Ditch (Τάφρος), on the subsequent discovery of which the Arcadians deprived his family of the sovereignty of Arcadia^q. The same account is also given by Callisthenes^r, and both writers quote the inscription on a pillar erected near the mountain-altar of Jupiter Lycæus in memory of the traitor's detection. Now we know from good authority^s that Aristocrates was in fact king only of Orchomenus in Arcadia^t, of which his family was so far from losing the sovereignty, that his son Aristodamus ruled over it, and also over a great part of Arcadia. The date of Aristocrates^u appears to have been about 680—640 B. C.^v

the article of Phavorinus in v. *Aἰγίας*, p. 134. viz. that "the Lacedæmonians deprived the Pisatans of this privilege for siding with Messenia, and gave it to the Eleans, who took their part."

^o According to Pausanias also the *Sicyonians*.

^p Pausan. VI. 22. 2.

^q Plutarch de sera Num. Vind. 2; p. 216, agrees with Pausanias, and states that the war lasted for more than twenty years.

^r Ap. Polyb. IV. 33. 2. The words of the inscription are as

follows:

πάντας ἱ χρίνας ἡγεῖ δίκαιον ἄλλαν βασιλῆν,
ἡγεῖ δὲ Μισσηνὴν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀπὸ δόκτου
βασιλῆος. χαλκιστὴν δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἔτι ἐπὶ
σημῶν.
χαίρει Ζεὺ βασιλῆν, καὶ σάμ' Ἀρκάδιαν.

^s See *Æginetica*, p. 65.

^t Which city was still governed by kings in the Peloponnesian war, Plutarch Parallel. 32. p. 430.

^u See the genealogy of the Orchomenian, Epidaurian, and Corinthian princes below, ch. 8. §. 3. note.

^v The battle ἐπὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Τάφρῳ, περὶ Τάφρον (Polyb. IV.

The Lacedæmonians were therefore in this war really pressed by an enemy of superior force, a fact alluded to by Tyrtaeus. Meanwhile Sparta was assisted by the Corinthians^y, perhaps by the Lepreantans^z, and even by some ships of the Samians^a; but chiefly by Tyrtaeus of Aphidnæ, whom an absurd and distorted fable has turned into a lame Athenian schoolmaster. The fact of Sparta seeking a warlike minstrel in Aphidnæ, may be accounted for from its ancient connexions with this borough in Attica, which is said to have been in the hands of the Dioscuri. Whether or not Aphidnæ at that time belonged to Attica, and was subject to Athens, is a question we shall leave undecided; but there does not seem to be any reason for inferring with Strabo, from the passage of Tyrtaeus itself, that the whole tradition was false, and that Tyrtaeus was a Lacedæmonian by birth^b, though he doubtless be-

33. Pausan. IV. 6. 1. 17. 2.) in which Aristocrates is supposed to have betrayed the Messenians, was also mentioned by Tyrtaeus; but the account which he gave of it quite differs from that in Pausanias, viz. that the Spartans were intentionally posted in front of a trench that they might not be able to run away. Eustratius ad Aristot. Eth. Nic. III. 8. 5. fol. 46. *καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παρατάττοντες. τοῦτο περὶ Λακεδαιμονίαν λέγοι ἂν τοιαύτην γὰρ τινα μάχην, ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἐμαχίσαντο, ἐπολέμουν, ἧς καὶ Τυρταῖος μνημονεύει.*

^y According to Pausanias.

^z Pausan. IV. 15. 4. What he says in IV. 24. 1. does not

however agree well with this.

^a Herod. III. 47. That the Lacedæmonians, at the beginning of the second war, dedicated a statue of Jupiter, twelve feet in height, at Olympia, with the inscription in Pausan. V. 24. 1. is merely a conjecture of the *ἐξηγηταί*.

^b The passage of Strabo VIII. p. 362. should be arranged thus. "Tyrtaeus says that the second conquest of Messenia took place, *ἥνικα φησὶν αὐτοὺς στρατηγήσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ γὰρ εἶναι φησιν ἐκείθεν ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν*" Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων—*νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα. Ὡστε ἡ ταῦτα* "ΑΚΥΡΩΤΕΟΝ τὰ ἐλεγεία (for *ἡκύρωται τὰ ἐλ.* some MSS.

came so by adoption. It is to be regretted that we have very little information concerning the war carried on by Sparta with the rest of the Peloponnesians^c; but the Messenians at a later period withdrew from Andania towards Eira, which is a mountain-fortress on the Neda, the border-stream towards Arcadia, near the sea-coast. When obliged to retire from this strong hold, they were received first by the Arcadians, their ancient and faithful allies (who, according to the tradition, gave them their daughters in marriage^d); afterwards the exiles sought an asylum with their kinsmen at Rhégium. Aristomenes himself (if he was not put to death by the Spartans) is said to have died at Rhodes, in the house of the noble family of the Eratidæ^e.

12. Besides the possession of Messenia, nothing

"have ΗΚΥΡΩΤΑΙΟΝΤΑ), ἡ Φι-
 "λοχόρῳ ἀπιστητίῳ καὶ Καλλι-
 "σθένει καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν εἰ-
 "ποῦσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἀφιδνῶν
 "ἀφίκισθαι." Comp. page 54.
 n. ^d. But there is nothing sur-
 prising in Tyrtaeus, who lived
 among the Dorians, speaking
 of the whole nation in the first
 person plural, without men-
 tioning his own different ori-
 gin. In the same manner Tyr-
 tæus says of the Spartan na-
 tion as of a whole, *Μεσσηνῆν*
εἰλομεν εὐρύχορον, Pausan. IV.
 6. 2. Compare the verses of
 Mimnermus in Strab. XIV. p.
 634. The Laconian town of
 Aphidnæ, from which the Leu-
 cippidæ are supposed to have
 come, has probably arisen from
 some misunderstanding (Steph.
 Byz. in v.). Archimbrotus also,
 the father of Tyrtaeus (Suidas

in v.), looks like an etymolo-
 gical invention; Ἀρχίμβροτος,
 "the ruler of men."

^c Concerning a defeat of the
 Spartans by the Argives, see
 below, §. 13.

^d Callisthenes ap. Polyb. IV.
 33. 2. Aristomenes, according
 to Pausan. IV. 24, married his
 sister and daughters to persons
 at Phigalea, Lepreum, and He-
 ræa. This is alluded to in a
 verse from the fifth book of
 Rhianus in Steph. Byz. in v.
Φιγάλεια, τὴν μὲν ἀνήγαγε
ἐπὶ κραναὴν Φιγάλειαν, viz. Tha-
 ryx.

^e This circumstance was nar-
 rated by Rhianus in the sixth
 (probably the last) book, in
 which Atabyrum, a town in
 Rhodes, was mentioned, Steph.
 Byz. in v. Ἀτάβυρον.

was of such importance to the Spartans as the influence which they gained over the towns of Arcadia. But in what manner these came into their hands is very little known^f. During the Messenian war Arcadia was always opposed to Sparta. Hence, in the year 659 B. C., the Spartans suddenly attacked and took the town of Phigalea, in a corner of Messenia and Triphylia; but were soon driven out again by the neighbouring Oresthasians^g. But the place chiefly dreaded by Sparta, as being one of the most powerful cantons in Arcadia, and commanding the principal entrance to Laconia, was Tegea. Charilaus, one of the early kings of Sparta, is said to have been compelled, by the valour of the Tegeate women, to submit to a disgraceful treaty^h. At a later period also, in the reigns of Eurycrates and Leon the Eurysthenidⁱ, Sparta suffered injury from the same state^k, until it at last obtained the superiority under the next king, Anaxandridas. It was not however merely the ingenuity of a mountain-tribe, in protecting and fortifying its defiles,

^f Aristotle Polit. II. 6, 8. speaks of wars with Argos, Arcadia, and Messenia before the time of Lycurgus; but probably he is incorrect. According to Polyæn. VIII. 34. the Tegeatans took king Theopompus prisoner (provided the king is meant): and the same authority states II. 13. that Mantinea was taken by Eurypon.

^g Pausan. VIII. 39. 2.

^h Pausan. VIII. 48. 3. concerning "Ἀρης γυναικοβοίας, compare III. 7. 3.

ⁱ Herod. I. 67. Pausan. III. 3. 5. comp. Dio Chrys. Orat.

XVII. p. 251 C. the speech of the Tegeatans in Herodotus IX. 26. Polyænus I. 11.

^k At this time probably the oracle was delivered, which held out such deceitful promises to the Spartans, Δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι, Καὶ καλὸν πίδιον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι, Herod. I. 66. The ambiguity lies in the word ὀρχήσασθαι, which may be derived from ὄρχος. Also διαμετρήσασθαι signifies the condition of a Helot, or a Clarotes, who receives a measured out piece of land to cultivate.

that made victory so difficult to the Spartans; but, although the pass which separates Tegea from Laconia, and even at the present time retains the vestiges of defensive walls, was of great service in repelling invasions from Laconia¹, yet Tegea was also formidable in the open field from her heavy-armed troops, which in later times always maintained the second place in the allied army of the Peloponnese^m.

13. Argos never obtained so great authority in Argolis as Sparta did in Laconia, since, in the former country, the Dorians divided themselves into several ancient and considerable townsⁿ; and to deprive Dorians of their independence seems to have been more contrary to the principles of that race, than to expel them, as the Spartans did the Messenians. Argos was thus forced to content itself with forming, and being at the head of a league, which was to unite the forces of the country for common defence, and to regulate all internal affairs. An union of this kind really existed, although it never entirely attained its end. It was probably connected with the temple of Apollo Pythæus, which, as we remarked above, was considered as common to the Epidaurians and Dryopians. An Argive Amphictyonic council is mentioned in the account of the Messenian war^o, and is evidently not a fiction, although erroneously there introduced. That it still continued to exist in the 66th Olympiad is clear from the fact, that, when the inhabitants of Sicyon and Ægina furnished Cleomenes with ships to be

¹ See the stratagem of king "Αλγηε ("Αλεος Casaubon) in Polyæn. I. 8.

^m See below, ch. 9. §. 1.

ⁿ Above, ch. 5. §. 1. 4. 5.

^o Pausan. IV. 5. 1. The Amphictyons decided concerning Thyrea, Plutarch Parallel. Hist. Gr. et Rom. 3.

employed against Argos, each town was condemned to pay a fine of 500 talents^p. These penalties could not have been imposed by Argos as a single town, but in the name of a confederacy, which was weakened and injured by this act. We find that the Eleans could impose similar penalties in the name of the Olympian Jupiter^q. But the very case here adduced shews how refractory was the conduct of the members of this alliance with regard to the measures taken by the chief confederate.

14. To this internal discord were added the continual disputes with Lacedæmon. Herodotus states, that in ancient times (i. e. about the 50th Olympiad, or 580 B. C.) the whole western coast of the Peloponnese, as far as Malea (comprising the towns of Prasias, Cyphanta, Epidaurus Limera, and Epidelium), together with Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives^r. According to the account of Pausanias the territory of Cynuria, a valley between two ranges of mountains, on the frontiers of Laconia and Argos, inhabited by a native Peloponnesian race, had been from early times a perpetual subject of contention between the two states. The Lacedæmonians had subdued this district in the reigns of Echestratus and Eurypon^s. During the reigns of Labotas and Prytanis the Spartans com-

^p Herod. VI. 92 sqq.

^q Concerning these Amphictyons, see S^c Croix *Gouvernements fédératifs anciens*, p. 100. who however treats the subject with his usual carelessness, and for instance, in Fourmont's inscription, found at Platanistus near Argos, *καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα πρῶτον Πυθίων μετὰ το ἀνασῶσαι αὐτὸν τὸ δίκαιον*

τῆς Ἀμφικτυονείας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἀγωνοθετῇ ἡραίων, supposes that these Amphictyons are meant. Boeckh Corp. Inscript. n. 1121. cf. n. 1124. Maffei in Muratori, 561.

^r I should not now venture to make such positive assertions as those made in my *Æginetica*, p. 54.

^s III. 2. 2. III. 7. 1.

plained of an attempt of the Argives to alienate the affections of their Periœci in Cynuria: as however we know not by what authority this statement is supported, we shall allow it to rest on its own merits. In the reign of Charilaus the Lacedæmonians wasted the territory of Argos¹. His son Nicandor made an alliance with the Dryopians of Asine against Argos. Accordingly this people were expelled by Eratus, the Argive king, from their town²; and fled to their allies in Laconia; from whom they obtained, after the end of the first Messenian war, a maritime district, where they built a new Asine, and for a long time preserved their national manners³, as well as their connexion with the ancient religious worship of their kinsmen, the inhabitants of Hermione⁴.

15. A clearer point in the Argive and Peloponnesian history is the reign of Pheidon. The accounts respecting this prince having been collected and examined in another work, it is merely necessary to repeat the result⁵. Pheidon the Argive, the son of Aristodamidas, was descended from the royal family of Temenus, the power of which had indeed since the time of Medon, the son of Ceisus, been much diminished, but yet remained in existence for a long time. Pheidon broke through the restrictions that limited his power, and hence, contrary

¹ Paus. III. 2. 2. III. 7. 1.

² III. 7. 3. and hence perhaps CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 133. Steph.

³ II. 26. 5. III. 7. 5. IV. 8. 1. IV. 14. 2. IV. 43. 6.

⁴ Thus, according to Herodotus, Hermione and Asine ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλην τῇ Λακωνικῇ,

which then probably was the nearest place of importance, belonged to the Dryopians; comp. Theopompus ap. Strab. p. 373.

⁵ See the monument in Dornius Cl. IV. p. 137. Castelli, p. 89, &c. Boeckh Inscript. n. 1193.

⁶ Æginetica, pp. 51—63.

however to the ancient usage of the term, was called a *tyrant*. His views were at first directed towards making the independent towns of Argolis dependent upon Argos. He undertook a war against Corinth, which he afterwards succeeded in reducing. In all probability Epidaurus, and certainly Ægina, belonged to him; none of the other towns in the neighbourhood were able to withstand the bold and determined conqueror^a. The finishing stroke of his achievements was manifestly the celebration of the Olympic games, over which he, as descendant of Hercules (the first conqueror at Olympia), after having abolished the Ætolian-Elean Hellanodicæ, presided, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Pisa, the ancient town of Pelops, which at this time, and many centuries after this time, had not relinquished its claims to the management of the festival. This circumstance also enables us to fix with certainty the period of his reign, since, in the Elean registers, the 8th Olympiad was marked as

^a With regard to the dominion of his brother in Macedonia, the relation of this narrative to that in Herodotus VIII. 137. appears to me to be as follows. Both describe the same event; but the latter is the rude native tradition of Macedon, formed among a people which had few historical memorials; the former is derived from an Argive tradition, and, though as well as the other not purely historical, is yet connected together in a more probable manner. *Káparos* is perhaps only another form of *Kolparos*; see

Hesychius in *Kóparos*. The account of Euripides, that Archelaus, the son of Temenus, took the city of Ægæ in Macedonia, whither he had come as a goatherd in great distress (Hyginus Fab. 219. Dio Chrysost. p. 70.), is the most unfounded. Whether Isocrates (ad Philipp. p. 88 D.) was acquainted with the tradition concerning Caranus, or followed the account of Herodotus, does not appear. There is also a discrepancy in the account of Constant. Porphy. Them. I. p. 1453. See Appendix I. §. 15.

having been celebrated by him (747 B. C.) But it was this usurpation that united the Eleans and Lacedæmonians against him, and thus caused his overthrow. While the undertakings of Pheidon thus remained without benefit to his successors, by the voice of posterity he has been denounced as the most rapacious of tyrants in Greece; but had he succeeded in establishing a permanent state of affairs, he would have received equal honours with Lycurgus. Yet, notwithstanding his failure, some of his institutions have come down to posterity, which adorn his memory. He is known to have equalized all weights and measures in the Peloponnese, which before his time were different in each state; he was also the first who coined money. He was enabled to undertake both with the greater success, since the only two commercial towns at that time belonging to the Peloponnese lay in his dominions, viz. Corinth (whence he is sometimes called a Corinthian) and Ægina. According to the most accurate accounts he first stamped silver-money^b in Ægina (where at that time metal forges doubtless existed), and, after having circulated these, he consecrated the ancient and then useless bars of metal (ὀβελίσκῳ) to Juno of Argos, where they were exhibited in later times to strangers^c——. Many of the most ancient drachmas of Ægina, with the device of a tortoise, perhaps belong to this period, since the Greek coins, struck before the Peloponne-

^b *Æginetica*, p. 57. cf. *Ad-denda*, p. 199.

^c And only silver (not τὸ τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυρεῖν, as Strabo says), since copper was not coined till a much later pe-

riod, and gold was first coined in Asia. In the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, p. 549. 58. it is stated inaccurately that Phido reduced the measures.

sian war, appear to indicate a progress of many centuries in the art of stamping money. Those however which we have are sufficient to shew that the same standard was prevalent throughout the Peloponnese^d, a difference in weight, measure, and standard not having been introduced till after the Peloponnesian war. This again was a second time abolished by the Achæan league, and an equality of measures restored^e.

16. After the fall of Pheidon the old dispute with Lacedæmon still continued^f. In the 15th Olympiad (720 B. C.) the war concerning the frontier territory of Cynuria broke out afresh^g; the Argives now maintained it for some time^h, and secured the possession of this district chiefly by the victory at Hysiaë in Olymp. 27. 4. 669 B. C.ⁱ) And they kept it until the time of Cræsus (Olymp. 58.), when they lost it by the famous battle of the 300, in which Othryadas, though faint with his wounds, erected the trophy of victory for Sparta^k: a history the

^d See book III. c. 10. §. 12. The ancient Macedonian coins were struck according to the same standard.

^e Polyb. II. 37. 10.

^f See in general Julian. Epist. ad Arg. 35. p. 407.

^g According to Eusebius p. 1297. ed. Pont. Pausanias places τὸν περὶ τῆς Θυρεάτιδος ἀγῶνα, at the end of the reign of Theopompus, at the same; Solinus c. 13. at the seventeenth year of Romulus.

^h Otherwise Herodotus could not have said of the Cynurians, ἐκδεδορίενται ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου. Compare *Æginetica*, p. 47.

ⁱ Pausan. II. 24. 8.

^k In addition to the passages in *Æginetica* *ubi sup.* see the Epigrams of Simonides VIII. 431. of Dioscorides VII. 430. Damagetus 432. Nicander 526. Chæremon 720. Gætulicus 244. in the Palatine Anthology. According to Isocrates Archid. p. 136 D. 300 Spartans destroyed all the Argives. It is a remarkable continuation of the legend, that Perilaus, the son of Alcenor, who went away too soon (Herod. I. 82.), a conqueror at the Nemean games, slew Othryadas, Pausan. II. 20. 6.—The offerings of the Argives for the battle of Thyrea, as well as

more fabulous, since it was celebrated by sacred songs at the *Gymnopædia*¹. Inconsiderable in extent as was the territory^m, for which so much blood was shed, yet its possession decided which should be the leading power in the Peloponnese. It was not till after this had taken place that Cleomenes, in whose reign the boundary of Lacedæmon ran near the little river Erasinus, was enabled to attack Argos with success.

The power of Argos in the neighbourhood of the city was very insecure and fluctuating. Towards the end of the second Messenian war Argos had conquered the neighbouring town of Nauplia; the Lacedæmonians gave Methone in Messenia to the expelled inhabitantsⁿ. The temple of Nemea, in the mountains towards Corinth, was, from its situation, the property of the independent Doric town Cleonæ; the Argives took it from them before Olymp. 53. 1. 568 B. C.^o, and henceforth celebrated the games of Jupiter. The Argives however again lost it; and some time before the 80th Olympiad the Cleonæans again regulated the festival^p, a privilege which they probably did not long retain. It is likely

those of the Tegeatans for a victory over Sparta, at Delphi (Pausan. X. 9. 3. 6.), cannot, from the dates of the artificers, have been made before the 100th Olympiad (380 B. C.)

¹ Hence their institution (according to Eusebius, Olymp. 27. 3. 678 B. C.) is derived from that event. See Athen. XIV. p. 631. Ruhnken ad Tim. p. 54. Hesychius in *Θυσιατικοὶ στίχων*. Apostolius VI. 56.—Compare Manso, History

of Sparta, I. 2. p. 211.

^m Lucian Icaromenipp. c. 18. calls Cynuria, taking indeed a bird's-eye view, a *χωρίον κατ' οὐδὲν φακοῦ Διγυπτίου πλατύτερον*, "not wider than a bean."

ⁿ Pausan. IV. 24. 1. IV. 35. 2.

^o According to Eusebius in Olymp. 51. 6. ed. Pontac. comp. Corsini Dissert. Agon. p. 51.

^p As Disson has shewn, ad Pind. Nem. IV. p. 381.

that about 580 B. C. the town of Orneæ, between Argos and Sicyon, which had anciently carried on wars with the latter city, was rendered subject to the former, from which circumstance the Periæci of Argos obtained the general name of *Orneatans*; to which class the Cynurians also belonged before the battle of Thyrea⁹. But these events properly belong to the period, on the history of which we are now about to enter, and which we will designate in general as *the time of the tyrants*.

CHAP. VIII.

The tyrants of Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, and other states; and the policy of Sparta towards them.

1. The subject of this chapter may be best expressed in the words of Thucydides^r: “The tyrants of Athens, and of the rest of Greece, of which many states had been governed by tyrants before the Athenians, were, with the exception of

⁹ From this I have explained Herod. VIII. 73. in my *Ægnetica*, p. 47, where however the *σύνοικοι* after the Persian war are not different from the former Periæci.

^r I. 18. Οἱ τε Ἀθηναίων τυραννοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατελύθησαν· ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνων—ἐκ παλαιτάτου καὶ εὐνομήθη καὶ ἀεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν—καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ δύναμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν, and compare I. 76. ἡμεῖς γοῦν, ὧς Λακεδαιμόνιοι,

τὰς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφελίμον καταστησάμενοι ἐξηγείσθε. and I. 122. See also Herodotus V. 92. 1. ἄπειροι τυράννων καὶ φυλάσσοντες δεινότατα τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, Sosicles the Corinthian says to the Spartans, “Heaven and earth will be changed, before you abolish free governments” (*ἰσοκρατίαι*) in order to introduce tyrannies.” See also Dionys. Halicarn. Lys. 30. p. 523. The Syracusans also overthrew many tyrants, before they had one of their own, Aristot. Polit. V. 8. 18.

“ those in Sicily, in most instances, and especially in
“ later times, overthrown by the Lacedæmonians,
“ whose state was never under a despotic govern-
“ ment, and who having become powerful through
“ the early establishment of their own constitution,
“ were enabled to arrange to their own liking the
“ governments of other states.” It is a remarkable
circumstance in the history of Greece, that at the
same period of time tyrants every where obtained the
supreme authority in Doric, Ionic, and Æolic cities;
a proof that, although these nations were derived
from different races, the same stage in the progress
of social life was every where attended with the
same phenomena. Those states alone in which the
features of the Doric character were most strongly
marked, viz. Sparta and Argos, resisted this influ-
ence; and we shall in general find that it was by a
subversion of the Dorian principles that the tyrants
obtained their power. This will be made evident by
a consideration of the arbitrary monarchies in the
Doric states of the Peloponnese.

2. The inhabitants of SICYON appear in ancient
times to have been distinguished from other Dorians
by a certain lively and excitable temperament, and
by a disposition which they had at an early period
transferred to their fabulous hero Adrastus, whose
“ tongue was softly persuasive.” This very dispo-
sition however, under the actual state of circum-
stances, opened the way to tyranny. In this instance
of Sicyon, as in many others, the tyrant was the
leader of the lower classes, who were opposed to the
aristocracy. It was in this character that Ortho-

^a Tyrtæus Fragm. 3. v. 8. Gaisford.

goras came forward, who, not being of an ancient family, was called by the nobles a cook^t. But, notwithstanding its low origin, the family of this person maintained the supremacy for a longer period than any other, according to Aristotle^u for a century, as they did not maltreat the citizens, and upon the whole respected the laws; their succession is Orthogoras, Andreas, Myron, Aristonymus, and Cleisthenes^x, of whom however the second and fourth never ascended the throne, or only reigned for a short time. Myron was conqueror at Olympia in the chariot-race in the 33d Olympiad (648 B. C.), and afterwards built a treasury, in which two apartments were inlaid with Tartessian brass, and adorned with Doric and Ionic columns^y. Both the architectural orders employed in this building, and the Tartessian brass, which the Phocæans had then brought to Greece in large quantities from the hospitable king Arganthonius^z, attest the intercourse of Myron with the Asiatics; we shall presently see that this same correspondence was of considerable importance for the measures of other tyrants. Cleisthenes appears to have employed violence in obtaining the sovereignty^a, which he held undisturbed,

^t Libanius in Sever. vol. III. p. 251. Reisk.

^u Polit. V. 9. 21.

^x The series is not however quite certain, as Herodotus VI. 126. only goes down as far as Andreas. Aristotle merely says, Ὀρθαγόρου παῖδες καὶ αὐτὸς Ὀρθαγόρας, and Plutarch. de sera Num. Vind. 7 (see Wyttenbach. p. 44). Ὀρθαγόρας καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους οἱ περὶ Μύρωνα καὶ Κλεισθένην. From the new Ex-

cerpta of Diodorus, VII—X. 14. Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. vol. II. p. 111. Mai, it appears that Andreas and Orthogoras are probably the same person: for Andreas is stated also to have been a cook, by whom the dynasty was first raised.

^y Pausan. VI. 19. 2. II. 8. 1. where for Πύρρων write Μύρων.

^z Herod. I. 163. and others.

^a Aristot. Pol. V. 10. 3.

partly by creating terror through his military fame and exploits in arms, and partly by gaining the support of the people by the introduction of some democratic elements into the constitution. With regard to the latter measure, the singular alterations which he made in the tribes of Sicyon will be explained hereafter^b. We will here only remark that Cleisthenes himself belonged to the subject tribe, which was not of Doric origin; and while he endeavoured to raise the latter, at the same time he sought to depress, and even to dishonour the Doric tribes, so that he entirely destroyed and reversed the whole state of things which had previously existed. For this reason Cleisthenes was at enmity with Argos, the chief Dorian city of this district^c. For the same reason he proscribed the worship of the Argive hero Adrastus, and favoured in its place the worship of Bacchus, a deity foreign and unsuited to the Doric character; and lastly, prohibited the Homeric rhapsodists from entering the town, because Homer had celebrated Argos, and, we may add, an aristocratic form of government. These characteristic traits of a bold and comprehensive mind are gathered from the lively narrative of Herodotus. The same political tendency was inherited by his son-in-law Megacles, the husband of the beautiful Agariste, to obtain whose hand many rival youths had assembled in the palace of Cleisthenes, like the suitors of old for that of Helen^d; and it was particularly manifested in Cleisthenes of Athens, who changed the Athenian constitution by abolishing the last traces of

^b Book III. ch. 4. §. 3.

^c Herod. V. 67. Ἀργείοισι πολέμησας.

^d See, besides Herodotus, Diodor. Exc. 2. p. 550. with Wesseling's Notes.

separate ranks. With regard however to the warlike actions of Cleisthenes, he must have been very celebrated for his prowess; since in the war of the Amphictyons against Cirrha, although denounced as a stone-slinger (that is, a man of the lowest rank^e), by the Pythian priestess, he shared the chief command of the army with the Thessalian Heraclide, Eurylochus, and helped to conquer the city^f. This took place in the third year of the 47th Olympiad, or 592 B. C.^g Out of the plunder of the town Cleisthenes built a portico for the embellishment of Sicyon^h; he was also conqueror in the chariot-race at the second Pythiad (Olymp. 49. 3, 584 B. C.)ⁱ. It may perhaps be possible from the scattered accounts concerning this place, to form a notion of his character. Cleisthenes was undoubtedly a man who was able to seize the spirit of the time, which aimed at great liberty and excitement;—the very contrary of the settled composure of the Dorians; and, combining talents and versatility with the love of splendour and pageantry, ridiculed many things hitherto looked upon with awe, and set no limits to his love of change. Notwithstanding these qualities, he was, as is probable from the general testimony of Thu-

^e Herodotus, followed by Dio Chrysost. III. p. 43 B. I would now in this passage of Herodotus (V. 67.) retain *λευστήρα*, where Casaubon proposed *ληιστήρα*; not however in a passive sense, but according to its grammatical form, for a stone-slinger, i. e. a *γύμνης* or *ψιλός*, the great mass of light-armed soldiers being furnished with slings. Compare e. g. Thuc. I. 106. οἱ ψιλοὶ κατέλευσαν. “A-

drastus is king of the Argives, but thou art a common bond-slave,” says the oracle to Cleisthenes.

^f Pausan. II. 9. 6. X. 37. 4. Schol. Pindar. Nem. IX. 2. Polyæn. III. 5. It is remarkable that Sparta took no part in this war.

^g See Boeckh Explic. Pindar. Olymp. XII. p. 206.

^h Pausan. II. 9. 6.

ⁱ Pausan. X. 7. 5.

cydides, overthrown by Sparta perhaps soon after 580 B.C.^k nor was the ancient state of things restored at Sicyon till 60 years afterwards^l, during which interval another tyrant named Æschines reigned, belonging however to a different family.

3. The CORINTHIAN tyrants^m were nearly allied with those of Sicyon; since the former, not belonging to the Dorian nobility, were placed in the same situation as the latter with regard to this class. In Corinth, before the commencement of the dynasty of tyrants, the ruling power was held by the numerousⁿ Heraclide clan of the Bacchiadæ, which had changed the original constitution into an oligarchy, by keeping itself distinct, in the manner of a caste, from all other families, and alone furnished the city with the annual prytanes, the chief magistrates. Cypselus the son of Aëtion, the grandson of Eche-crates, from a Corinthian borough named Petra^o, and not of Doric descent, although connected on his mother's side with the Bacchiadæ, overcame, with the assistance again of the lower classes^p, the oligarchs, now become odious through their luxury^q and insolence, the larger part of whom, either voluntarily or by compulsion, quitted Corinth^r; and Cyp-

^k For the tyranny lasted, according to Aristotle and Diodorus, p. 11. Mai, 100 years, i. e. from about the 26th to the 51st Olympiad, 676—576 B. C.

^l Herod. V. 68.

^m Herod. VI. 128.

ⁿ Strab. p. 378. About 200 men according to Diodorus ap. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 178. Par.

^o Herod. V. 92. 2.

^p Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 4. V. 9. 22.

^q Ælian. V. H. I. 19.

^r Concerning a stratagem of Cypselus on this occasion, see Polyænus V. 31. 1. That a Bacchiad, Demaratus, should have gone at this time to Italy, is very probable; but that the Tarquins were descended from him, is a fiction. See Niebuhr's History of Rome, vol. I. p. 215.

selus became tyrant about the 30th Olympiad (660 B. C.)^s, from the inability of the people to govern itself independently. However violently the Corinthian orator in Herodotus accuses this sovereign^t, the judgment of antiquity in general was widely different. Cypselus was of a peaceable disposition, reigned without a body-guard, and never forgot that he rose from a demagogue to the throne. He also undertook works of building, either from a taste for the arts, or for the purpose of employing the people. The treasury at Delphi, together with the plane-tree, was the work of this sovereign^u. To him succeeded his son Periander, who was at first equally or more mild than his father^x. Soon however his conduct became sensibly more violent, and, according to Herodotus, he was instigated by his correspondence with Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus, who counselled him by every method to weaken, or even to exterminate, the nobility of his city^y. Many of his actions were evidently prompted by the wish of utterly eradicating the peculiarities of the Doric race. For this reason he abolished the public tables, and prohibited the ancient education^z. He awed the people by his military splendour, and maintained triremes on both coasts of the Isthmus^a; his person he protected by

^s According to Eusebius, which agrees with the 447 years in Diodorus (Fragm. 6. p. 635. Wessel.), from the return of the Heraclidæ until Cypselus. It is not easy to see what were Strabo's grounds for reckoning the dominion of the Bacchiadæ at 200 years, VIII. p. 378. According to Diodorus they were Prytanes for only 90 years.

^t Aristot. *ubi sup.*

^u Plutarch. Sept. Sapient. 21. cf. Sympos. Qu. VIII. 4. 4. p. 361.

^x Herod. V. 92. 6. according to Schol. Plat. Hipp. Maj. p. 135 Ruhnck. he was *πρώτον δημοτικός*, as should be read in Apostol. XX. 47.

^y Herod. *ubi sup.* Aristot. Pol. III. 8. 3. V. 8. 7. V. 9. 2.

^z Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 2.

^a Nicolaus Damascenus.

three hundred body-guards^b. To maintain the city at peace, and to avoid all violent commotions, was a principle, on the observance of which the security of his dominion depended, and upon which a complete system of regulations was founded. With this view he abolished a criminal court^c for the condemnation of such as wasted their patrimony, inasmuch as persons in this situation were likely to become innovators. He interdicted immoderate luxury, and an extravagant number of slaves. Idleness he considered as especially dangerous. So little true did he remain to the democratic principles of his father, that he expelled the people from the city^d; and in order the more readily to accustom them to agricultural and mechanical labour, only permitted them to wear the dress of peasants^e. His own expenses were trifling, and therefore he required no other taxes than harbour-dues and market-tolls. He also avoided, where his projects did not require it, all violence and open injustice; and was even at times so strict a maintainer of public morality, that the numerous procuresses of the luxurious Corinth were by his orders thrown into the sea^f; the hospitable maids of Venus being protected by religion. He, as well as his father, made the construction of splendid monuments of art^g a means of taxing the property

^b Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 22. Heraclid. Pont. 5. Nicol. Damasc.

^c Βουλὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων Heraclides. Compare Aristot. Pol. V. 6 γίγονται δὲ μεταβολαὶ τῆς ἀλεγαρχίας καὶ ὅταν ἀναλώσῃσι τὰ ἴδια, ζῶντες ἀσελγῶς. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καινοτομεῖν ζητοῦσι, καὶ ἡ τυραννίδα ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς, ἢ κατα-

σκενάζουσιν ἕτερον.

^d Ibid.

^e Book III. ch. 3. §. 3.

^f Heraclides. Perhaps for προαγωγοὶ should be written προσαγωγοὶ (like the ποταγωγίδες of Sicily).

^g Concerning the Colossi and offerings of the Cypselidæ, see Aristot. Polit. V. 9. 2. Theo-

of the rich, and of employing the body of the people; though indeed his own refined taste took pleasure in such works. And in general, if considered in reference to the cultivation of taste and intellect, and the interests of agriculture and trade, the age of the tyrants was productive of a very great advancement in the Grecian states. The unpliant disposition, strict in the observance of all ancient customs and usages, was then first bent and subdued, and more liberal and extended views became prevalent. The tyrants were frequently in intimate connexion with the inhabitants of Asia Minor, whom Sparta despised for their luxury and effeminacy; and from the Lydian sultan in his harem at Sardes, a chain of communication, most important in its consequences, was established through the princes of Miletus and Samos with the countries in the immediate neighbourhood of Sparta. Periander was in correspondence not only with Thrasybulus, but also with Halyattes, the king of Lydia, and sent to the latter prince some Corcyraean youths to be castrated according to the oriental custom^h. The names of his relations, Psammetichus and Gordias, the latter Phrygian, the former Egyptian, are proofs of an hospitable intercourse with those countries. On the other side of Greece, the policy of the Cypselidæ led them to attempt the occupation of the coast of the Ionian sea as far as Illyria, and to establish a connexion with the barbarous nations of the interiorⁱ.

phrast. ap. Phot. in *Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα*. Ephorus ap. Diog. Laërt. I. 96. Pausan. V. 2. 4.

^h Herodotus; compare Antenor and Dionysius of Chalcidon, in Plutarch. de Malign.

Herod. 22. p. 302. and the elegant legend in Pliny H. N. IX. 41.

ⁱ See above, ch. 6. §. 8. Besides Gorgus, there was also at Ambracia a tyrant named Pe-

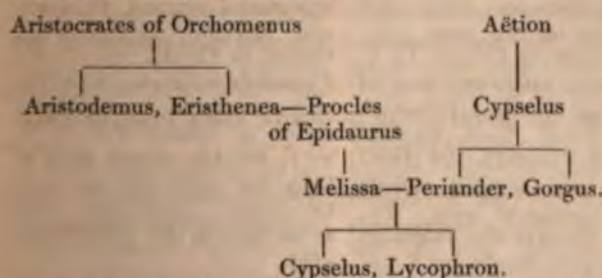
Periander was truly of a daring and comprehensive spirit, and rivalled by few of his contemporaries, bold in the field, politic in council, though misled by continual distrust to undertake unworthy measures, and having too little regard for the good of the people when it interfered with his own designs; a friend of the arts, of an enlightened mind, but at the same time overcome by the strength of his passions; and although devoid of awe for all sacred things, yet at times a prey to the most grovelling superstition. After the death of Periander, Psammetichus^k the son of Gordias, of the same family, succeeded to the sovereignty, but only reigned three years, having been without doubt overthrown by the Spartans in Olymp. 49. 3. 582 B. C^l.

riander, Aristot. Polit. V. 8, 9. Plutarch. Amator. 23. p. 60. perhaps the son of Gorgus.

^k Either to this person, or to Periander, or to Cypselus, the beautiful Rhadina of Samos, was, according to Stesichorus (ap. Strab. VIII. p. 347.) sent as a bride, but she was

killed out of jealousy. That it was the Ionic Samos, is proved against Strabo by Pausan. VII. 5, 6.

^l There is some difficulty in the chronology of this family; the following is a genealogical table:



There are also Gordias and Psammetichus, as to whom nothing is known. See *Æginetica*, p. 64. sqq. Periander ruled from Olymp. 38. 1. (Eu-

sebius) to Olymp. 48. 4. (Sosi-crates ap. Diog. Laërt. I. 74.), 44 years according to Aristotle. This is not inconsistent with the fact mentioned by Hero-

4. Periander was married to the fair Melissa, whose beauty had captivated him in the house of her father, the tyrant Procles, while she was distributing wine to the labourers in a thin Doric dress^m. Procles was ruler of Epidaurus and the island of Ægina, which were at that time still closely united; he himself was related by marriage to the princes of Orchomenus, and appears from this circumstance, and from his connexion with the family of Cypselus, to belong to the number of tyrants, who, being hostile to the Dorian aristocracy, obtained their power by the assistance of the lower ranks.

And when we also add that Theagenes of MEGARA, the father-in-law of Cylon the Athenianⁿ, precisely resembled the rulers already mentioned in his conduct (since he likewise obtained his authority

dotus V. 95. and Apollodorus (p. 411. Heyn. also Diog. Laërt. comp. Timæus ap. Strab. XIII. p. 600 A.) that he decided between Athens and Mytilene concerning Sigeum, since Phrynon of Athens (victor in the 36th Olympiad, Afric.) had contended on this same point with Pittacus in Olymp. 43. 1. (Eusebius), before the time of Pisistratus. Compare Polyænus I. 25. Schol. Æsch. Eumen. 401. The narrative of Herodotus is not arranged *entirely* in a chronological order. Periander however was reigning, according to Herodotus I. 20. in the fifth year of the reign of Halyattes (Olymp. 41.), and before his death sent him a present of Corcyrean boys, in the third generation (i. e. in the 16th Olympiad), before the

siege of Samos by the Lacedæmonians (Olymp. 63.), as Panoška (*Res Samiorum*, p. 30.) has rightly corrected in Herod. III. 48. (ὁ γεγενη πρότερον) from Plutarch, de Malign. Herod. 22. Cypselus, according to Herodotus, reigned 30 years, and therefore ascended the throne in Olymp. 30. 3.; the Cypselidæ ruled altogether 76½ years (according to my emendation of Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 22.); Procles reigned from about the 35th to the 49th Olympiad; Aristocrates goes as far back as the 25th Olympiad.

^m *Æginetica*, p. 64.

ⁿ Who himself had aimed at the tyranny of Athens so early as the 42d Olympiad. Thucyd. I. 126. Heinrich *Epimenides*, p. 83.

by attacking the rich landed proprietors, and had killed their flocks upon the pastures of the river'), and that like the others he endeavoured to please the people by embellishing the city, by the construction of an aqueduct, and of a beautiful fountain^p; it is easy to perceive in the dynasties of the Sicyonian, Corinthian, Epidaurian, and Megarian tyrants, a powerful coalition against the supremacy of the Dorians, and the ancient principles of that race, the more powerful, as they knew how to render subservient to their own ends the opinions which had lately arisen; and it is a matter of wonder that Sparta should have succeeded in overthrowing this combination.

5. If indeed it is also borne in mind that the Ionic, as well as the Æolic and Doric^q islands and

* Aristot. Rhet. I. 2. 19. Polit. V. 4. 4.

^p Like the Enneacrunus of the Pisistratidæ. Pausan. I. 40. 1. I. 41. 2. — Theognis v. 894. ὡς κυψέλλειον Ζεὺς ὀλέσει γένος cannot well refer to a *factio Cypselidarum*, especially if it has any connexion with what precedes, concerning the Persian war; but κυψέλλειν must mean "to be deaf," "to have the ears closed," from κυψέλη.

^q I will only mention the tyrants in Doric states.—Cleonobulus at Lindos, who was similar to Periander, Plutarch. de EI 3. p. 118. comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. p. 523 B. (the Diagoridæ however still continued at Ialysus). Cadmus in the island of Cos, whose history must, from Herod. VI. 23. and VII. 164. be as follows. Scythes,

the tyrant of Zancle, being driven out by the Samians (Olymp. 70. 4. 497 B.C.), fled to the king of Persia, and remained chiefly at his court. To Scythes' son, Cadmus, the king of Persia probably gave the island of Cos. For though it might be objected that Cadmus could not have been the son of Scythes of Zancle, since the latter, according to Herodotus, died in Persia (ἐν Πέρσῃσι), whereas Cadmus inherited the tyranny from his father (παρὰ πατρός); it may be answered that Scythes, notwithstanding that the king had given him the government of Cos, yet did not reside there, but at the Persian court, as we know to have been the case with Histæus. Afterwards however, before the 75th Olympiad (480 B.C.), having made a treaty

cities of Asia, and also Athens, together with Phocis, Thessaly, and the colonies in Sicily and Italy, were all in the hands of tyrants, who doubtless mutually assisted one another, and knew their common interest; and that Sparta alone, in most instances at the instigation of the Delphian oracle, declared against all these rulers a lasting war, and in fact overthrew them all, with the exception of the Sicilian tyrants; it must be confessed, that in this period of Grecian history no contest took place either greater, or by its extent as well as its principles, of more important political and moral consequences. The following tyrants are stated by ancient historians to have been deposed by the Spartans^r: the Cypselidæ of Corinth and Ambracia, the former in Olymp. 49. 3. 584 B.C. the latter probably somewhat later; the Pisistratidæ of Athens, who were allied with the Thessalians, in Olymp. 67. 3. 510 B.C.^s; their adherent Lygdamis of Naxos^t, proba-

with the Samians, he returned to his ancient country. He was followed by Epicharmus the comic poet, Suidas in v. *Ἐπίχαρμος*. At his departure from Cos he gave the state its liberty, and instituted a senate (*βουλή*). He was a cotemporary of Hippolochus the Asclepiad, and the ancestor by the mother's side of Thessalus. See the 7th Epistle of Hippocrates. In Sicily, Cleander and the family of Hippocrates, Gelon and Hieron, at Gela and then at Syracuse; Phalaris, and afterwards Theron, and Thrasidæus at Agrigentum; Anaxilas at Rhegium and Zancle; Panætius (Olymp. 41. 3.

614 B.C.) at Leontini. See Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 1. V. 10. 4. Perhaps also Aristophilidas of Tarentum (Herod. III. 136.) was a tyrant.

^r Ap. Plutarch. de Herod. Malign. 21. p. 308. Compare Manso, History of Sparta, I. 2. p. 308.

^s Although they were the guests of Sparta, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιούντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, Herod. V. 63. 90. Thuc. VI. 53. Aristoph. Lysist. 1150, &c.

^t See Aristot. Pol. V. 5. 1. and his *πολίτεια Ναξίων* in Athenæus VIII. p. 348. According to Herod. I. 61, 64. Lygdamis was established in his govern-

bly about the same time; Æschines of Sicyon, about the 65th Olympiad^u (520 B. C.); Symmachus of Thasos; Aulis of Phocis; and Aristogenes of Miletus, of whom we know only the names^x; the larger number were deposed under the kings Anaxandridas and Ariston, Cleomenes and Demaratus. Of these tyrants, some they deposed by a military force, as the Pisistratidæ; but frequently, as Plutarch says, they overthrew the despotism without "moving a shield," by despatching a herald, whom all immediately obeyed, "as when the queen bee appears, the rest arrange themselves in order^y." In the time of Cleomenes also (525 B. C.) Sparta sent out a great armament, together with Corinthian and other allies, against Polycrates of Samos, the first Doric expedition against Asia, not, as is evident from the trivial reasons stated by Herodotus, viz. in order to revenge the plunder of a cauldron and a breastplate, but with the intent of following up their principle of deposing all tyrants'. But the besieging of a fortified town, situated upon the sea, and at so great a distance, was beyond the strength of the Peloponnese. The last expedition of Sparta against the tyrants falls after the Persian war, when king Leotychidas, the conqueror at Mycale, was sent for the purpose of ejecting the Aleuadaæ of Thessaly, who had delivered up the country to the Persians in 470 B. C. or somewhat later. Aristomedes and An-

ment by Pisistratus, about the 60th Olympiad (540 B. C.). Comp. Heyne Nov. Comment. Gott. II. Class. Phil. p. 65.

^u See above, §. 2. Sicyon gave ships to Cleomenes about

the 65th Olympiad, or 520 B. C.

^x Before the time of Histæus.

^y Lycurg. 30.

^z Herod. III. 54. Plutarch. de Herod. Malign. 21.

gelus were actually dethroned, but the king suffering himself to be bribed by others, the expedition did not completely succeed^a.

We may suppose with what pride the ambassador of Sparta answered Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse (however brilliant and beneficial his reign may have been), when he required the command in the Persian war: "Truly the Pelopid Agamemnon would lament, if he heard that the ascendancy was taken from the Spartans by Gelon and the Syracusans^b!"

6. To these important changes in the political history of that time we may annex the subordinate events in the interior of the Peloponnese. Sparta, by the conquest of Cynuria, had obtained the key of the Argive territory. Soon after this, Cleomenes, the eldest son of Anaxandridas the Eurysthenid, succeeded to the throne, a man of great boldness and strength of mind, sagacious, enterprising, accustomed, after the manner of his age and country, to express himself in a concise and emphatic language, only too much inflated by family and personal pride, and in disposition more nearly resembling his contemporaries the tyrants, than be seemed a king of Sparta. The first exploit of this prince^c was the expedition against Argos. He landed in some ves-

^a This follows from Plutarch *ubi sup.* and Cimon c. 16. Herod. VI. 72. Pausan. III. 7, 8.

^b Herod. VII. 159.

^c According to Pausan. III. 4. 1. Therefore *before* Olymp. 65, 1. or 520 B. C. for Cleomenes was then king, as is evident from a comparison of Herod. VI. 108. with Thucyd. III. 68. He was in that year

in the neighbourhood of Plataea. According to Plutarch. Lacon. Apophth. p. 212. Cleomenes was regent in the 63d Olympiad (525 B. C.), when the Samians came to Sparta: this however would give too great a length to his reign, (which Herodotus states to have been of *short* duration,) viz. from about 525 to 491 B. C.

sels of Sicyon and Ægina on the coast of Tiryns, overcame the Argives at the wood of Argos^d, slew the greater part of the men able to bear arms, and would have succeeded in capturing their city, had he not from an inconceivable superstition dismissed the allied army without making any further use of the victory, and contented himself with sacrificing in the temple of Juno^e. At the same time Argos, in consequence of this defeat, remained for a long time as it were crippled, and it was even necessary that a complete change in her political condition should take place, in order to renovate the feeble and disordered state into which she had fallen.

7. For after the bond-slaves or *gymnesii*^f of Argos had for a time governed the state thus deprived of its free inhabitants, until the young men who had

^d It appears that this wood was near Sepea in the territory of Tiryns. Apostolius IV. 27. states that the battle took place on the "Ἀργεῖος λόφος. The stratagem of Cleomenes is narrated after Herodotus by Polyænus I. 14.

^e The marvellous narrative of Herodotus VI. 77 sqq. is also unconnected, from there being no explanation of the two first verses of the oracle, ἀλλ' ἔσαν ἡ θήλεια, which however must have referred to some real event. Or does Herodotus refer θήλεια to Juno? Pausanias II. 20. doubts whether Herodotus understands it. But the story of Telesilla in Pausanias, Plutarch. de Mul. Virt. 5. p. 269. and Polyænus VIII. 33. is very fabulous. The festival Ὑβριστικά could not

have had this historical origin, but must have belonged to the mystical rites of some elementary deities. The number of the Argives who were slain is stated by Plutarch and Polyænus to have been 7777; by others 6000 (also a tradition of a seven days' armistice in Plut. Lac. Apoph. p. 211.). This is the battle ἐν τῇ ἰσθμῷ ἰσταμένων, but of what month we are ignorant, Pol. V. 2. 8. Plut. Mul. Virt. ubi sup. Others placed it at the νομηνία of the fourth month, anciently Hermæus, but only because the Ὑβριστικά were then celebrated, See Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. p. 522. ed. Sylb. Suidas in v. Τελίσσυλλα.

^f Concerning these slaves, see book III. ch. 3. §. 2.

in the mean time arisen to manhood overcame and expelled them, the Argives, as Aristotle^g relates, saw themselves compelled, in order to restore the numbers of their free population, to collect about them the surrounding subjects of their city, the Periœci, and to distribute them in the immediate neighbourhood^h. The completion of this plan took place one generation after the fatal battle with Cleomenes, at the time of the Persian war, in which Argos, whose attention was wholly occupied with strengthening her affairs at home, took no part. At that time the Argives, in order to increase their own numbers, dispeopled nearly all the large cities in the surrounding country, and transplanted the inhabitants to Argosⁱ; particularly Tiryns, Mycenæ, Hyseæ, Orneæ, and Midea^k. Tiryns and Mycenæ were in the time of the Persian war free, and even independent communities, which followed the command of Sparta without the consent of Argos; the latter town indeed contested with Argos the right to the administration of the temple of Juno, and the presidency at the Nemean games^l. The destruction of their city, which the Argives undertook in concert with the Cleonæans and Tegeates^m, was effected in the year 464 B. C. (Olymp. 79. 1). But of the Mycenæans, a few only followed the Argives, as the larger number either took refuge at Cleonæ

^g Polit. V. 2. 8. Plutarch confounds bondslaves and Periœci.

^h See Schol. Ven. ad Il. B. 108. concerning the nine hamlets (islands) near Argos.

ⁱ Pausan. VIII. 27. 1.

^k Strabo VIII. p. 376. dis-

tinguishes Orneæ *κώμη τῆς Ἀργείας* from the city near Sicyon, as also in the same place a *κώμη* named Asine, p. 373 B.

^l Diod. XI. 65.

^m Strabo p. 377. Yet Cleonæ soon occurs again as a friendly state.

(which city was at that time independent, and had for some time the management of the Nemean games)ⁿ, at Ceryneia in Achaia, and even in Macedonia^o. Of the Tirynthians also some fled to Epidaurus, and some to Halieis in the territory of the Dryopians, in which place the expelled Hermioneans also found an asylum^p. For Hermione, which Herodotus during the time of the Persian war considers as a Dryopian city^q, was subsequently taken by the Argives^r. The other cities which have been mentioned, had however, as we know of Orneæ and also Hysiaæ, previously belonged to Periœci, being subjects of Argos, and were only then incorporated for the purpose of enlarging the metropolis (σύννοικοι)^s. The Argives, by these arbitrary proceedings, secured themselves as well against external foes as against

ⁿ Ch. 7. §. 15. Cleonæ was at that time engaged in a war with Corinth, Plutarch. Cimon. 17.

^o Pausan. VII. 25. 3. Comp. Diodorus XI. 65. It is remarkable how rapidly Mycenæ fell into oblivion among the Athenians. Æschylus does not once mention it; succeeding poets frequently confound it with Argos. In the *Electra* of Sophocles there is throughout the play the most confused notion of the locality; compare Elmsley ad Eurip. *Heraclid.* 188. Concerning the destruction of Mycenæ, see Brunck *Analect.* tom. II. p. 105. n. 248.

^p Pausan. II. 25. 7. cf. II. 17. 5. VIII. 46. 2. Concerning the emigration, see Strabo VIII. p. 373 B. and Ephorus lib. VI. ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Ἀλκίς. ὅτι

οἱτοὶ Τυρύνθιοι εἰσιν, &c. In Stephanus in v. Τίρυνς, as well as in Strabo *ubi sup.* the Hermioneans in Halieis are spoken of. There is much that is very singular in the oracle, ποῖ τὸ λαβῶν καὶ ποῖ τὸ καθίξω καὶ ποῖ τὸ οἴκησιν ἔχων ἀλία τε κεκληῖσθαι.

^q Herod. VIII. 43. The Hermioneans however maintained their ancient connexions at a later period; see above, ch. 7. §. 13.

^r Pausan. II. 34. 5. Strabo adds the destruction of Asine; but this took place at a much earlier period. The statement of Strabo (p. 373 D) that the Mycenæans used Eiones as their ναύσταθμον, must, if it is correct, refer to some time before the 75th Olympiad, or 480 B. C.

^s Pausan. II. 25. 1.

their former enemies the bond-slaves, and also acquired a large number of laborious and industrious inhabitants, who by the continuance of peace, soon reestablished the prosperity and wealth of Argos[†]. The oracle has well marked out the principles which were then expedient for the welfare of that state, when it recommended it, as “*the enemy of its neighbours, and friend of the gods, to draw in its arms, and remain in watchful quiet, guarding its head; for that the head would save the body*”[“]. At the same time, however, by these proceedings, a complete change in the constitution was brought about, and Argos, as we shall see hereafter, gradually lost the peculiar features of the Doric character.

The other actions of Cleomenes of which we have any knowledge refer to the political changes at Athens, and could only be connectedly related in a history of the Athenian constitution, or in reference to the events in Ægina, which we have narrated elsewhere.

It is remarkable that during this whole time, in which Sparta founded her empire, we read of no serious contest between Dorians and Ionians. For although the border-states, Megara and Ægina (the latter after its revolt from Epidaurus), carried on a continued war with Athens, the whole race took no part in the contest, and Sparta herself fulfilled the office of an impartial arbitrator between Athens and Megara. Even before the time of Solon, the Athenians and Megarians fought in the territory of Eleu-

[†] Diod. XII. 75.

[“] Ἐχθρὲ πηρεκτιόνεσσι, φίλ’
ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, εἴσω τὸν προ-

βόλαιον ἔχων, πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο,
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· καρὴ δὲ τὸ
σῶμα σαώσει Herod. VII. 148.

sis^a. The chief struggle was for the island of Salamis, which Solon is supposed to have gained by the well known stratagem^y, a fact however which was denied by Daimachus of Plataea^z. According to the Megarian account, some refugees from their own city (named Δορύκλειαι) betrayed the island to the Athenians^a. So much is certain, that five Spartan arbitrators (Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes), in obedience to ancient traditions and fables respecting the original owners of Salamis, adjudged the possession of Salamis to the Athenians. Yet in the troubles which succeeded the banishment of Megacles this island was again lost, as well as the harbour Nisæa, which had been before conquered^b. They soon however regained it, and Megara appears from that time forth to have given up all hopes of recovery: as in this age the power of Athens increased so rapidly, that Megara could no longer think of renewing her ancient contests.

Since it is not my object to give a continuous and general narration of facts, but only to extract what is most instructive for the condition of the Doric race, I shall not carry on the history of the Dorians out of the Peloponnese to a lower point, as their

^a Herod. I. 30. where the ἀστυγείτορες are the Megarians, not the Eleusinians, as Lobeck *Programm. de bello Eleusinio* supposes.

^y Pausan. I. 40, 45. Strabo IX. p. 271. Herod. Vit. Homer. c. 28. Polyæn. Strateg. I. 20. 1, 2. Diogen. Laërt. I. 48. Quintil. V. 11.

^z Plutarch. Comp. Solon. et Public. 4.

^a Pausan. I. 40. 4.

^b Plutarch. Solon. 10. 12. confirmed by Ælian. V. H. VII. 19. There was at Delphi a statue of Apollo armed with a lance, mentioned by Plutarch Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273. and Pausan. X. 15. 1. which was offered up by the Megarians after a victory over Athens, i. e. after that gained in Olymp. 83. 3. see book III. ch. 9. §. 10.

local connexions would lead us far astray into other regions. For the same reason I will only touch upon a few events of the Persian wars, confining myself to the internal affairs of the Peloponnese during that period, among which the ascendancy (*ἡγεμονία*) of Sparta is the most important and remarkable.

CHAP. IX.

General history of Sparta during the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.

1. Sparta, by the conquest of Messenia and Tegea, had obtained the first rank in the Peloponnese, which character she confirmed by the expulsion of the tyrants, and the overthrow of Argos. From about the year 580 B. C. she acted as the recognised commander, not only of the Peloponnese, but of the whole Greek name. The *confederacy* itself however was formed by the inhabitants of that peninsula alone, on fixed and regular laws; whereas the other Greeks only annexed themselves to it temporarily. The order of precedence observed by the members of this league may be taken from the inscription on the footstool of the statue of Jupiter, which was dedicated at Olympia after the Persian war, the Ionians, who were only allied for a time, being omitted^c. It is as follows; Lacedæmon, Corinth, Sicyon, Ægina, Megara, Epidaurus^d, Tegea, Orchomenus, Phlius, Træzen, Hermione, Tiryns,

^c Pausan. V. 23. 1. compare *Æginetica* p. 126.

^d They occur in the following order; Corinth, Sicyon, Me-

gara, and Epidaurus, at a later period, after the destruction of Ægina.

Mycenæ, Lepreum, and Elis; which state was contented with the last place, on account of the small share which it had taken in the war. The defenders of the Isthmus are enumerated in the following order^c; Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, and Hermionians, nearly agreeing with the other list; only that the Arcadians, having been present with their whole force, and also the Eleans, occupy an earlier place; and the Megarians and Æginetans are omitted, as having had no share in the defence. This regular order of precedence is alone a proof of a firm union. The Tegeates, since they had joined the side of Lacedæmon, enjoyed several privileges, and especially the place of honour at the left wing of the allied army^f. Argos remained excluded from the nations of the Peloponnese, as it never would submit to the command of Sparta; the Achæans, indifferent to external affairs, only joined themselves momentarily to the alliance^g; but the Mantineans, though latterly they followed the policy of Argos^h, were long attached to the Peloponnesian league; for at the end of the Persian war they sent an army, which arrived too late for the battle of Plataeaⁱ; having before, together with the other Arcadians, helped to defend the Isthmus^k; they had also been engaged in the first days of the action at Thermopylae^l; and they were at this time

^c Herod. VIII. 72.

^f *Καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μέγιστα καὶ*—IX. 26. Thucyd. V. 67. Concerning the fidelity of Phlius towards Sparta, see Theodoret. Græc. Affin. IX. 16.

^g Thuc. II. 9.

^h Thuc. V. 29.

ⁱ Herod. IX. 77.

^k Herod. VIII. 72.

^l Herod. VII. 202.

still the faithful allies of the Lacedæmonians^m. Their subsequent defection from Sparta may be attributed partly to their endeavours to obtain the dominion of Parrhasia, which was protected by Lacedæmonⁿ; to their hostility with Tegea, which remained true to Sparta after the great war with Arcadia, which began about 470 B. C.^o, and to the strengthening of their city (συνοικισμός), and the establishment of a democratic government, through the influence of Argos^p.

2. The supremacy of Sparta^q was exercised in the expeditions of the whole confederacy (κοινὰ ἔξοδοι), and in transactions of the same nature. In the first, a Spartan king—after it had been thought proper never to send out two together—was commander-in-chief, in whose powers there were many remains of the authority of the ancient Homeric princes. Occasionally, however, Sparta was compelled to give up her privilege to other commanders, especially at sea, as, for instance, the fleet at Salamis to Eurybiades. When any expedition was contemplated, the Spartans sent round to the confederate states^r, to desire them to have men and stores in readiness^s. The highest amount which each state could be called on to supply was fixed once for all, and it was only on each particular occasion to be

^m παραστάται, Diod. XV. 12. See also Xen. Hell. V. 2. 3.

ⁿ Thuc. V. 29, 33.

^o Thuc. IV. 134. Concerning this internal war, see below, §. 9.

^p Thuc. V. 29. See book III. ch. 4. §. 7.

^q ἡγείσθαι, ἡγεμονεύειν, Thuc. I. 71. The Corinthian orator

says to the Spartans, τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγείσθαι (*ad finem*) ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν παρέδοσαν.

^r Thuc. II. 10. περιήγγελλον κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

^s Likewise ships, implements for sieges, &c. Thucyd. III. 16. VII. 18.

determined what part of that was required¹. In like manner the supplies in money and stores were regularly appointed²; so that an army, with all its equipment, could be collected by a simple summons. But agricultural labour, festivals, and the natural slowness of the Doric race, often very much retarded the assembling of this army. The contributions, chiefly perhaps voluntary, both of states and individuals, were registered on stone: and there is still extant an inscription, found at Tegea, in which the war-supplies of the Ephesians, Melians, &c. in money and in corn, are recorded³. But the Lacedæmonians never exacted from the Peloponnesian confederacy a regular annual contribution, independent of circumstances; which would have been in fact a tribute: a measure of this kind being once proposed to king Archidamus, he answered, “that war did not consume according to rule⁴.” Pericles, however, properly considers it as a disadvantage to the Peloponnesians that they had no paid troops, and that neither in common nor in the several states they had amassed any treasure⁵. The object of an expedition was publicly declared: occasionally however, when secrecy was required, it was known nei-

¹ For expeditions without the Peloponnese τὰ δύο μέρη, i. e. two thirds of the whole, appears to have been the common proportion, Thuc. III. 15. Demosth. in Neær. p. 1379.

² Ἀργυρίον ῥητόν. Thuc. II. 7.

³ Boeckh Inscript. 1511. It is probably of the time of Lysander.

⁴ Ὡς οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεύεται πόλις, Plutarch. Cleomen. 27.

(Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ παλαιός, i. e. the second, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου). Compare Plutarch. Demosth. 17. Crassus 17. Reg. Apophth. p. 126. and Lacon. Apophth. p. 202. Hutten. In this passage the apophthegm is incorrectly attributed to Archidamus the Third, although the Peloponnesian is mentioned in connexion with it.

⁵ Thuc. I. 141.

ther to the states nor to their army^a. The single allied states, if necessity demanded it, could also immediately summon the army of the others^b: but it is not clear to what extent this call was binding upon them. The Spartan military constitution, which we will explain hereafter, extended to the whole allied army; but it was doubtless variously combined with the tactics of the several nations^c. To the council of war, which moreover only debated, and did not decide, the Spartan king summoned the leaders of the several states, together with other commanders, and generally the most distinguished persons in the army^d.

3. According to the constitution of the Peloponnesian league, every common action, such as a declaration of war, or the conclusion of a peace or treaty, was agreed on at a congress of the confederates. But, as there was no regular assembly of this kind, the several states sent envoys (ἄγγελοι), like the deputies (πρόβουλοι) of the Ionians, who generally remained together only for a short time^e. All the members had legally equal votes (ἰσάψηφοι^f); and the majority sometimes decided against a strong opposition^g; Sparta was often outvoted, Corinth

^a Thuc. V. 54. Cleomenes also, Herod. V. 74. conceals the real object; but the army is soon separated.

^b Thuc. *ubi sup.*

^c See book III. ch. 11. The army of the 10,000, although composed entirely of mercenaries, was in many respects like an allied army, and was under Spartan discipline.

^d Thucyd. II. 10.

^e I. 141.

^f Ibid.

^g Thucyd. I. 125. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο. V. 30. κύριον εἶναι ὅτι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων ψηφίσηται ἢν μὴ τι θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα ᾖ. V. 17. the Megarians, Eleans, Corinthians, and Boeotians are outvoted. But, according to I. 40, 41, the vote of the Corinthians alone prevented the Peloponnesians from succouring the Samians, i. e. they gave the

being at all times willing to raise an opposition^b. We have however little information respecting the exact state of the confederacy; it is probable indeed, from the aristocratic feelings of the Peloponnesians, that, upon the whole, authority had more weight than numbers; and for great undertakings, such as the Peloponnesian war, the assent of the chief state was necessary, in addition to the agreement of the other confederates^c. When the congress was summoned to Sparta, the envoys often treated with a public assembly (ἐκκληται^d) of the Spartans; although they naturally withdrew during the division. Of these envoys, besides Sosicles the Corinthian, we also know the name of Chileus of Tegea, who prevailed upon the ephors, after a long delay, to send the army to Platæa, and who did much to allay the differences existing between the members of the then numerous confederacy^e.

4. But upon the *internal* affairs, laws, and institutions of the allied states, the confederacy had legally no influence. It was a fundamental law that every state (πόλις) should, according to its ancient customs (κατὰ τὰ πατρία), be independent and supreme (αὐτόνομος καὶ αὐτόπολις^f); and it is much to the credit of Sparta, that, so long as the league was in existence, she never, not even when a favourable opportunity offered, deprived any Peloponnesian state

preponderance to the party opposed to war.

^b Besides Herodotus V. 93. see Dio Chrys. Orat. XXXVII. p. 459. 15.

^c Thucyd. I. 67.

^d Thuc. *ubi sup.* Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 11, 20.

^e Herod. IX. 9. where however he is distinguished from the ἀγγελοι. Compare Plutarch de Malign. Herod. 41. Polyæn. V. 30. 1. Plutarch Themistocl. 6.

^f See the treaty in Thucyd. V. 77. 79.

of this independence. Nor were disputes between individual states brought before the congress of the allies, which, on account of the preponderance of Sparta, would have endangered their liberty; but they were commonly either referred to the Delphian oracle, or to arbitrators chosen by both statesⁿ. When Elis claimed an ancient tribute from Lepreum, both states agreed to make Sparta their arbitrator by a special reference (ἐπιτροπή.) In this character Sparta declared that Lepreum, being an independent member of the confederacy, was not bound to pay the tribute; and Elis acted unjustly in refusing to abide by her agreement, on the plea that she had not expected the decision^o. For disputes between citizens of different states there was an entirely free and equal intercourse of justice (*commercium juris dandi repetendique*^p). The jurisdiction of the states was also absolutely exempt from foreign interference (ἀντοδικοί^v). These are the chief features of the constitution of the Peloponnesian confederacy; the only one which in the flourishing times of Greece combined extensive powers with justice, and a respect for the independence of its weaker members.

5. Sparta had not become the head of this league by agreement, and still less by usurpation; but by tacit acknowledgment she was the leader, not only of this, but of the whole of Greece; and she acted

ⁿ Thucyd. I. 28. cf. V 79.

^o V. 31.

^p V. 7, 9. καὶ τὰ πάτρια δίκας δίδόναι τὰς ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας. The expression καὶ τὰ πάτρια does not at all refer to ancient treaties of the Dorians. The πα-

τῶροι σπονδαὶ in Pausan. III. 5. 8. probably refer to the tradition mentioned above, ch. 5. §. 16.

^q Thucyd. *ubi sup.* τοῖς δὲ ἔταις καὶ τὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι.

as such in all foreign relations from about the year 580 B. C. Her alliance was courted by Cræsus: and the Ionians, when pressed by Cyrus, had recourse to the Spartans, who, with an amusing ignorance of the state of affairs beyond the sea, thought to terrify the king of Persia by the threat of hostilities. It is a remarkable fact, that there were at that time Scythian envoys in Sparta, with whom a great plan of operations against Persia is said to have been concerted—which it is not easy to believe^r. In the year 520 B. C. the Plataeans put themselves under the protection of Cleomenes^s, who referred them to Athens; a herald from Sparta drove the Alcmaeonidæ from their city^t: afterwards Aristagoras sought from the protector of Greece^u aid against the national enemy: and when the Æginetans gave the Persians earth and water, the Athenians accused them of treachery before the Spartans: and lastly, during the Persian war, Greece found in the high character of that state the only means of effecting the union so necessary for her safety and success^x.

6. In this war a new confederacy was formed, which was extended beyond the Peloponnese; the community of danger and of victory having, besides a momentary combination, also produced an union destined for some duration. It was the assembly of this league—a fixed congress at Corinth during, and

^r Herod. VI. 84.

^s VI. 108. *ἑδίδουσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς.*

^t V. 70.

^u V. 49, 70.

^x According to Justin XIX. 1. the Sicilian states also applied to Leonidas for assist-

ance against Carthage. How general the respect for Sparta was at that time in Greece, is shewn by several passages in Pindar, which are not otherwise intelligible, *c. g.* Pyth. V. 73.

at Sparta after, the war—that settled the internal differences of Greece, that invited Argos, Corcyra, and Gelon to join the league, and afterwards called upon Themistocles to answer for his proceedings^y. So much it did for the present emergency. But at the same time Pausanias, the regent of Sparta, after the great victory of Plataea (at which, according to Æschylus, the power of Persia fell by the Doric spear^z), prevailed upon the allies to conclude a further treaty. Under the auspices of the gods of the confederacy, particularly of the Eleutherian (or Grecian) Jupiter, they pledged themselves mutually to maintain the independence of all states, and to many other conditions, of which the memory has been lost. To the Plataeans in particular security from danger was promised^a. The Ionians also, after the battle of Mycale, were received into this confederacy^b.

7. The splendid victories over the Persians had for some time taken Sparta, which was fitted for a quiet and passive existence, out of her natural sphere; and her king Pausanias had wished to betray his country for the glitter of an Asiatic prince. But this state soon perceived her true interest, and sent no more commanders to Asia, “that her generals might not be made worse:” she likewise wished to avoid any further war with the Persians, thinking that Athens was better fitted to carry it on than herself^c. If the speech were now extant in which Hetoëmaridas the Heraclide proved to the councillors that it was not expedient for Sparta to

^y See Appendix IV.

^z Pers. 819.

^a Thuc. I. 67. III. 58, 68.

^b Herod. IX. 106.—These σπονδαί are also probably the

ἐνυθήκαι, according to which the Athenians wished δίκας δοῦναι at the beginning of the war, Thuc. I. 144, 145.

^c Thuc. I. 95.

aim at the mastery of the sea^d, we should doubtless possess a profound view, on the Spartan side, of those things which we are now accustomed to look on with Athenian eyes. Thus also it has been imagined that the command was transferred *to Athens merely for the sake of Athens*. Nor is it true that the supremacy (ἡγεμονία) over the Greeks was in fact transferred at all from Sparta to Athens, if we consider the matter as Sparta considered it, however great the influence of this change may have been on the power of Athens. But Sparta continued to hold its preeminence in the Peloponnese, and most of the nations of the mother-country joined themselves to her: while none but the Greeks of Asia Minor and the islands, who had previously been subjects of Persia, and were then only partially liberated, perhaps too much despised by Sparta, put themselves under the command of Athens^e.

8. But the *complete* liberation of Asia Minor from the Persian yoke, which has been considered one of the chief exploits of Athens, was in fact never effected. Without entering into the discussion respecting the problematical treaty of Cimon^f, we will merely seek to ascertain the actual state of the Asiatic Greeks at this period. Herodotus states, that Artaphernes, the satrap at Sardes under Darius, fixed the tribute to be paid by the Ionians as it remained until the time of the writer^g, i. e. about

^d Diod. XI. 50.

^e Thuc. VI. 82. αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρότερον ὄντων ἡγεμόνες καταστάντες.

^f Of this Eichstädt has treated in his Notes to the translation of Mitford's History of Greece; also Mosche in a Dissertation

De eo quod in Cornelii Vitis faciendum restat. Francof. 1802; and lastly, Dahlmann in his *Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, vol. I. p. 1—148. with great clearness and accuracy.

^g Herod. VI. 42. See my

the end of the Peloponnesian war. It is evident that this was a tribute to be paid to the king of Persia: the exactions of the Athenians were clearly not regulated by any Persian register of property. Again, in the nineteenth year of the war Artaphernes sought for assistance against Athens, that he might be able to pay to the king of Persia the tribute due from the Grecian maritime towns, which the Athenians had prevented him from collecting^b. From this it is plain that the shah of Susa was ignorant that the majority of those cities had for more than sixty years paid to the Athenians and not to him, and attributed the arrears only to the negligence of his viceroys. I say only the majority; for the Athenians had been far from completing the glorious work of the great Cimon; and after the war-contributions had become a most oppressive tribute, these cities might not themselves be very desirous to change their master. Hence Themistocles, as a vassal of Persia, possessed undisturbed, at the accession of Artaxerxes, the beautiful towns of Magnesia on the Mæander, Lampsacus, Myus, Percote, and ancient Scepsisⁱ. At a still later period the descendants of king Demaratus, Eurysthenes, and Procles, ruled by the same title over Halisarna in Mysia^k. The neighbouring towns of Gambrium, Pa-

Review of a work of Kortüm's, *Göttingische Anzeigen*, 1822. p. 117.

^b Thuc. VIII. 5, cf. 46. ὅσοι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἕλληνες οἰκοῦσι, an official expression of frequent occurrence.

ⁱ Plutarch. Themist. 29. Thucyd. I. 138. Diod. XI. 57. His sons also appear to have possessed them, according to

Pausan. I. 26. 4.

^k Xenoph. Hell. III. 1. 6. To this family Procles also belongs, who married the daughter of Aristotle (when the latter was at Atarneus), and had by her two sons, Procles and Demaratus, Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathem. p. 51 B. ed. Col.

lægambrium, Myrina, and Grynium had been given by Darius to Gongylus, and his descendants still dwelt there after the Peloponnesian war¹. When Athens unjustly expelled the Delians from their island, they found a place of refuge at Adramytteum, on the coast of Æolis, which was granted them by the satrap Pharnaces^m. Thus the Athenian empire did not prevent the vassals and subjects of the king of Persia from ruling over the Greeks of Asia Minor, even down to the very coast. We need not go any further to prove the entire falsehood of the account commonly given by the panegyrical rhetoricians of Athens.

9. The Peloponnese took the less concern in these proceedings, as internal differences had arisen from some unknown cause, which led to an open war between Sparta and Arcadia. We only know, that, between the battle of Plataea (in which Tegea, as also later still, shewed great fidelity towards Sparta) and the war with the Helots (i. e. between 479 and 465 B. C.), the Lacedæmonians fought two great battles, the one against the Tegeates and Argives at Tegea, the other against all the Arcadians, with the exception of the Mantineans, at Dipaea (ἐν Διπαίᾳ), in the Mænaliam territory. Tisamenus, an Elean, of the family of the Iamidæ, was in both battles in the Spartan army; and in both Sparta was victoriousⁿ. Yet, in an epigram of Simonides, the valour of the Tegeates is praised, who by their

¹ Xenoph. *ubi sup.*

^m Thucyd. V. 1.

ⁿ Herod. IX. 35. Pausan. III. 11. Hence also Leotychides in 468 B. C. went to Tegea

in exile, Herod. VI. 72. Herodotus IX. 37. also mentions a dissension between Tegea and Sparta before the Persian war.

death had saved their city from destruction^o; probably after the loss of the first battle. As we find that Argos had a share in this war^p, it is possible that the views of that state were directed against the ascendancy of Sparta; perhaps also the independence of the Mænalians, Parrhasians, &c. had been, as was so often the case, attacked by the more powerful states of Arcadia, and was defended by the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

10. This war had not been brought to a termination, when, in the year 465 B. C., in the reign of Archidamus^q and Pleistoanax, a tremendous earthquake (which is said to have been predicted by Anaximander^r) destroyed Sparta, and a sudden ruin threatened to overwhelm the chief state of Greece. For, in the hope of utterly annihilating their rulers, many Helots (perhaps doubly excited by the late outrage on the suppliants at the altar of the Tænarian god^s), especially the ancient inhabitants of Messenia, and two cities of the Periæci, revolted from Sparta; these rebels were all named Messenians, and the war was called the third Messenian war^t. The circumstances of this terrible contest are almost unknown to us; and we can only collect the few fragments extant of its history. Aëimnestus

^o Fragm. 21. Gaisford.

^p At that time also Tegea assisted Argos against Mycenæ; above, ch. 8. §. 7.

^q Polyænus I. 41. 5. confounds Archidamus III. and II. Plato Leg. III. p. 692. has not an accurate idea of the time of this war, of which Diodorus XI. 64. has given altogether an incorrect and inconsistent representation.

^r Plin. H. N. II. 79, 81. Cicero de Divin. I. 50.

^s The ἄγος Ταυνάριον. See Thucyd. I. 128. Ælian. V. H. VI. 7. Suidas in Ταυνάριον κακόν. Apostolius XVIII. 92. Prov. Vat. IV. 12. Plutarch. Prov. Al. 54. Pausan. IV. 24. 2. who mentions Lacedæmonians instead of Helots.

^t Thucyd. I. 101. ἣ καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες.

the Spartan, who had killed Mardonius, fought with 300 men at Stenyclarus against a body of Messenians, and was slain with all his men^u. This was followed by a great battle with the same enemy at Ithome^x, in which the Spartans were victorious. Most of the conquered Messenians then intrenched themselves on the steep summit of Ithome, which was even then sacred to Jupiter Ithomatas; and they probably restored the ancient walls and defences which had fallen down. Upon this the Lacedæmonians, foreseeing a tedious siege, called in the aid of their allies; and this call was answered among others by the Æginetans^y, the Mantineans^z, the Platæans^a, and the Athenians, who, at the request of the Spartan envoy Periclides, sent 4000 hoplitæ^b under the command of Cimon; the Spartans, however, dismissed them before the fortress was taken, in which they expected to be aided by the superiority of the Athenians in the art of be-

^u Herod. IX. 64.

^x If in Herod. IX. 35. the alteration *πρὸς Ἰθώμην* is at all certain. The expression of Pausanias III. 11. *πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ Ἰθώμην ἀποστήσαντας* is compounded of the passage of Herodotus, which he read as we now have it, and Thucyd. I. 101. *οἱ εἰλωτες—ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν*.

^y Thucyd. II. 27. IV. 56.

^z Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 3.

^a Thucyd. III. 54.

^b Aristoph. Lysistr. 1138. The 4000 hoplitæ, here mentioned by Aristophanes, were about the third part of the disposable forces of Athens (Thuc. II. 13); and since the

Platæans likewise sent *τὸ τρίτον μέρος* of their numbers to the assistance of the Spartans (ib. III. 54. *ἰδίᾳ* as opposed to the rest of Bœotia), this was probably a contingent fixed for such cases. Platæa, it should be observed, had been on friendly terms with Sparta after the time of Pausanias, and been connected with that state by *προξενίας*, to which the son of the Platæan general Arimnestus owed his name of Lacon, Thuc. III. 52, where we should read *Ἀριμνήστον*, or *vice versa* in Plutarch Aristid. 11. and 19. *Ἀεὶμνηστος* should be read for *Ἀρίμνηστος*.

sieging, not without shewing their suspicion of the innovating spirit of their ally^c. In the tenth year of the siege, 455 B. C., Ithome surrendered on terms; and the Messenians, together with their wives and children, quitted the Peloponnese, under a promise of never again entering it. It appears that the war between Lacedæmon and Arcadia was concluded upon conditions, of which one was, that no person should be put to death for the sake of the Lacedæmonian party at Tegea; and another, that Sparta was to expel the Messenians from the country, but not kill them—which were inscribed on a pillar on the banks of the Alpheus^d. The Athenians, however, gave to the fugitives the town of Naupactus, which they had shortly before conquered, and which was conveniently situated for tempting them, against their promise, to make inroads and forays in the Peloponnese. The Messenians still continued, in the Peloponnesian war, to be distinguished from the neighbouring people by their Doric dialect^e.

11. Immediately after the dismissal of the Athenians from Ithome, the injured people of Athens annulled the alliance with Sparta, which had subsisted since the Persian war^f; entered into a treaty

^c Thucyd. Compare Manso, History of Sparta, vol. I. p. 377. They must also at that time have been angry with the Athenians on account of Thasos.

^d These *συνθήκαι* may, I believe, be safely referred to this time; from which Aristotle, quoted in Plutarch. Qu. Rom. 52. p. 343. and Qu. Gr. 5. p. 380. cites the passages in the text on account of the expres-

sion *χρηστὸν ποιῶν*, for "to kill." That the Arcadians in a certain manner carried on war for the Helots is also implied in Zenobius Prov. I. 59.

^e Thucyd. III. 112. IV. 3. cf. VII. 57. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νῦν καλούμενοι.

^f Thucyd. I. 102. The *σπονδαὶ Πανσωνίων* still however remained in force (the *συνθήκαι* in cap. 144).

with Argos, the enemy of Sparta, and also with the Thessalians; and even joined to itself Megara, which was dependent on its commercial intercourse. Then followed the war with the maritime towns of Argolis, in which Athens, after many reverses, at length succeeded in destroying the fleet of Ægina, and subjugating that island (457 B. C.⁸). Sparta was compelled to be a quiet spectator of the subjection of so important a member of her confederacy, as she was still occupied with the siege of Ithome, and in the same year had sent out an army to liberate her mother-country, Doris, from the yoke of the Phœceans. But when, after the execution of this object, the Spartans were hastening back to the Peloponnese, they were compelled to force their passage home by the battle of Tanagra, which, with the assistance of the Thebans, they gained over an army composed of Athenians, Ionians, Argives, and Thessalians. This aid was afforded to them on the condition that they would help the Thebans to regain their supremacy in Bœotia, which the Thebans had lost by their defection from the Grecian cause in the Persian war^b. Sparta, however, after so decisive a victory, concluded a four months' armistice with Athens, during which that state conquered the Thebans at Œnophyta, finished the blockade of Ægina, subdued all Bœotia, with the exception of Thebes and Phocis, and extended its democratical constitution, which after the battle of Tanagra was nearly threatened with destructionⁱ, even to the city of Thebes. The

⁸ *Æginetica*, p. 179. and see Boeckh ad Pind. Pyth. VIII. Dissen ad Nem. VIII. 15.

^b See the excellent explanation of Boeckh ad Pind. Isthm.

VI. p. 532.

ⁱ On the oligarchical troubles in Olymp. 80. 4. (457 B. C.) and the probable share of Cimon in them, see the ac-

inactivity of Sparta during these astonishing successes of her enemy (for when she concluded the armistice with Athens she must have partly foreseen its consequences) seems to prove that she was entirely occupied with the final capture of Ithome, and the settlement of her interests in Arcadia^k. But that the war, which was now renewed by Athens, nevertheless extended to the whole Peloponnesian league, is shewn by the connected attacks of Tolmides on the Spartan harbour Gytheium, and the cities of Sicyon and Corinth, and also by the expedition of Pericles in the Corinthian gulf. The five years' truce in 451 B. C. was only an armistice between Athens and the Peloponnesian confederacy, which left Bœotia to shake off the Athenian yoke by its own exertions. This was also the time of the sacred war, in which a Spartan and an Athenian army, one coming after the other, the first gave the management of the temple to the Delphians, and the second, against all ancient right^l, to the Phocians. At the end of these five years Megara revolted from the Athenians, and in consequence an invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians took place, which, though it did not produce any immediate result, was soon followed by the thirty years' truce, in which Athens ceded her conquests in Megaris and the Peloponnese^m, and on the mainland returned within

curate discussion in Meier's *Historia Juris Attici de Bonis damnatis*, p. 4. n. 11.

^k Thuc. I. 118. τὸ δὲ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξεργόμενοι.

^l See Boeckh's *Public Economy of Athens*, vol. II. p. 396, note.

^m Thucyd. I. 115. Νίσαιαν

καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν; for in this order the words should be read. Achaia therefore is the district on the north of the Peloponnese, which indeed did not *belong* to Athens, but was enumerated in the lists of the contending parties as belonging to the Athenian side

her ancient boundaries; but she preserved the same power over her other confederates. For when the Athenians soon afterwards attacked the revolted island of Samos, the Peloponnesians indeed debated whether they should protect it; but the proposal of Corinth was adopted, that Athens should be allowed to deal with her allies as she pleased^a.

12. If now we consider the events which have been briefly traced in the foregoing pages, it will be perceived, that the principle on which the Lacedæmonians constantly acted was one of self-defence, of restoring what had been lost, or preserving what was threatened with danger; whereas the Athenians were always aiming at attack or conquest, or the change of existing institutions. While the Spartans during this period, even after the greatest victories, did not conquer a foot of land, subjugate one independent state, or destroy one existing institution; the Athenians, for a longer or for a shorter time, reduced large tracts of country under their dominion, extended their alliance (as it was called) on all sides, and respected no connexion sanctioned by nature, descent, or antiquity, when it came in conflict with their plans of empire. But the astonishing energy of the Athenian people, which from one point kept the whole of Greece in constant vibration, almost paralysed Sparta; the natural slowness of that state became more and more apparent: which having been, as it were, violently trans-

(concerning these lists see Thucyd. I. 31, 40.), and at this time passed over to that of the Lacedæmonians. See Thucyd. IV. 21. Compare the very con-

fused account in Andocides *Περὶ εἰρήνης*, and that of Æschines borrowed from it.

^a Thucyd. I. 40. See above, p. 206, note ^u.

planted into a strange region, only began by degrees to comprehend the policy of Athens.

But when Athens saw the Peloponnesian confederacy again established, and as she could not, on account of the truce, attack it directly, she looked to the colonial law, which rested rather on hereditary feelings than on positive institution, for an opportunity of an indirect attack. This was soon found in the defensive treaty (*ἐπιμαχία*) with Corcyra, which state was engaged with its mother-country Corinth in a war, according to ancient Greek principles, wholly illegal and unjust. Besides this, however, it was an actual breach of the thirty years' truce^o. And the same principles were expressed in the demand that Potidæa should, for the sake of the Athenian confederacy, give up its original connexion with the parent-state. In both these cases it is manifest that the maxims of the Athenian policy were directly at variance with the general feeling of justice entertained by the Greeks, and especially to the respect for affinity of blood; and this fundamental difference was the true cause of the Peloponnesian war.

13. As it would not be consistent with the plan of this work to give a detailed account of the influence of the Peloponnesian war upon the political and private character of the Greeks, we must be content to point out the following obvious points of

^o The meaning of the article in the thirty years' truce, Thucyd. I. 35. can only be, States not included in the alliance may join whichever side they please, by which means they come within the treaty, and the al-

liance guarantees their safety. But if a state already at war with another state party to the treaty (*ἔνσπονδος*) is assisted, a war of this description is like one undertaken by the confederacy of the assisting state.

opposition between the contending parties. In the first place then, *Dorians were opposed to Ionians*; and hence in the well-known oracle it was called the Doric war^p. The individual exceptions are for the most part merely apparent^q; also when the Athenians attacked Sicily, all the Doric cities were opposed to them^r. On the side of Athens were ranged all the Ionians of Europe, of the islands, and of Asia, not indeed voluntarily, but still not altogether against their inclination. *The union of the free Greeks against the evil ambition of one state.* At the beginning of the war the general voice of Greece was in favour of Sparta^s (which was heard through the Delphian oracle, when it promised that state assistance^t); nor did she compel any one to join in it. The allies of Athens, having previously been Persian subjects, were accustomed to obey; and on the present occasion forced to submit; the public assembly of Athens was the only free voice in so large a combination. *Land-forces against sea-forces.* According to the speech of Pericles, the Peloponnese was able, in an action with heavy-armed troops, to resist all the rest of Greece together; and Athens avoided coming to this mode of engagement with singular ingenuity. The fleet of the Peloponnesians, on the other hand, was at the beginning of the war very inconsiderable^u. Hence it was some time before the belligerent parties even so much as

^p Thucyd. II. 54.

^q The Asiatic cities are not exceptions; in Rhodes also the Doric spirit rose against Athens in the person of the noble Doreus.

^r Thucyd. III. 86. with the exception of Camarina.

^s Thucyd. II. 8. cf. 11.

^t Thucyd. I. 118, 123. Plutarch. Pyth. Or. 19. p. 276.

^u The Spartans were at first quite contemptible by sea; Alcidas in particular was destitute of all talent, Thucyd. III. 30, 31. sq.

encountered one another; the land was the means of communication for one party, the sea for the other: hence the states friendly to Athens were immediately compelled to build *long walls* (μακρὰ τεῖχος) for the purpose of connecting the chief city with the sea, and isolating it from the land; as, e. g., Megara before, and Argos and Patræ during the war². *Large bodies of men practised in war against wealth.* The Peloponnesians carried on the war with natives; whereas Athens manned her fleet—the basis of her power—chiefly with foreign seamen; so that the Corinthians said justly that the power of Athens was rather purchased than native³. It was the main principle of Pericles' policy, and it is also adopted by Thucydides in the famous introduction to his History, that it is not the country and people, but moveable and personal property, χρήματα, in the proper sense of the word, which make states great and powerful. *Slow and deliberate conviction against determined rashness.* This is evident both from the different direction taken by the alliances of the two parties, and from their natural character. It was with good reason that the oracle admonished Sparta to carry on the war with decision and firmness; for that state was always cautious of undertaking a war, and ready for peace². *Maintenance of ancient custom as opposed to the desire of novelty.* The former was the chief feature of the Doric, the latter of the Ionic race. The Dorians wished to preserve their ancient dignity and

² Thucyd. I. 103. V. 82.

—πληροῦντες τοῦτων τὰς τριήρεις.

³ I. 121. cf. Isocrat. de Pace p. 174 E. οἱ συνάγοντες ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς ἀργυράτους

² See particularly Thucyd. II. 11. V. 6.

power, as well as their customs and religious feelings: the Ionians were commonly in pursuit of something new, frequently, as in the case of the Sicilian expedition, but obscurely seen and conceived. *Union of nations and tribes against one arbitrarily formed.* As has been already shewn, this difference was the cause of the war; and indeed Athens in the course of it hardly recognised any duty in small states to remain faithful to cities of the same race, and to their mother-countries; otherwise, why was Melos so barbarously punished, for remembering rather that it was a colony of Sparta than an island? Thus also in the interior of states the Athenians encouraged political associations (*ἐταίριαι*), while the Spartans trusted to the ties of relationship^a. *Aristocracy against democracy*^b. This difference was manifested in the first half of the war by Athens changing, while Sparta only restored governments; for in this instance also the power of Sparta was in strictness only employed in upholding ancient establishments, as an aristocracy may indeed be overthrown, but cannot be formed in a moment.

14. These obvious points of difference are sufficient to substantiate the result which we wish to arrive at. It is manifest that the second of the two forces, which in each of these instances came into collision, must necessarily have always overcome the first. The slow, cumbrous, unwieldy body of the Spartan confederacy was sure to suffer under the

^a Thucydides has with great ingenuity, but with the most bitter coldness, laid down the principles of the Athenian policy in the Melian conference.

^b According to Thucyd. III.

82. πλήθους ἰσονομία πολιτικὴ and ἀριστοκρατία are ὀνόματα εὐπρεπῆ (as at that time they truly were); but not τὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πολιτεῖνσθαι.

blows of its skilful, forward, and enterprising antagonist. The maxims which, according to Thucydides, were current at this time^c, that rashness was to be called courage in a friend's cause, provident foresight hidden cowardice, moderation a cloak for pusillanimity, and that to be prudent in every thing was to be active in nothing, necessarily impeded and shackled the beneficial effects of the measures of the Doric party. The "honesty and openness" of the Doric character, the noble simplicity of the ancient times of Greece, soon disappeared in this tumultuous age^d. Sparta therefore and the Peloponnesians emerge from the contest, altered, and as it were reversed; and even before its termination appear in a character of which they had before probably contained only the first seeds.

But in the second half of the war, when the Spartans gave up their great armaments by land, and began to equip fleets with hired seamen; when they had learnt to consider money as the chief instrument of warfare, and begged it at the court of Persia; when they sought less to protect the states joined to them by affinity and alliance, than to dissolve the Athenian confederacy; when they began to secure conquered states by harmosts of their own, and by oligarchs *forced upon the people*, and found that the secret management of the political clubs was more to their interest than open negotiation with the government; we see developed on the one hand an energy and address, which was first manifested in the enterprises of the great Brasidas, and

^c Ubi sup.

ful expression of Thucydides,

^d Τὸ εὐθές, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον
πλείστον μετέχει, is the beauti-

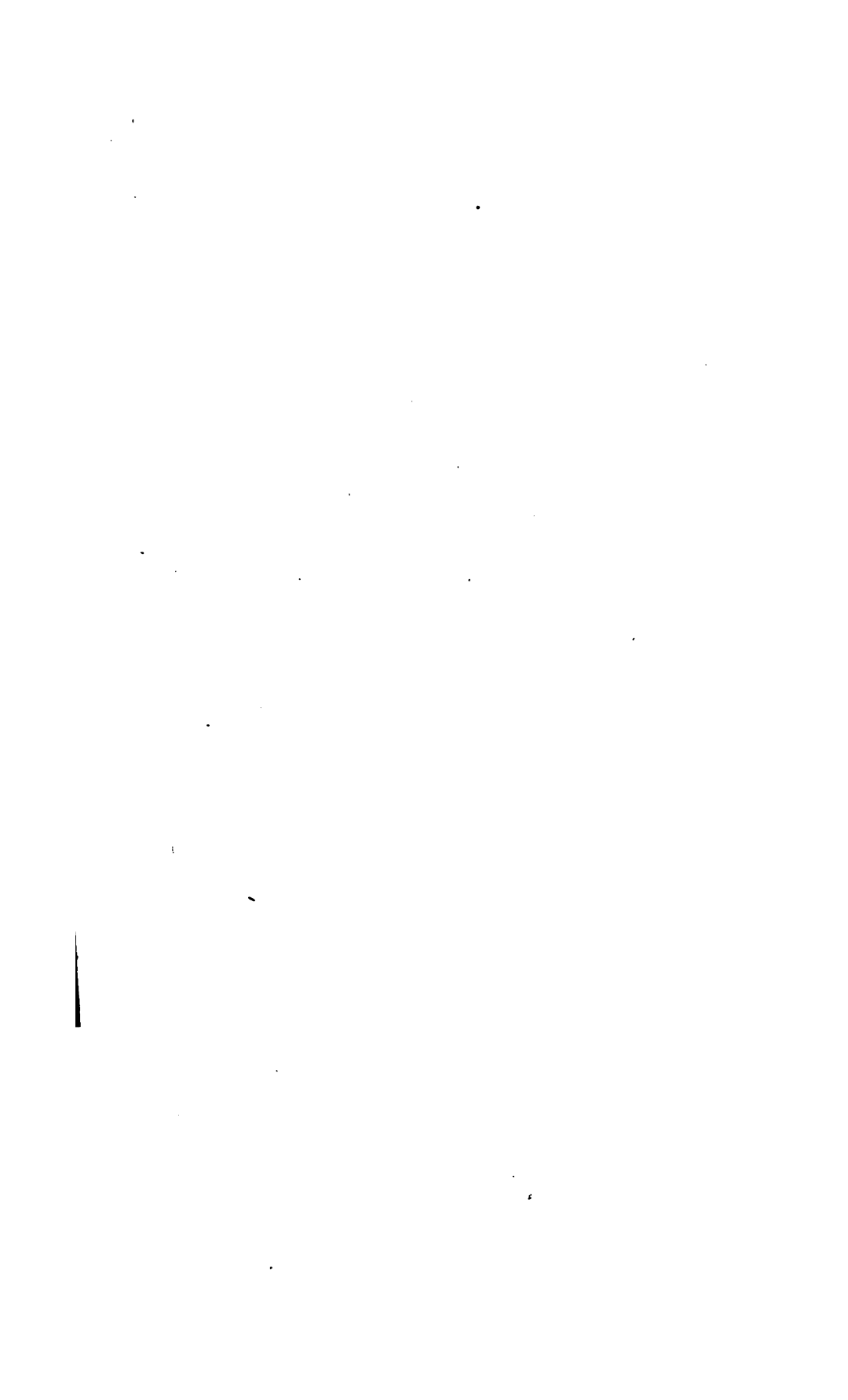
ib. 83.

on the other a worldly policy, as was shewn in Gylippus, and afterwards more strongly in Lysander; when the descendants of Hercules found it advisable to exchange the lion's for the fox's skin^d. And, since the enterprises conducted in the spirit of earlier times either wholly failed or else remained fruitless, this new system, though the state had inwardly declined, brought with it, by the mockery of fate, external fame and victory^e.

^d Plutarch Reg. Apophth. p. 127.

^e In conclusion I remark, that the possessions of the Peloponnesian states in this war, as they had agreed with one

another at the commencement of it, and as Sparta maintained them (Thucyd. V. 31. cf. V. 29.), are represented in the accompanying map of the Peloponnese.



BOOK II.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE DORIANS.

CHAP. I.

On the worship of Apollo at Tempe, Crete, Delos, and Delphi.

1. **I**N turning from the history of the external affairs of the Dorians to the consideration of their intellectual existence, our first step must be to enquire into their religion; and for this purpose we will proceed to analyze and resolve it into the various worships and ceremonies of which it was composed, and to trace the origin and connexion of these usages as they successively arose.

Now it may with safety be asserted, that the principal deities of the Dorians were Apollo and Diana, since their worship is found to have predominated in all the settlements of that race; and conversely the Doric origin can be either proximately or remotely traced wherever there were any considerable institutions dedicated to the worship of Apollo; insomuch that the adoration of this god may be shewn from the most ancient testimonies of mythology to have gradually advanced with the extension of the Doric nation. Yet we are not to understand that the worship of Apollo and the Doric race were so exactly coextensive that the presence of the latter always proves either the previous or actual existence of the former. Indeed it is certain

that in ancient as well as in modern times the worship of particular gods was not only propagated by migration and conquest, but that religious belief was also extended by peaceful intercourse, and, as it were, by moral contact.

In order to rest the claims of the Doric race to the worship of Apollo on a secure foundation, it is necessary first to give a direct contradiction to all those statements which assert its connexion with any race not of Hellenic descent. In the first place, then, Apollo was not a national deity of the aboriginal *Pelasgic* nations of Greece^a. Had this been the case, he would certainly have enjoyed frequent and distinguished honours in those countries where the numbers of that race remained undiminished; for example, in Arcadia. Now it is found that there were very few temples of Apollo in Arcadia; and moreover the founding of most of these was either connected with a foreign hero, or else attributed to some external influence^b. Secondly, it has been sup-

^a Against Myrtilus in Dionysius Halic. I. 23. who however was probably deceived by confounding a Cabirus with Apollo (see *Orchomenos* pag. 455).

^b The temples are, first, that of Apollo Onœus at Thelpusa, in connexion with Hercules, Pausan. VIII. 25. 3. Antimach. p. 65. ed. Schellenberg. The native gods are in this case Ceres, Erinyes, and Neptune. Secondly, to the north of Phe-neus the temples of Apollo Pythius and Diana; they were said to have been built by Hercules after the conquest of

Elis, Pausan. VIII. 15. 2: compare Aristot. *Mirab. Auscult.* 59. and below, ch. 12. §. 3. Thirdly, in Tegea the temple of Apollo Agyieus, in connexion with Crete, Pausan. VIII. 53. 1. Fourthly, the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Phigalea, built at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Pausan. VIII. 41. 5. Fifthly, the Pythian or Parrhasian Apollo, near mount Lycæum, Paus. VIII. 38. 6. (the temple Πύθιον in Paus. *ibid.* Πέρτιον in an Arcadian inscription, Boeckh, N°. 1534.) would doubtless more properly be called

posed that the worship of this god was introduced from the *east* (an opinion founded chiefly on the establishments of his religion in Lycia); but we shall presently shew that its institution in this quarter was in fact derived from the Dorians. To this we may add, that amongst none of the *half-Grecian* nations, e. g. the Leleges, Carians, Ætolians, Phrygians, and Thracians, the worship of this god can be proved to have been national. The same may be affirmed of the *Italian* nations. Apollo never occurs in the ancient *Etruscan* religion. Nor was *Rome* acquainted with this worship, until it was introduced by the Sibylline oracles; a sacred spot was then allotted on the Flaminian meadow; and the temple erected there (324 A. U. C.) was, up to the time of Cicero, the only one in Rome*. Nay, that the Italians adopted him altogether as a foreign deity is proved by the circumstance of their not having united him with their native Jupiter, or Mercury, as they did the Grecian Zeus, Hermes, &c. In our inquiries therefore into the origin of the worship of Apollo, we are limited to the races of purely Greek offspring. It remains only to be shewn why we have selected the *Dorians* in particular from all these different tribes. And we merely make this preliminary remark, that the fabulous

Aristæus. Sixthly, Apollo Cereatas in Ægyptis, near Carnium, probably came from Mesænia, Paus. VIII. 34. 3.

* Liv. III. 63. IV. 25. 29. Asconius in Orat. in toga cand. p. 150. ed. Cren. The *sacra* of the Falisci on mount Soracte were, as well as others of that city, half Grecian, Virg.

Æn. XI. 785. Plin. H. N. VII. 2. compare Spangenberg de Rel. Latin. p. 38. The Salian priests did not mention the name of Apollo, Arnobius adv. Gent. II. 73. *Aplu* upon Etruscan Pateras (Demster Etrusc. Reg. tab. 3. 4. Gori II. p. 93.) is the Thessalian name,

genealogy, in which Dorus is called the son of Apollo^c, was a simple expression for this fact.

2. The most ancient settlements of the Doric race, of which any historical accounts are extant, were, as we before ascertained^d, the country at the foot of Olympus and Ossa, near the valley of TEMPE. In this district there were two sanctuaries, bearing the character of the highest antiquity, viz. the Pythium, on the ridge of Olympus, near a steep mountain-pass leading to Macedonia; and the altar in the ravine of the Peneus^e, from which the god himself was called *Τεμπεΐτας*; and in an inscription discovered near this spot, on the banks of the river between Tempe and Larissa, are the words ΑΠΛΟΤΝΙ ΤΕΜΠΕΙΤΑ, "To Apollo of Tempe^f." From another inscription found in this district we gather an account of certain native Thessalian festivals, at which branches of laurel were carried round, that were doubtless procured from the groves in the valley of Tempe; whither also the Delphians every eight years, at the expiration of the sacred period, sent the Pythian theori, who, after the performance

^c Apollodorus I. 7. 6.

^d Book I. ch. 1.

^e The valley of Tempe was a favourite place of Apollo; see Callimachus Hymn. in Del. 152. Horat. Carm. I. 21. 9. Melisseus also, in his historical work on Delphi, appears to have derived the worship of Apollo from the borders of Macedonia, as may be conjectured from the fragment cited by Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Op. 1. p. 29. ed. Gaisford. On account of the vicinity of this great temple, the worship of

Apollo was very prevalent in Macedonia, on the coins of which country his symbols frequently occur.

^f Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. N^o. 1767. The other inscription, found near the ancient Atrax (*Turnovo*) may be thus written in the common dialect: Ἀπόλλωνι Κερδ, . . . Σωσιπαιτρος Πολεμαρχιδαιος ὁ θύτης ἀνέθηκε ἱερομνημονήσας καὶ ἀρχιδαφνηφορήσας. See Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. N^o. 1766. and Expl. Pind. p. 336. Classical Journal, vol. XXVI. p. 393.

of a sacrifice, broke the expiatory branch from the sacred laurel-tree². According also to the admission of the Delphians themselves, the temple of Apollo at Tempe was more ancient than their own, as a perfect expiation could only be performed in that sanctuary. In accordance with the tradition that Apollo himself, after having slain the Python, fled to the altar at Tempe to be purified from the pollution; the sacred boy, at each return of the appointed day, went to Tempe by a certain path³, in imitation of the god whom he honoured, in order to return home amidst the joyful songs of the choruses of virgins, as *δαφνηφόρος*, or *laurel-bearer*. The religious usages at this festival will be investigated hereafter; here we will only consider the route which the procession took. It led through Thessaly and Pelasgia (i. e. through the plain of the Peneus, which stretches to the south as far as Pheræ); then through the country of the Malians and Ænians, over mount Ceta, through Doris and the western part of Locris⁴; avoiding in a remarkable manner the shorter and more frequented road from Thessaly through Thermopylæ, over Phocis, and through the pass of Panopeus and Daulis to Delphi. The reasons of this deviation may have been the opposition offered in early times by hostile tribes from the eastern side of Delphi to the peaceable march of sacred processions; and also that the theoria might in its progress pass through the se-

² *Διαρπεία ἡ ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι δάφνη*. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ *Δηλία*, Hesychius p. 1040. ed. Alberti. *Laurus Pencei filius*, Fulgent. 13.

καλοῦμεν, Plut. Quæst. Græc. 12.

⁴ Ælian V. H. III. 1. mistakes the succession of the districts.

³ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν νῦν ἱερὰν

cond settlements of the Dorians, between mounts Cēta and Parnassus, where doubtless the worship of Apollo had likewise prevailed^k.

3. The first half of the Pythian road, which goes through Thessaly, is very accurately determined by a combination of different testimonies. Its first stage was from Tempe to Larissa. Near this place was a village named Deipnias, where the boy who carried the laurel-branch first broke his long fast^l; as Apollo himself was reported also to have done. That the place received its name from this circumstance is a sufficient proof of the antiquity of the usage. The theoria next proceeded to Pheræ, where the boy, on his way to Tempe, and before his purification, represented the servitude of Apollo when a refugee at the palace of Admetus. This use of slavery as a preparative for the expiation of guilt, is doubtless taken from some very ancient tradition; and it is alluded to by the earliest epic poets; thus in the Iliad the horses of Eumelus, the son of Admetus, are stated to have derived their excellence from having been under the care of Apollo at Pheræ^m. The harbour of Pheræ was

^k A temple of Apollo and Diana at Libæa, Pausan. X. 33. 2.

^l Steph. Byz. in Δειπνιάς, with a fragment of Callimachus. The connexion of Larissa and Delphi is proved by the ancient offering mentioned by Pausan. X. 16. 4. It is not known whether Phyllus, with its temple of Apollo Phyllæus, and Ichne, with a temple of Themis, both towns in Thessalotis, were situated on this

road, Strabo IX. p. 435.

^m Iliad. II. 766. cf. XXIII. 383 sqq. Πηρεΐη is mentioned as a place of pasturage; and is cited by the Scholia to this passage, Stephanus Byz. and Hesychius, as a place in Thessaly, but probably only from this passage. In the Orphic Argonautics the pastures are placed on the banks of the Amphryssus, which is near Pheræ.

Pagasæ, in the furthest recess of the Pagasæan bay, in which place there was a celebrated altar of the Pagasæan Apollo, situated in an extensive groveⁿ, where there were large numbers of sacred ravens^o. This sanctuary is the theatre of Hesiod's poem of the Shield of Hercules; and at no great distance the river Anaurus runs into the sea^p, which stream, swollen by violent storms of rain, carried away the tomb of Cynus, the son of Mars; "*for thus Apollo, the son of Latona, willed it, because Cynus had plundered the hecatombs which the nations brought to the temple of Pytho*^q." Hence it is evident that the Pagasæan sanctuary was situated on the road consecrated by the processions to and from Delphi; and we may perceive also in these words of Hesiod an allusion to a fable perhaps much celebrated by early poets, viz. that Cynus was slain for having profaned the temple of Apollo'.

4. We thus arrive at DELPHI, the second grand

ⁿ Hesiod. Scut. 17, 58. Παγασίτης Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Παγασαῖς καὶ παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς, Hesychius. In Apollon. Rhod. I. 404, 411. the Argonauts are represented as building a temple of Apollo Actius and Embasius at Pagasæ.

^o Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 133. where for ἡλίου write Ἀπόλλωνος, a common corruption, as both words were denoted by the same abbreviation. See Gaisford ad Hesiod. Theog. 709.

^p Scut. 477. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 389. Compare *Orchomenos* p. 251. Cynus dwelt ἐν παρόδῳ τῆς θαλασσίας, according to Stesichorus ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. X. 19. (Mus. Crit. vol.

II. p. 266. Schol. II. Ψ. 346. from the Cyclic poets, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Παγασαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς Τροίῃνι (read with Heinrich Τραχίνι, see Scut. 469). Pausanias places the battle on the Peneus, I. 27. 7. See also Schellenberg's Antimachus, p. 67.

^q Scut. Herc. ad fin. τὼς γάρ μιν Ἀπόλλων Λητοῖδης ἦνωξ', ὅτι ῥα κλειτὰς ἐκατόμβας ὅσους ἄγοι Πυθῶδε βίη σύλασκε δοκεύων.

^r It is fair to suppose that Stesichorus so far altered the fable as to make Cynus build *Apollo* a temple of skulls; and it is not necessary with Heyne *ubi sup.* to substitute Mars for Apollo. See also Sturz ad Hellanic. Fragm. 121. p. 137.

station of the worship of Apollo, and, as it were, a focus, from which it diverged in numberless directions, and to which it was again partially reflected. Now although from early times the singular and striking character of the place might often have raised the feelings to ecstasy, and excited in the spectator dim and shadowy forebodings of the future: yet the establishment of a *fixed* institution, with its sacred regulations and rights, was intimately connected with the introduction of the worship of Apollo. At what time however did this first obtain a footing at Delphi? Probably when the Doric race came from Hestiaeotis to mount Parnassus, and settled above Delphi, which event took place at a very early period. This supposition, to which we are led by the preceding inquiry, is not inconsistent with the celebrated tradition that Cretan navigators landed on this coast in the time of Minos, and there introduced the worship of Apollo. In order, however, to reconcile these two accounts, we must first examine into the Cretan worship of that god.

5. The population of CRETE having been in early times composed of a heterogeneous mixture of different nations, it was natural that the worships of many different gods should prevail there; yet in many cases it is possible to ascertain the nation from which they severally originated. Amongst these, the Dorians, whose chief settlement was on the north-eastern coast near Cnosus (from which point however they very soon spread over other parts of the island), had brought over the worship of Apollo from their settlements under mount Olympus. According to a tradition preserved in the

Homeric hymn to Apollo, the ship, which Apollo in the shape of a dolphin conducted to Delphi, set out from the city of Cnosus. Of this city the chief temple was that of Apollo Delphinus³. In its territory was situated a place called Apollonia; and the remarkable town of Amnisus, with the grotto of Eileithyia, where it was supposed that this goddess, who assisted at the birth of Apollo, was herself born⁴. On the same coast are Miletus, where (as will be mentioned hereafter) the worship of Apollo prevailed, and Lato (Camira), whose name reminds us of the goddess Latona. It cannot be doubted that the same worship also prevailed in the ancient Doric town of Lyctus, in the interior of the island⁵. Nearer to the southern coast was Gortyna, which, though founded by a different race, yet in later times recognised the dominion and worship of the same nation as Cnosus: accordingly the most central point of this city was called *Pythium*.⁶ Immediately bordering on it was Phaestus, the birth-place of Epimenides, which town was said to have derived its origin and name from a Heraclide of Sicyon⁷. Here, together with Hercules, Apollo and Latona received particular honours⁸. Further on

³ Chishull Antiq. Asiat. p. 134. *Æginetica*, p. 154. The coins of Cnosus have the head of Apollo. The Omphalian plain near Cnosus (Callim. Hymn. Jov. 45) is connected with the stone of the Omphalos at Delphi, but both belong to the worship of Jupiter.

⁴ Odyss. XIX. 188. Pausan. I. 18. 5. Strabo X. p. 476. See Boettiger's *Ilithyia*, p. 18. Einatus, whence Ilithyia Eina-

tinè, was probably in the neighbourhood.

⁵ Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 33. The geographical position of the places is partly founded on the investigation in Hoeck's History of Crete, vol. I. ch. 1.

⁶ Steph. Byz. in Πύθιον. Its coins have on them the head of Apollo.

⁷ See book I. ch. 5. §. 2.

⁸ The latter under the title of *φωρία*, with a festival named

towards the west, in the mountains, was Tarrha, one of the most ancient and considerable temples of Apollo^a. Here, according to the Cretan tradition, dwelt Carmanor the father of the minstrel Chrysothemis, a priest who was said to have purified Apollo himself from the blood of the Python^b; which legend, when compared with the account of his expiation at the altar in the valley of Tempe, shews how the legends connected with the worship of Apollo crossed over to Crete and there again took root. With the residence of Apollo when a refugee in the house of Carmanor, there is connected a tradition of his amour with Acacallis, who bore him Naxos^c, or Miletus^d, or Phylander and Phylacis, who, in a sacred offering of the Elyrians at Delphi, were represented as sucking the teat of a she-goat^e. This Elyrus, like most of the ancient towns of Crete, was situated in the mountains of the interior, probably not far from Tarrha^f. Al-

^a *Ἐκδύσια*, Antonin. Liberal. 17. The wolf on its coins also refers to Apollo.

^b Steph. Byz. in *Tάρρα*, Compare Theophrast. Hist. Plant. II. 2. An oracle (preserved by Ænomaus, Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 133. ed. Steph.) calls upon the inhabitants of Phæstus, Tarrha, and Polyrhum, to make expiations (*καθαρμοὶ*) to the Pythian Apollo.

^c Pausan. II. 7. 7. X. 16. 3. comp. Tibullus IV. 1. 8.

^d Alexander's *Κρητικά*, lib. I. ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV. 1492. comp. Pausan. VIII. 53. 2.

^e Antonin. Liber. 30. comp. Verheyk.

^f Pausan. X. 16. 3. Hence the goat upon the coins of Elyrus. Also a she-wolf upon the coins of Cydonia, suckling the little Cydon.

^g Tarrha is the parent state of *Zappa*, the coins of which city have therefore Apollo or a lyre. Perhaps this place derived from this worship the right of asylum: see Spanheim de Præst. Num. p. 342. There are also other traces of the worship of Apollo in Crete, e. g. the temple of Allaria. Chishull. Ant. Asiat. p. 137. Oaxus was called the son of Apollo, Servius ad Virg. Ecl. I. 66. Upon the ancient coins of Eleutherna Apollo is hold-

though there have not been preserved accounts sufficient to lead to any general conclusion, yet those which we have adduced establish the position that it was not the original inhabitants of mount Ida or any supposed colonists from Phœnicia, but the Dorian invaders alone who made Crete the head-quarters of the worship of Apollo: we therefore assert that this worship (as originally founded in Crete) had not the slightest connexion with the enthusiastic (and probably Phrygian) orgies of the Idæan Jupiter, with the Corybantes, &c. Yet from these ceremonies being celebrated at so short a distance from each other, confusions soon arose; so that in later times the Curetes were called the sons of Apollo^g. According to some writers, Corybas was the father of Apollo, and he was reported to have disputed the sovereignty of Crete with Jupiter^h.

6. From Crete, we will now proceed to DELOS. Virgil, on the authority (as it appears) of some ancient epic poet, calls the Cretans ministers of the Delian altarsⁱ. The voyage of Theseus from Cnossus to Delos is also founded on the same connexion, as will be more fully explained hereafter. We must not however too hastily conclude, that in the age of Minos, when the Cretans were the dominant nation

ing in his right hand a ball, (viz. an apple, *μῆλα ἑρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*, Luc. Anach. 9), and in the left a bow. Also the coins of Rhitymna. On those of Mylissus is a youth with a goat's head in the right, and a bow in the left hand; which is certainly an Apollo. The same god is also on the coins of Præsus, Aptera, Chersonesus,

and Rhæucus.

^g According to Apollodorus I. 3. 4, by Thalia; according to Strabo X. p. 473. by Rhytia (which refers to the city of Rhytium under mount Ida).

^h The statement of the *Theologi* in Cicero de Nat. Deor. III. 23. p. 616. ed. Creuzer.

ⁱ Æn. IV. 146. compare Heyne vol. II. p. 736.

in the Greek Archipelago, Delos received the worship of Apollo from a Cretan colony^k. It may with greater probability be conjectured, that the Dorians in their first expedition to Crete (which could hardly have traversed so great a distance without leaving behind some traces of its existence) had founded the sanctuary at Delos; since the tradition of the transmission of sacred presents from the country of the Hyperboreans to that island, is most simply explained as a memorial of a religious connexion, which had once been long maintained, by means of sacred processions, with the northern settlements of the Dorians.

7. Now respecting the presence of Cretans at Delphi, it was nothing more than an attempt of these islanders, who dwelt on the very verge of the Grecian territory, to gain for themselves the credit of a reciprocal influence upon the early settlements of their own race and religion. We find in the Hymn of Homer, that Apollo, descending from Olympus, himself founded his temple at Pytho, and afterwards obtained experienced priests, minstrels, and prophets^l from Cnosus; for which purpose he, in the shape of a dolphin, conducted a Cretan vessel to Crissa. Crissa, or Cirrha (for that the same place was originally signified by both names I consider as certain^m), a fortified town in the inmost recess of the Crissæan bay, was probably a settlement of this Cretan colony, as the name Κρῖσα seems to

^k Anius, the son and priest of Apollo, is called the viceroy of Rhadamanthus at Delos. Diod. V. 62, 79. Comp. Phercydes Fragm. 74. ed Sturz.

^l ὄρχηστας, οἱ θεραπεύουσιναι Πνθοῖ ἐνὶ πετρήεσση, ἱερά τε ῥέξουσιν καὶ ἀγγελέονσιν θέμιστας.

^m See *Orchomenos* p. 493.

signify nothing else than a *Cretan* city (Κρησία πόλις)ⁿ. Although the Pythian sanctuary itself was situated in the territory of Crissa^o, yet the town of Crissa possessed, besides an altar of Apollo Delphinus on the shore, in early times one of the chief temples of Apollo^p: hence in Homer's Catalogue the *sacred* Crissa is mentioned, together with the rocky Pytho; and the Pythian sanctuary is called *Crissæa templa*, on the faith of some ancient tradition, by a Roman poet. This expression must have been borrowed from poems anterior to the destruction of Cirrha (about 585 B. C.), before this town had by its extortions and oppression of pilgrims deserved the wrath of the Amphictyonic confederacy; nor is it probable that it retained a share in the management of the Delphian temple up to the very last moment of its political existence; when it was visited with a destruction so complete, as nearly to deprive us of all knowledge of its previous history. The unfortified town of Delphi, which, with the Amphictyons, obtained after that war the sole management of the temple, previously perhaps had not been a place of any importance; at least it is not mentioned in any earlier writings than one of the most

ⁿ This etymology was known to ancient mythologers, Cornificius Longus ap. Serv. ad *Æn.* III. 332. *In memoriam gentis ex qua profectus erat (Cretæ), subjacentes campos Crissæos vel Cretæos appellasse.*

^o In the Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, in vv. 90. 103, and other passages, Pytho is stated to be ἐν Κρίσση, that

is, "in the territory of Crissa," "within the Crissæan boundaries."

^p It is to this that verse 265 of the hymn probably refers. Concerning the tripod in the adytum at Crisa, see Epist. Hippocrat. VIII. There were statues of Latona, Diana, and Apollo remaining in the time of Pausanias, X. 37. 6.

recent hymns of Homer, and by Heracleitus of Ephesus ⁷.

8. In ancient times the service of the temple, as appears from the Homeric Hymn, both at Delos and Delphi, was performed by Cretans; but it is scarcely possible that they should have constituted the whole population of the country. For, in the first place, the extensive territory of the temple was cultivated by a subject people, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and who were certainly not of Doric, and probably in few cases of Cretan descent ¹; besides whom there was a native nobility, whose influence over the temple was very considerable. These are the persons who, according to Euripides, "*sat near the tripod, the Delphian nobles, chosen by lot*;" called also "*the lords and princes of the Delphians*." They also formed a criminal court, which sentenced all offenders against the temple, by the Pythian decision, to be hurled from a precipice ². To the same persons also doubtless belonged the permission and superintendence of the ancient rite of expiation; and it was their duty (as it was that of the court of the Samothracian priests) to determine whether a murder was expiable or not. Their influence over the oracle was so great, that they may be considered to have been the actual managers of it. Their political bias may be inferred from the fact, that Timasitheus the Delphian distinguished himself by his boldness

⁷ Hymn. XXVII. 14. Heraclitus ap. Plutarch. Pyth. Orac. p. 404.

¹ Below, ch. 3. §. 3.

² Ion v. 418. (Matthiæ). οἱ πλησίον θάσσουσι τρίποδος . . .

Δελφῶν ἀριστεῖς, οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος.

¹ Κοίρανοι Πυθικοὶ, v. 1219.

Δελφῶν ἀνακτες, v. 1222. Πυθία ψῆφος, v. 1250. cf. v. 1111. ἀρχαὶ αἰπιχώριοι χθονός.

and resolution among the aristocratical party of Isagoras at Athens^u. It appears that these families originally came to Delphi from the mountainous country in the interior. Thus the chief-priests of the god, the five *ὄσμι*, were chosen by lot from a number of families who derived their descent from Deucalion^x, by which they probably meant to denote their origin from Lycoreia on the heights of Parnassus, founded (as was supposed) by Deucalion, the father of Hellen^y; from which town it is known that great part of the population of Delphi had proceeded^z. Now this place, of which traces still remain in the village of *Liacura* (at present however only inhabited during summer by mountain-shepherds^a), was in all probability of *Doric* origin, since it formed the communication between the Tetrapolis and Delphi^b. The language spoken at Delphi was likewise a Doric dialect^c.

If then this was the case, Doric mountaineers from the heights of Parnassus, and Cretan colonists on the sea-coast, met together (according to a very uncertain computation about 200 years before the Doric migration into the Peloponnese), in order to establish the Delphian worship. The Doric dialect, it may be observed, which prevailed at Delphi, was

^u Herod. V. 72. Compare VI. 66. *Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον*. *Δυναστεύειν* is also used by Herodotus of the Attic Eupatridæ (VI. 35.); compare VII. 141.

^x Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 9. p. 380.

^y Pausan. X. 6. 2.

^z Strabo IX. p. 418. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 711. Compare

Callimachus ap. Steph. Byz.

^a Dodwell's Travels vol. I. p. 189.

^b Lycorea appears to have taken its name from the worship of Apollo Lyceius, or Lycoreus; see Callimach. Hymn. Apoll. 19. *Λυκαρπίος ἔντρα Φοῖβου*, frequently in the Anthology, Suidas, &c.

^c See Appendix VIII. ad fin.

common to both parties. It is known from many traditions and historical traces, that the connexion established by the Cretans continued for a long time^d. The ancient tents made of feathers, and a wooden statue of Apollo, perhaps one of the most ancient specimens of rude carving, were also reported to have been brought from Crete. The fabulous series of Delphic minstrels began with Chrysothemis, the son of Carmanor, the above-mentioned priest of Tarrha^e. Crete however did not merely send works of sculpture and hymns to Delphi, but sometimes even men (ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχή)^f, for the service of the Pythian Apollo.

9. I know not whether these accounts are sufficient to afford an intelligible description of a time, when the worship of Apollo, being established at the foot of Olympus, Parnassus, and in the distant island of Crete, and producing a certain degree of communication between these points, had not as yet penetrated to any part of Greece which lay to the south of mounts Ceta and Parnassus.

It is evident moreover that the extension of this worship met with a long opposition. Apollo is in ancient traditions represented as himself protecting his own temple^g. The Phlegyans towards the east, and the Ætolians towards the west, appear to have been particularly adverse to the worship of the Delphian Apollo. That there was a national opposition

^d Concerning this connexion see Zoëga *Bassirilevi* tom. I. on tav. 81. *Æginetica* p. 154. Raoul-Rochette, *Etablissement des Colonies Grecques*, tom. II. p. 164. The name of Corëtas also, the supposed discoverer

of the oracle (κώρης for κούρης *Dorice*) is Cretan, Plutarch. de Defect. Orac. 21. 46.

^e Pausan. X. 7. 2.

^f Plutarch. Thes. 16.

^g Orac. ap. Pausan. X. 6. 6.

caused by the Phlegyans possessing the stronghold of Panopeus in the mountain-passes towards Bæotia, is shewn by the tradition, that Phorbas their leader wrestled there with Apollo; that Phlegyas burned the temple to the ground; and lastly, that Apollo exterminated their whole race with thunder and lightning^b. The same people is here represented as waging war with the great deity of the Dorians, which, under the name of Lapithæ, opposed the Dorians themselves in Thessaly. And on the other side, Apollo was related in the Poems of Hesiod, and the Minyad, to have assisted the Locrian Curetes against the Ætolians, and slain their prince Meleager^c.

CHAP. II.

On the establishment of the worship of Apollo by Cretans in Lycia and the Troad, in Thrace, Træzen, Megara, and Thoricus in Attica. On the extension of the Pythian worship to Bæotia and Attica.

I. But whilst the worship of Apollo was experiencing so much opposition in the north of Greece, the sea, with the neighbouring coasts and islands, afforded ample opportunities for its propagation from the shores of Crete. This serves to account for the singular fact, that the most ancient temples of Apollo throughout the south of Greece, are found in maritime districts, and generally on promontories and headlands.

The colonies of Apollo branched out in various

^b According to the Cyclic poets, see *Orchomenos* pp. 188. sqq.

^c Cited by Pausan. X. 31, 2.

directions from the northern coast of Crete, carrying every where with them the expiatory and oracular ceremonies of his worship^k. The remarkable regularity with which these settlements were established cannot however be regarded as the work of missions systematically carried on, or as part of the policy of Minos^l. They are to be accounted for by the natural desire of the tribes of Crete, whilst migrating along the coast of the Ægean sea, to erect, wherever they touched, temples to that god, whose worship was blended with their spiritual existence.

We shall first advert to those settlements which (taking the coast of Crete as our centre) were founded in the direction of LYCIA, MILETUS, CLAROS, and the TROAD; the first and last of which were the most ancient, the others being perhaps a century later^m.

2. It is stated by Herodotus that Sarpedon migrated with some *barbarous* nations from Crete to Lycia or Milyasⁿ. This unsupported and singular account is however probably not founded on tradition, the popular idea being that he was a brother of Minos the Cnosian, whom it represented as a prince of purely Hellenic blood. By these means the Cretan laws (i. e. the Doric customs, which had been first fully developed in Crete), and also the Doric worship, viz. that of Apollo, were spread over

^k Κρητίδαι : μάρτυς ἀπὸ Κρήτης, Photius.

^l As Raoul-Rochette supposes, although his work contains very valuable materials for this inquiry, *Histoire de l'Établ. des col. Grecques*, tom. II. p. 137—173.

^m On the connexion of Crete and Asia, see Heyne *Excurs. ad Æn.* III. 102.

ⁿ I. 173. cf. VII. 92. According to Herodotus, Europa also came to Lycia (IV. 45.), i. e. the tradition.

Lycia. For the situation of the chief temples is a sufficient proof that the settlers to Lycia, came not from the inland countries of Asia, but over the sea to the coast. Xanthus, a city renowned for the valour of its inhabitants^o, and situated on the river of the same name, was a Cretan settlement^p. It seems to have been a Lycian tradition, that Xanthus was the father of Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon^q: in this town was a temple sacred to Sarpedon^r; but it is uncertain whether to the elder Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, or to the younger, a hero of the same family mentioned in Homer, whose corpse Apollo rescued from the Greeks, and conveyed to his native country^s. Apollo was also worshipped under the title *Σαρπηδόνιος*^t. Sixty stadia below the town, and ten from the mouth of the river Xanthus, was a grove sacred to Latona, near an ancient temple of the Lycian Apollo^u. To this spot the goddess had been conducted by wolves; here also she had bathed her new-born babes in the river^x, and been hospitably received by an old woman in a wretched hovel^y. These are the only remains of the national tradition, which in its general character was perhaps only another version of that prevalent at Delos. But the chief temple was one at Patara, in the southern

^o Herod. I. 173. comp. Boeckh ad Platon. Min. p. 55. Heraclid. Pont. 15.

^p See Steph. Byz. in v. cf. Herod. I. 176.

^q Augustinus de Civ. Dei XVIII. 12.

^r Appian Bell. Civ. IV. 78.

^s Il. XVI. 666.

^t Transplanted to Cilicia, Zosimus I. 57. Diodorus ap.

Phot. Biblioth. cod. 244. p. 377. ed. Bekker.

^u On the former see Strabo XIV. p. 666. cf. p. 651. on the latter Diod. V. 56.

^x Menecrates in Lyciacis ap. Antonin. Liber. c. 35.

^y Σέσση καλύβη τις ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἀπὸ Σείσεως γραβὲς τινος ὑποδεξαμένης τὴν Ἀθρῶ. Steph. Byz.

extremity of Lycia^z, the winter habitation of the god, where he also gave out oracles through the mouth of a priestess^a. The oblations of cakes in the shape of lyres, bows and arrows, which were made to Apollo at Patara, remind us of similar customs at Delos, and furnish a fresh proof of the close connexion between the worships of these two countries^b.

Further to the east was the oracle of Apollo Thyrxæus, near the Cyanean islands^c; to the west lay Telmissus, with its interpreters of dreams, who attributed their origin to Apollo^d. Not only the towns just mentioned, but almost every other on the coast of Lycia, honoured the god, from whom even the name of the country was derived^e.

Amongst these settlements we must probably also reckon that on the promontory of Corycus in Cilicia, since we find in its vicinity the temple of Jupiter Sarpedon. The name of the place, if compared with that of the Corycian grotto on mount Parnassus, is

^z Both the derivations of the name *Patara*, the one from a son of Apollo (Hecataeus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. cf. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 129. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 920.), and the other from *παράρα, κυστis*, refer to the worship of Apollo.

^a Callim. Hymn. Del. 1. and Spanheim's note. Herodotus says indefinitely, *ἐπεὶ γένηται*, I. 182. cf. Serv. ad Æn. IV. 143.

^b Alexander ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Eustath. ubi sup. On the temple, see the inscriptions in Walpole's *Travels* p. 541. and Beaufort's *Caramania*.

^c Pausan. VII. 21. 3.

^d Herod. I. 78. Apostolius XVIII. 25. from Dionysius' *ἐν κτίσεσιν*, Herodian, ap. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 860.

^e The coins of Patara, Phaselis, Xanthus, Cydna, Cragus, Apollonia, Corydalla, Limyra, and Olympus, have a head of Apollo, the tripod, lyre, the deer, and similar symbols. Cf. Steph. Byz. *Δάφνη ἐν Λυκίᾳ*. Apollo *Ἐπεθύμιος* among the Lycians, Hesych. in v. Perhaps this is a corruption of *Ἐρπυθίβιος*, as Apollo was called in Rhodes, Strabo XIII. p. 613. See below, ch. 5. § 4.

of itself sufficient evidence that the worship of Apollo prevailed there, which is still further proved by the tradition that stags swam over from thence to Curium in Cyprus^f. Here also stood an altar of Apollo, of particular sanctity, which no one was allowed to touch on pain of being thrown from the rocks of the neighbouring promontory. In this punishment we shall presently recognise one form of the expiatory rites, which every where accompanied the worship of Apollo.

3. No place contained so many temples of Apollo within so small a space as the coast of Troy; Cilla, in the recess of the Adramyttian gulf; Chryse, in the territory of the Hypoplacian Thebes^g; the Smintheum, in its immediate neighbourhood^h; the island of Tenedos (whose religious ceremonies were by some unaccountable means transplanted to Corinth and Syracuseⁱ), are all mentioned in a few verses of the Iliad^j. No less celebrated was Thymbra, situated at the confluence of the Thymbrius and Sca-
mander, where Cassandra was reported to have been

^f See Strabo XIV. p. 683. from Hedyllus, or some other poet. On the sacred deer of Apollo at Curium, see Ælian. Nat. Anim. XI. 7.

^g Strabo XIII. p. 611. Scyllax p. 26. Compare the obscure gloss of Hesychius in *Πελίω ἀνακτόρων*.

^h On this temple, see Heyne ad II. A. 39. According to Strabo XIII. p. 604. there were Sminthea near Hamaxitis in Æolis, near Parium, at Lindus in Rhodes, and elsewhere. A certain Philodemus, or Philomnestus, had written

a treatise on the *Σμυνθεία* in Rhodes, Athen. III. p. 74 F. 445 A.

ⁱ The inhabitants of Tenea, a village near Corinth, were said to have been transplanted by Agamemnon from Tenedos. That they really worshipped Apollo in the same manner as the Tenedians, is testified by Aristotle ap. Strab. pag. 380. Paus. II. 5. 3. And the worship of Apollo was carried by means of Archias from Tenea to Syracuse, Strabo *ibid*. See book I. ch. 6. §. 7.

^j A. 37—39.

brought up in the temple of Apollo, and thus to have learnt the art of prophecy^k. On the Trojan citadel of Pergamus itself was a temple of Apollo, with Diana and Latona; and hence Homer represents these three deities as protecting the falling city^l. It is however important to remark, that the inhabitants of Zelea, a town on the northern foot of mount Ida, and the native place of the archer Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, worshipped Apollo under the title of Lycius, or Lycegenes; and that Zelea was also called Lycia^m; for these facts shew that there was a real connexion between the name of Lycia and the worship of Apollo, and that it was the worship of Apollo which gave the name to this district of Troy, as it had done to the country of the Solymi. In Chryse also Apollo was called Lycæusⁿ. The origin of this worship can neither be attributed to the native Trojan and Dardan race, nor yet to the later Æolians, although these for the most part adopted it into their religious ceremonies. It is however certain, from an ancient tradition, that the Cretans also colonized this coast;

^k Strabo XIII. p. 591. Hesych. in *Θύμβρα*. Schol. II. X. 430. Servius ad *Æn.* III. 85. compare Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque* tom. III. to pl. 25. Walpole's *Memoirs* p. 609. The fable of Pan, the son of Thymbris, and teacher of Apollo in divination (Apolodor. I. 4. 1.), has also reference to this story.

^l II. V. 446. VII. 83.

^m II. II. 827. IV. 119. V. 105. with the Schol. Min.

ⁿ Hesychius in *Λυκαίων*. There

are likewise many other signs of the worship of Apollo on this coast, Strabo XIII. p. 618; in Priapus, Schol. Lycophr. 29; Apollo *Πασάριος* in Parium and Pergamum (Hesych. in v.); on the coins of Gargara, Germe, Lampsacus, Atarneus, Neandria, Abydos, and New Troy.

^o The Æolians built a temple to the *Cillean* Apollo at Colonnæ, Strabo XIII. p. 613. from Daes of Colonnæ.

though we are not aware what was the precise account of Callinus, the ancient elegiac poet^p, who preserved it. It was however the popular belief that Apollo Smintheus, and indeed the whole Trojan nation, were derived from Crete^q. The last notion, that all the Trojans were of Cretan origin, is in the highest degree improbable; but it will hardly be denied that there came to Troy a Cretan colony in connexion with Apollo Smintheus. Indeed the Cretans who inhabited the district of Troy must often have been mentioned in ancient traditions, as a strange account of their strict administration of justice has been preserved^r. Could we but obtain a more authentic source of traditions relating to the religious worship than the deceitful accounts of poets, we might perhaps discover in it many confirmations of the historical traces to which we have just adverted. Even now we may perceive that the servitude of Apollo under Laomedon^s is the same fable as that of Admetus at Pheræ, the locality alone being changed.

4. By observing Homer's accounts of the worship

^p Strabo XIII. p. 604. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις, οὗς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλίνος, &c. It does not appear that this can, with Frank Callinus p. 31, be understood only of a mention of the name of the Teucrians.

^q The latter fact is supported by the ancient name of Cephalion, an inhabitant of the Teucrican city of Gergis (ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἀργεῖη. Eustath. ad II. p. 894.): but his Τρωικὰ was the forgery of an Alexandrine

writer named Hegesianax (Athen. IX. p. 393 B). Lycophron v. 1302. calls Teucer, Scamander, and Arisbe, Cretans.

^r In the fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus, p. 442. ed. Vales.

^s Iliad VII. 452. XXI. 442. which passages do not agree. Hesiod in Her. Geneal. ap. Schol. Lycophr. 393. Hellanicus ap. Schol. II. XX. 145. Coluthus v. 309.

of Apollo in different Trojan families, we may discover a remarkable consistency and connexion in the ancient tradition.

In the first place he represents it as belonging chiefly to the family of the Panthoidæ. Panthus (from whom a tribe in modern Ilium derived its name Πανθωΐς^t) was a priest of the god^u, and hence his sons were always protected by Apollo in battle^x. Hence also Euphorbus, the descendant of Panthus, is selected to kill Patroclus, who, as well as all the other Æacidæ, was in the heroic mythology represented as odious to Apollo^y.

The other family, described in the Iliad as connected with Apollo, is that of Æneas, whom, when wounded by Diomedes, the god himself conducted to his temple on the citadel of Troy, and delivered over to the care of Latona and Diana^z. Now that this history was not a mere arbitrary fiction of the poet may be distinctly proved. For we know that after Troy had fallen, the remaining Trojans still maintained themselves in the mountains; they are mentioned by Herodotus as a separate state existing in the stronghold of Gergis, in the defiles of mount Ida^a; and, even after the Peloponnesian war, Dar-

^t Inscription in Walpole's Memoirs p. 104.

^u Æneid. II. 430.

^x Iliad. XV. 522.

^y Achilles was slain by Apollo, according to Homer; Aretinus and Æschylus in the *Ψυχόκρασία* (Heyne ad II. XXII. 359; Tychsen ad Quint. Smyrn. Comment. p. 61); Neoptolemus was killed at Pytho. For the same reason Achilles slays Tennes, the son of Apollo

(Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 232.), in whose temple it was forbidden to pronounce the name of the Phthian hero (Plutarch Quæst. Gr. 28. p. 933).

^z Iliad V. 446.

^a Herod. V. 122. VII. 43. It was situated in the territory of Lampsacus (Strabo XIII. p. 589.), in mount Ida (Athen. VI. p. 256 C.), opposite Dardanum (Herod.); the village of Mermessus, 240 stadia from

dan princes reigned here and at Scepsis^b. It can, we think, be shewn that Homer's prophecy^c respecting the future dominion of the descendants of Æneas over the remnant of the Trojan nation, refers solely to the town of Gergis, and perhaps to the neighbouring valleys. Now the chief temple at Gergis was that of Apollo^d, and in the same town there was an ancient Sibylline oracle, known by the name of the *Hellespontine* or *Mermessian*. We now see that the ancient poet, being well acquainted with the existence of the Æneadæ at Gergis, their festivals and sacrifices, felt himself bound, according to the spirit of mythology, to represent Apollo as the ancient guardian of that family.

We shall seize this opportunity of briefly pointing out the results which may be drawn from the above narrative, in illustration of the fable of Æneas. We must first assume that the above oracle of Apollo at Gergis announced to the Trojan Gergithians the reestablishment of their nation under the dominion of the descendants of Æneas. Such a prophecy, in fact, agrees so exactly with the spirit and system of the ancient oracles, that its existence can scarcely be doubted. The hopes, the longing after a restoration of their ancient power, must necessarily have assumed this form among the distressed and conquered Trojans. Now a colony of

Alexandria Troas (Pausan. X. 12. 2), was a *κώμη Γεργιθία*, Suidas in v. Also in Schol. Plat. Phædr. p. 61. Ruhnken. p. 315. Bekker. write, *ἐν κώμῃ Μερμήσσῳ* — *περὶ τὰν πολίχνην Γέργιθα* or *Γέργιθον*, for *Μαρμύσσῳ* and *Γεργήσιον*.

^b Xenoph. Hell. III. 1. 10.

^c Iliad. XX. 307. Compare the remarks of A. W. Schlegel on this point in his celebrated Review of Niebuhr's Roman History.

^d Steph. Byz. in *Γέργις*, from Phlegon.

Gergithians also inhabited the territory of the Æolian Cume^e, where Apollo possessed a magnificent temple^f; and if these oracles had been known to the Cumæans, they would readily have passed over to their kinsmen the Cumans of Campania. At this last place there was, on the summit of a rock, a temple of Apollo (one of the most ancient in the whole settlement, and, as it was pretended, built by Dædalus^g); underneath was the grotto of the sibyl. Here it was said that Æneas landed; and here, according to Stesichorus, he remained, and never went further to the north^h. Nothing was more probable than that these oracles should in both cases have been applied locally, and that a new Troy should in consequence have been founded both in Asia and Italy. Hence, when the Greek sibylline oracles, in connexion with the worship of Apollo, became the state-oracles of Rome, all that had been prophesied of districts near the Hellespont was, without scruple or ceremony (though not without the ingenuity of commentators and interpreters), applied to Rome. It is evident that the origin of the strange fable of Æneas, the father of Romulus, and all that was afterwards added to it, may, without further trouble, be explained in this simple manner.

5. The most ancient temple of Apollo in THRACE was also founded by Cretans, as well as that at Ismarus or Maroneiaⁱ; Maron its priest being, ac-

^e This may be collected from the confused account of Clearchus of Soli *ἐν Γεργυθίῳ*, in Athen. VI. p. 256. cf. XII. p. 524 A. Strab. XIII. p. 589 D.

^f Plin. H. N. XXXIV. 8.

^g Heyne Exc. ad Æn. VI. 3.

The rock was called *Ζωστήρια κλειὺς* (Lycoph. 1278), as the Attic promontory with the temple of Apollo.

^h See the *tabula Iliaca*, ΜΙΣΗΝΟΣ.

ⁱ Od. IX. 197.

according to tradition, a Cretan adventurer^k. With this sanctuary was probably connected the ancient oracular temple of Apollo at Deræa near Abdera^l, alluded to in the device on the coins of Abdera; on one side of which Apollo is seen with the arrow in his hand; and on the reverse is a griffin, a symbol which appears to have been adopted by the Teians in consequence of their having resided for some time in their colony of Abdera.

6. The Cretan worshippers of Apollo also established some considerable temples on the Ionian coast. The principal of these was the Didymæum, in the territory of Miletus. Before the Ionic migration, Miletus was a Cretan fortress, on the coast, in a country at that time called Caria^m. The disagreement of traditions as to whether Sarpedon or Miletus (the Cretan) was the founder, confirms, rather than weakens the principal fact of its settlement from Crete, both traditions describing the same fact in a different manner. With the founding of this stronghold was connected that of a temple, which is ascribed to Branchus, an expiatory priest (καθαρτήςⁿ) of Delphi, whose name (which was well fitted for a prophet^o), moulded into a patronymic form, was afterwards adopted by the priests of the

^k Diod. V. 79. compare Raoul-Rochette tom. II. p. 160.

^l Pindar. in Pæan. ap. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 445.

^m Ephorus ap. Strab. XIV. p. 634 D.

ⁿ Callimachus apud Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 570. Strab. IX. p. 421. Conon Narr. c. 33, 44. Stat. Theb. VIII. 198. Gesner Comment. Soc. Gotting.

vol. IV. p. 121. Ionian Antiquities, vol. II. new ed.

^o Quintilian. Inst. Orat. XI. 3. p. 305. Bipont. *Est interim et longus et plenus et clarus satis spiritus, non tamen firmæ intentionis, idemque tremulus. Id βράχων Græci vocant.* This is exactly the voice of enthusiastic priests and prophets.

temple^p; the temple itself, and even the place (which was also called Didyma). Thus we here again see a fresh connexion between the Delphians and Cretans, there being indeed hardly any distinction between them before they were dispersed by the different migrations of the Doric race. The worship at Didyma was in fact the same with that of Crete and Delphi; expiatory ceremonies and prophecies being united, and the latter delivered with rites very similar to those observed at the Pythian oracle. Apollo was here called *Philesius* and *Delphinus*, which names were afterwards adopted by other Ionians^q: with him was connected Jupiter, both, according to Callimachus, being the ancestors of Didyma; and also Diana, who in an ancient hymn ascribed to Branchus, is with Apollo addressed under the titles of *ἐκάεργος* and *ἐκαέργη*^r. The ruins of this temple, so highly honoured in Asia, still bear witness to its ancient fame and splendour. From the temple to the harbour^s Panormus there was a sacred road adorned on both sides with more than sixty statues in a very ancient style of workmanship: amongst these, an Egyptian lion attests the connexion of king Necho with the oracle^t. The Ionians of Miletus, however, acknowledged the god of Branchidæ as the principal deity in their town, and introduced him into their numerous colonies, from Naucratis^u to Cyzicus^x, Pa-

^p There was likewise a family of diviners named *Εὐαγγελίδαι*, Conon Narr. c. 44.

^q Strabo IV. p. 139 B. *Æginetica* p. 151.

^r Clem. Alex. Strom. V. 8.

^s On this see D'Orville ad

Chariton. p. 349. and Quintus Smyrnaeus l. 283.

^t Herod. II. 159.

^u Pythius and Comæus, Athen. IV. p. 149 E. Ammian. Marcellin. XXIII. 6.

^x Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 966.

rium⁷, Apollonia Pontica⁸, and the distant Taurica : the coins and inscriptions of which place agree in representing him as the guardian deity (*προστάτης*⁹).

7. The twin brother of the Didymæan god, both in origin and in the similarity of worship, is the Clarian Apollo. However fabulous the particular circumstances of its foundation, still it was impossible in ancient times to invent a religious colonial connexion where none in fact existed. The traditions manifestly imply a double dependence of the establishment at Claros, viz. upon Delphi and Crete. Manto, the daughter of Teiresias the Theban soothsayer, was, according to the epic poets, consecrated by the Epigoni to the Delphian Apollo after the taking of Thebes¹⁰, and she was afterwards sent by Apollo to the spot on which the Ionians at a later period founded the city of Colophon; having, in obedience to the commands of the oracle, married on her way Rhacius the Cretan, whose name, according to the dialect of Crete, had the double form Rhacius and Lacius¹¹. Augias, the Cyclic poet,

Hence the offerings of the Cyziceniens in the Didymæum, Chishull Ant. Asiatic. p. 67. In the character of *Ἐκβάσιος*, Apollo has on coins his foot resting on a fish.

⁷ A coin of Parium, in the cabinet of M. Allier de Hauteroche, shews the statue of Apollo on the seashore, with the circumscription, *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΑΚΤΑΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ*, agreeing with Strabo XIII. p. 588.

⁸ Strabo VII. p. 319 B. Apollo *Ἡφώς* on the island of Thynias (Apollonia, Daphnusa).

Apoll. Rhod. II. 686. Schol. ad l. Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. 12. is probably Milesian: also Apollo *Φιλήσιος* at Trapezus on the Euxine sea, Arrian. Peripl. p. 2.

⁹ Collected in Raoul-Rochette's *Antiquités Grecques du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. 5, 7, 8.

¹⁰ The Cyclic Thebaid in Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 308. Apollod. III. 7, 4. Diod. IV. 66. Pausan. VII. 3. 1. IX. 33. 1.

¹¹ He was called both *Ῥάκιος* and *Λάκιος*, because in the Cretan dialect *ῥάκιος* and *λάκιος* were

mentioned the tomb of her father Teiresias at Colophon^d, which was generally supposed to be in Bœotia. The offspring of this marriage was Mopsus, who was probably called the progenitor of the family from which, even in the Roman time, the priests of the oracle were selected^e. The forms of prophecy were in this temple also similar to those at Delphi.

The other temples of Apollo on the coast of Asia Minor were generally connected with some one of the four already mentioned. The temple of Leucæ, between Smyrna and Phocæa (where the Cumæans celebrated a festival^f), was probably a branch of the Trojan family, to which the Grynean Apollo, in the territory of Myrina near Cume (where there was also an oracle), appears to be related^g. Apollo Malloeis, in the territory of Mytilene, in Lesbos, was an off-shoot of the Clarian worship^h: to the same branch also belonged the oracle of Apollo at

exchangeable forms, Schneider ad Nicand. Alexipharm. 11. p. 83. Compare book I. ch. 6. §. 5.

^d Proclus Chrestomath.

^e Strabo XIV. p. 675. Conon Narr. 6. Tacit. Ann. II. 54. On the temple see Locella ad Xenoph. Ephes. p. 128. ed. Peerlkamp.

^f Diod. XV. 18. Strabo *ubi sup.*

^g Hecataeus ap. Steph. Byz. in Γρῦνοι. Strabo XIII. p. 622. Hermeias of Methymna wrote a treatise on the Grynean Apollo, Athen. IV. p. 149 E. Hence the temple of Apollo, the sibyl, and the Apollo δαφνηφόρος, on the coins of My-

rina, which city also sent χρυσᾶ θεῖρη to Delphi, Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273.

^h Malus the son of Manto, Hellanicus ἐν Λεσβικοῖς apud Steph. Byz. in Μαλλόεις. Thucyd. III. 3. Likewise in Lesbos, Apollo Ναπαῖος (Hellanicus ap. Steph. Byz. in Νάπη, cf. Strab. IX. p. 429. Suid. in Ναπαῖος. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. coins of Nape with the image of Apollo in Mionnet's work), Λεπετύμνιος, Antigon. Caryst. 17. and Ἐρέσιος, Hesych. in v. In Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 144. for ΓΟΝΝΑΠΙΑΙΟΥ Ἀπόλλωνος write ΤΟΥ ΝΑΠΑΙΟΥ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Mallus in Cilicia¹, inasmuch as it was said to have been founded by Mopsus the son of Manto.

8. The worship of Apollo also penetrated to several parts of European Greece, where it was established by Cretan adventurers on capes and headlands; particularly at Trœzen, Tænarium, Megara, and Thoricus.

TRŒZEN, as has been above remarked^k, shared with Athens both the race of her inhabitants and her worship, together with the connexion between Athens and Crete; the meaning of which will be explained hereafter^l. Hence we may conjecture the Cretan origin of the nine families, which were in existence at a late date at Trœzen, and in early times performed the rites of atonement and purification (of which Orestes was said to have been the first subject) near a laurel tree in front of the temple of Apollo, and a sacred stone in front of the temple of the Lycean Diana^m.

The expiatory establishmentⁿ on the promontory of TÆNARUM was also said to have been founded by Tettix, a Cretan^o, who is merely a personified symbol of Apollo, like Lycus, Corax, Cynus, &c. in other places. Callondas is said to have purified the soul of the murdered Archilochus at this gate

¹ Strabo XIV. p. 675 C. Arrian. II. 5. Hence perhaps the worship of Apollo came to Tarsus, Osann. Syllog. Inscr. p. 141.

^k Book I. ch. 5. §. 4.

^l Pausan. II. 32. 2. *Ἀπρεμὺς σῶντρα*, brought from Crete to Trœzen, ib. 31. 1.

^m Paus. II. 31. 7, 11. The temple of Apollo Thearius at Trœzen was, according to Pau-

san. ib. 31. 9. the most ancient in Greece. Apollo joined with Leucothea, Ælian. V. H. I. 18.

ⁿ Called *Ψυχοσμπέιον*, like the institutions in Thesprotia, at Phigalea and Heraclea Pontica. See book I. ch. 1. §. 6.

^o Plutarch. de sera Num. Vind. 17. p. 256. Hesych. in *τέττιγος ἔδρανον*.

of the infernal regions. Considering the proximity of Delium in Laconia^p and of the little island of Minoa to this temple, we may conclude that the origin of the above sanctuary was connected with these places.

In front of the harbour of MEGARA was another island called Minoa, and numerous legends had been there preserved in which the Cretans of Minoa (though probably only by a corruption of the original tradition) were represented as enemies and plunderers. Megara had two citadels; the Carian with the temple of Ceres, and a more modern one towards the sea, surmounted by temples of Apollo. This is said to have been built by Alcathous the son of Pelops, while Apollo stood by and played upon his lyre. A sounding-block of stone was exhibited at the place where the god laid down his lyre^q. The same fable is also alluded to by Theognis of Megara^r. Here then there is a worship and temples of an earlier date than the Doric migration, and which certainly proceeded from Crete. On the former citadel stood a statue of Apollo Decephorus^s, "the receiver of tithes," whose name

^p Thus Strabo VIII. p. 368. the name being derived from Delos. Also called Ἐπιδήλιον.

^q Pausan. I. 42. 1, 2. conf. Epigram. Adespot. 3. p. 193. Brunck. Analect. Meziriad ad Ovid. Epist. vol. I. p. 448. Also Megareus the son of Apollo, in Steph. Byz. in Μέγαρα. comp. Dieuchidas of Megara in Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 517.

^r V. 773. Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην, Ἄλ-

καθὼς Πέλοπος παυδὶ χαριζόμενος.

^s Δεφατηφόρος, ὃς δεκάτην φέρει, i. e. here, "he who receives it," Paus. I. 42. 1, 5. Compare an Argive inscription (Boeckh N^o. 1142). Δεξι-στρατος Ἀρχιππ. Ἀπολλωνι δεκατ — . Apollo was likewise worshipped at Megara under the titles of Pythius (Schol. Pind. Nem. V. 84. Philostrate. Vit. Soph. I. 24. 3), Archagetas, Prostaterius, Carnius and Agræus. The tripod and the

is explained by the fable that the daughter of Alcathous was once sent as a tribute to Crete, like the Athenian youths and maidens. Thus a fact which will be soon proved with respect to Athens, is also true of Megara, viz. that these missions always conveyed a sacred tithe¹.

9. The process of our investigation will shortly lead us to examine the Attic legends, consisting of a confused mass of tradition, with which the worship of all the gods, including that of Apollo, was in that country perplexed.

To commence then with the legends which are connected with the temple of Apollo at THORICUS. Thoricus, situated on the south-east coast of Attica, was one of the ancient twelve towns of that country, and always remained a place of consequence, of which there are still extant considerable remains. Favoured by its situation, it soon became a commercial station; Cretan vessels were accustomed in ancient times to anchor in its harbour². The fable

Delphine on the coins of Megara, see Pouqueville, tom. IV. p. 131. against Clarke, vol. II. sect. II. p. 768.

¹ From Megara *Calchedon* (see the coins) derived its worship and oracle of Apollo (Dionys. Byz. p. 23). Not far off was Demonesus: and an Apollo of Demonesian brass is mentioned in Pseud. Aristot. de Mirab. 59. Jungermann ad Poll. V. 5. 39. *Byzantium* likewise, a Megarian colony, had a temple of Apollo on the promontory of Metopon, according to Dionysius de Bosp. Thrac. Byzantium, moreover,

had evidently derived from its parent city, but in an exaggerated form, the tradition of the foundation of the city by Apollo, and that this god placed his lyre upon a tower. Hence the seven resounding towers (Hesych. Miles. ap. Codin. p. 2, 3. Dionys. Byz. p. 6. Dio Cass. LXXIV. 14): also the fable of the dolphin charmed by the sound of the lyre (Dionysius pag. 9. Gyllius de Constantinop. pag. 285.) evidently belongs to the Megarian worship.

² Homer. Hymn. Cer. 126.

of Cephalus and Procris appears, from some poetical and mythological accounts, to have been connected with Crete and the worship of Apollo^x. We know for certain that the Cephalidæ, who existed at a still later period in Attica^y, preserved some hereditary rites of Apollo: for when in the tenth generation Chalcinus and Dætus, the descendants of the hero, returned to the country which their ancestor had quitted in consequence of murder, they immediately built a temple to that god on the road to Eleusis^z.

10. But the fable of Cephalus was also connected with another great temple of Apollo, which in the west of Greece looked down from the chalky cliffs of the promontory of Leucatas over the Ionian sea, and of which there are ruins still extant^a. Now Cephalus, the hero of Thoricus, is said to have gained these regions in company with Amphitryon^b: he is also said to have first made the celebrated leap from the rock of Leucatas^c. This leap doubtless had originally a religious meaning, and was an expiatory rite. At the Athenian festival of Thargelia, a festival sacred to Apollo, criminals, crowned as victims, were led to the edge of a rock, and thrown down to the bottom; and the same

^x See Pherecydes ap. Schol. Od. XI. 320. Apollod. II. 4. 7. Observ. ad Apollod. p. 333.

^y Κεφαλίδαι γένος Ἀθηνῶν, Hesychius.

^z Paus. I. 37. 4.

^a See Strabo X. p. 452. Thuc. III. 94. Propert. III. 9. ad fin. Servius ad Æn. III. 271. Dodwell vol. I. p. 53. Hughes vol. I. p. 402. has a Leucadian inscription, Ἀπολ-

λωνιάται ἑκοδόμησαν.

^b Aristot. in Ithac. Rep. ap. Etymol. M. in Ἀρκείσιος, Heraclid. Pont. 17 and 37. ed. Koehler. Heyne ad Apollod. II. 4. 7.

^c Apollod. III. 15. 1. According to the ancient Charon of Lampsacus, Phobus of Phocæa was the first who took this leap, Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 289.

ceremony appears to have been performed on certain sacred occasions at Leucatas^d. Here, however, the fall of the criminal was broken by tying feathers, and even birds, to his body; below, he was taken up, and conveyed to a distance, that he might carry away with him every particle of guilt. This was without doubt the original meaning of the leap of Cephalus; who was stained with the guilt of homicide, and on that very account a fugitive from his country. According to a legend noticed in an ancient epic poem, his purification took place at Thebes^e; whereas the Leucadian tradition doubtless represented his leap from the rock as the act of atonement.

In later times, indeed, the object of this leap was totally altered; it was supposed to be a specific for disappointed love^f. This singular application of the ancient custom gave a romantic colour to the legend connected with it. Cephalus and Procris were also represented in after-times as tormented by love and jealousy. Probably the story partly obtained this form in Cyprus, the island of Venus, whither the fable of Cephalus^g was early carried by Attic settlers. But in whatever manner it was perverted, we cannot doubt that the leap of Cephalus from the Leucadian rock was a part of the expiatory worship of Apollo.

These considerations refer to the Cretan rites so-

^d Κατ' ἐνίαντρον, Strabo X. p. 452. Ovid. Fast. V. 630. Tristia *Leucadio sacra peracta modo*. Photius Lex. Λευκάτης, σκοπελὸς τῆς ἡπείρου, ἀφ' οὗ ῥίπτουσι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πέλαιος οἱ ἱερεῖς.

^e Photius in Τευμησία from the ἐπικὸς κύκλος.

^f Stesichorus apud Athen. XIV. p. 619 D. and Sappho. Compare Hardion. *Sur le sault de Leucade*, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. VII. p. 245.

^g See Hesych. in Θόρικος. Ptolem. Hephaest. 7.

lemnized at Thoricus. In Athens itself, the traditions of Crete and Delphi being found united together, it is necessary that we should first return to the latter place, and follow the Pythian worship through BÆOTIA.

11. This indeed is neither the time nor place to relate how the Pythian worship, in spite of the opposition of hostile races, traced the route of the procession through the passes of mount Parnassus. The fact is indeed evident from an almost unbroken chain of temples and oracles, the links of which, viz. Thurium, Tilphossium, the temple of Galaxius, the oracle of Eutresis, the Ismenium, Tenerium, Ptoum, and Tegyra, are all connected either by tradition or religious rites with Delphi. Delium is probably the only place on the eastern coast founded from Delos. Pindar represents the establishment of several such temples under the form of a migration of the god himself^h.

I shall content myself with noticing a few of the temples above mentioned.

The first in order is the oracle at the fountain of Tilphossa under mount Helicon, famous for the grave of Tiresias and the monument of Rhadamanthus, who is said to have dwelt here with Alcmæna the mother of Herculesⁱ. To this spot were attached some remarkable traditions of the Cretan worshippers of Apollo, forming a branch of the colonization of Cirrha; which is alluded to in Homer's account of the 'Thracians' bringing Rhadamanthus to Eubœa for the purpose of seeing Tityus^k;—a remark-

^h Fragment of the *Παρθένια*, p. 595. ed. Boeckh.

ⁱ See below, ch. II. §. 8.

^k Od. VII. 322.

able passage, which I can only understand to mean that the Cretan hero was desirous to see Tityus, who was vanquished by Apollo.

Tegyra was a place of great importance in the Bœotian tradition, as being the birthplace of Apollo. The Delphian oracle was more favourable to this tradition than to that of Delos. Pindar¹ represents the youthful god as coming to take possession of Pytho from Tegyra, not, as the Attic poets, from Delos.

12. The identity of the Bœotian with the Delphian worship of Apollo was particularly striking in the temple of Ismene at Thebes. As at Delphi the Python was slain and the laurel broken anew every eight years, so at Thebes a procession of laurel-bearers (*δαφνηφόροι*) took place at the same periods, the use of which, as a measure of time, is evident^m. Here also, as at Delphi, the statue of Minerva was placed in front of the temple (*πρόναος*ⁿ). Tripods were the sacred vessels in both temples, though never employed in the latter for the purpose of prophecy. In later times the priests were contented with observing omens from the flame and ashes of sacrifices^o, like the *πυρκόοι* of Delphi^p;

¹ According to the emendation *Τεγύρας* for *Τανάγρας* in fragm. incert. 14. Boeckh.

^m See *Orchomenos* p. 220. Boeckh in the Berlin Transactions on the Oration against Midias, below, ch. 8. §. 4.

ⁿ Pausan. IX. 10. See Stanley ad Æsch. Eum. 21.

^o Herod. VIII. 134. Soph. Œd. T. 21. *μυρεῖα σποδῶ*, Philochorus ap. Schol. ad l.

^p Hesych. in v. Also the lots

burnt in the sacred fire, according to the same grammarian, *φρυκτὸς Δελφοῖς κλῆρος*. Compare Boeckh Explic. Pind. Ol. VIII. 2. and Plutarch de Frat. Am. 20. To this custom likewise refer the *Φοῖβον ἑσχαραῖ* in Eurip. Phœn. 292, and the name of the ancient priest of the Delphic oracle *πύρκειων*. See the Eumolpia in Paus. X. 5. 3.

although the mode of delivering oracles, from a mental enthusiasm, was prevalent also in Thebes at an earlier period; at least Tiresias (whom we may consider as a prophet of the temple of Ismene⁹) does not, either in Homer or the tragedians, appear as a diviner from fire.

That, however, the whole worship of Apollo was not one of those originally instituted at Thebes, will be evident from the following observations. In the ancient legends respecting Cadmus, in which Ceres, Proserpine, Cadmus, and afterwards Bacchus, predominate in succession, Apollo never appears in a conspicuous character. For particular additions of the poets may be easily distinguished from the genuine popular tradition. The fable, that Cadmus, after the slaughter of the serpent, was, like Apollo, compelled to live *eight* years in slavery^r, must be considered as a poetical transposition. Cadmus and Apollo had originally no points of resemblance to each other. The situation of the temple of Apollo at Thebes is a most convincing proof that his worship was totally distinct from any other. Those of the ancient national gods were built on the citadel of Cadmeia, whilst Apollo was not only not worshipped in the citadel, but even without the gates in the temple of Ismene^s, which according to Pausanias must have been situated opposite to the tem-

⁹ The stone of Manto in front of the temple, Paus. IX. 10. *μαντίων θώκος*. Pind. Pyth. XI. 6.

^r The serpent of Cadmus is also by later writers called Castalius and *Δελφίνιος*, Creuzer ad Nonni Narr. in Melet.

vol. I. p. 93.

^s Apollo Polius was also without the gates at Thebes, Paus. IX. 12. 1. Apollo was likewise worshipped in the village of Calydna near Thebes, Androton ap. Steph. Byz. in *Κάλυδνα*.

ple of Hercules and the house of Amphitryon. This proximity of the hero and god, as well as all other points of union between the two at Thebes, will be employed for the purpose of establishing further conclusions, when we explain the legend of Hercules¹.

To settle with any accuracy, from the traditions concerning Tiresias and Hercules, the time at which the Bœotian temples of Apollo were founded, seems hardly possible, since the former contain no chronological information, and the latter are entirely unconnected with the rest of the Theban mythology. A tradition respecting the establishment of the festival of the Daphnephoria places it at the time of the Æolian migration², whence it might perhaps be inferred that the Æolians introduced the worship of Apollo into Bœotia. This hypothesis would however involve us in endless perplexities; and it is most probable that its diffusion was gradually effected, soon after the settlement at Cirrha, about the time at which the worship of Apollo rose to importance at Athens.

13. The introduction of this worship into ATTICA coincides exactly with the passage of the Ionians into that country. The traditions respecting the most ancient kings, Cecrops, Erichthonius, and Erechtheus, chiefly refer to the temples, symbols, and festival rites of Minerva; and this goddess, together with the other deities of the Acropolis, plays the principal part in them, particularly in her connexion with the blessings of husbandry. But with the reign of Ion the Attic mythology assumes quite a different

¹ Below, ch. 11. §. 7.

² See *Orchomenos* pp. 224. 393.

character^x. This seems to me a complete refutation of the assertion of the Ionians as to their identity with the aboriginal nation of the Pelasgi^y. Still more evident is it then, that in proportion as the Ionians, being a warlike nation^z, separated themselves from the original inhabitants, whose employment was agriculture and pasturing, their Hellenic worship deviated from the ancient one of the country. Aristotle indeed speaks of the paternal Apollo (Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος) as being a son of Minerva and Vulcan^a; but this is nothing more than an endeavour to create a family connexion between the principal gods of the same town: for where do we ever find a temple dedicated conjointly to Minerva and Apollo? what ceremonies and sacrifices were offered to them in common? and in what legends are they found connected? Till such an union of the two deities is discovered, we must consider Minerva as an ancient and native deity, Apollo as one of much later introduction. In all that is related of the Ionian princes (to whom Ægeus^b and Theseus belong) with reference to religious institutions, mention is seldom made of the ancient Athenian deities, Minerva and Vulcan. The whole is taken up with accounts either of the establishment of the worship of Neptune (which prevailed in the Ionian cities and in the places of their national assemblies), or

^x See the author's work *De Minerva Poliade*, p. 2.

^y Herodot. I. 56. VII. 94. VIII. 44.

^z Hence Ion is called the πολέμαρχος or στρατηγός of the Athenians, Herod. VIII. 44. Paus. I. 31. 2. II. 14. 2. VII. 1. 2, &c. hence also Euripides

says (Ion 1319) that "the shield and spear was the whole patrimony of Xuthus."

^a Cicero de Nat. Deor. III. 22, 23. Lydus de Mens. p. 105.

^b Μηδὲν προσήκων Ἐρεχθεΐδαις, Plutarch Thes. 13.

the establishment and maintenance of an intercourse with the temples of Apollo at Delos, Delphi, and Cnosus.

14. In the second place, the fabulous history of these heroes also concerns the worship of Apollo, in so far as the origin of the Pythian Theorias is contained in it. Ion is even a real son or adopted disciple of the Pythian god; and in all probability there was no more difference originally between his two fathers, Apollo and Xuthus^c, than between the two fathers of Theseus, Ægeus and Neptune. Theseus consecrated his hair to the same god; a place at Delphi was called Thesea^d. It is also related of Ægeus, that his kingdom, embracing the plain of Attica, stretched as far as Pythium, where it bordered on Megaris^e. This Pythium was situated in the "sacred Cēnoë^f," a fortified borough town of the tribe Hippothoontis, on the frontiers of Megarus, Bœotia, and Attica^g, to the north of the plain of Eleusis, and in a district of remarkable fertility^h.

This temple was manifestly built on the frontiers in order to afford a resting-place to the sacred procession, which in the beginning of the spring went

^c Ζοῦθος is the "bright" "shining" god, another form of ξανθός. See below, ch. 6. §. 7. Ἀλγείς, from αλγες, "the waves of the sea," is equivalent to Ποσειδῶν Ἀλγῆος.

^d Plutarch Thes. 5.

^e Strabo IX. p. 392. after Sophocles and Philochorus. cf. Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 58. Vesp. 1218. Schol. Eurip. Hipp. 35.

^f Philochorus apud Schol. Soph. CEd. Col. 1102.

^g Compare Barbié du Bocage's *Histoire de la bourgade d'Énoë la sacrée* at the end of Stanhope's Plan of Platea.

^h Hence Sophocles *ubi sup.* calls the district of Eleusis Πυθίας ἀκράς. The Scholiast confounds the Cēnoë of the tribe Hippothoontis with that of the tribe Aiantis. The situation of the Pythium is correctly treated by Reisig Enarr. CEd. Col. p. 134.

from Athens to Pytho. For if favourable omens had been observed in the town itself, and it was intended to despatch the procession, the prophet in the Pythium at Œnoë performed sacrifices every day, in order to procure a favourable journey, just as the Delian procession was regulated by omens observed in the Delium at Marathonⁱ. The families charged with the preparations for sending the procession (probably all of ancient Ionian extraction) were called Pythaistæ and Deliaistæ^k. The omens looked for were the *Pythian lightnings* (Πύθιαι ἀστραπαί), a very unusual method of prophecy in Greece. The Pythaistæ took their station in the town, near the altar of Jupiter Astrapæus, between the Olympieium and Pythium, both of which were among the earliest sanctuaries, although they first owed their magnificence to Pisistratus^l. From this spot it was the custom to watch for nine nights, during three months, a lofty peak of mount Parnes^m, called Harma; and it was only in case the wished-for lightnings flashed favourably over the heights that the embassy dared to proceed along the Py-

ⁱ The passage of Philochorus ubi sup. should be thus written: ὅταν δὲ σημεῖα γένηται παραδεδομένα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, τότε ἀποστέλλουσι τὴν θεωρίαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους Πυθιάδα καὶ Δηλιάδα, ὁποτέρᾳ ἂν καθήκη αὐτοῖς, θύει δὲ ὁ μάντις, ὅταν μὲν τὰ εἰς Δελφοὺς πόμπημα γένηται (a favourable omen for the mission to Delphi) καὶ θεωρία πέμπηται, ἐν Οἰνῇ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ, εἰ δὲ εἰς Δῆλον ἀποστέλλοιτο ἡ θεωρία, κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα θύει ὁ μάντις εἰς τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δῆλιον, &c.

^k The Δηλιασταὶ occurred in the laws of Solon, Athen. VI. p. 234 E. the Πυθαῖσταὶ are mentioned in Steph. Byz. in Πυθώ.

^l Strabo IX. p. 404 C. Eurip. Ion. 285. On the Pythium, see Thuc. II. 15. VI. 54. Isæus p. 113, 187. Suidas in Πύθιον. Suidas, Hesychius, Prov. ἐν Πυθίῳ.

^m Strabo IX. p. 404. Steph. Byz. in ἄρμα. Eustath. ad II. β'. 499. Hesych. in ἀστράπτει. Prov. in ὅταν δι' Ἄρματος.

thian road. This road led from Athens, near mount Corydallus (on which there was a temple of Apollo^a), through the Eleusinian plain to Cēnoë; from thence through the pass of Dryoscephalæ to Bœotia, where it touched either Thespiæ or Thebes, then Lebadeia and Chæronea, and then passed on by Panopeus and Daulis through the defile between Parnassus and Cirphis to Delphi: a mountain-road which the Athenians declared that they had themselves opened^o, and which Theseus is said to have freed from robbers^p, in the same manner that he purified the road to the Isthmus from monsters. This was also the sacred road for the Peloponnesians, if we except that part of it which traversed Attica^q.

There still remains to be mentioned a remarkable fact respecting Cēnoë, which will greatly assist us in explaining the fable of the voyage of Theseus to Crete. I allude to the existence of a tomb of Androgeus, the son of Minos, whom the natives had put to death as he was passing on the Pythian road^r. A Cretan was murdered in the sacred way of the Cretan worship; Minos came to take vengeance for the violation of the sacred armistice; and hence Athens was obliged to send a tribute to Cno-

^a Pausan. Dodwell vol. II. p. 170. 107. ed. Frommel.

^o See Æsch. Eum. 12. πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα κελειθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἥφαίστου. compare Ephorus ap. Strab. IX. p. 422 D. Aristid. Panath. vol. I. p. 329. *Orchomenos* p. 36, 188.

^p This rare tradition is preserved in the Schol. Æsch. Eum. 13. Schol. Aristid. p.

^q This explains Herod. VI. 34. ἴόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογχοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦϊσαν. καὶ σφεας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων.

^r There is a trace of the correct tradition in Diod. IV. 60. cf. Serv. ad Æn. VI. 14. The funeral games of Laïus were made by the poets the motive for this journey.

sus. Now the nature of this tribute may be perceived from a tradition preserved by Aristotle^s, that the boys who were sent to Crete by the Athenians lived at Cnosus as slaves; and that afterwards, when the Cretans, in consequence of an ancient vow, sent a tithe of men to Delphi, the descendants of these slaves went with them, and subsequently passed from thence to Italy. From this it appears that the Athenians were compelled to send sacred slaves to the chief temple at Cnosus, viz. that of Apollo. For this reason these missions took place every eight years (δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν^t); i. e. probably at every Ennaëteris of the Cretan and Delphic festival; and for the same reason they consisted of seven young men and women, as this number was especially sacred to Apollo^u.

It is well known how much this tradition was disfigured by the Athenians (originally perhaps in their popular legends, and afterwards by the poets), in what an odious light it was represented, and so mixed up with extraneous matter, that we should only render the problem too difficult if we attempted to investigate the whole of its component parts.

We may however affirm with certainty that the voyage of Theseus to Crete had originally no other meaning than the landings at Naxos^x and Delos,

^s Ἐν πολιτείᾳ Βορτιαίων ap. Plutarch. Thes. 16. cf. Qu. Gr. 35. Conon. Narr. c. 25.

^t Plutarch Thes. 15. Diod. IV. 61. Ovid. Metaph. VIII. 171.

^u The chief passage on the septenary number of the boys and girls sent to Crete is Servius ad Æn. VI. 21. *Septena*

quotannis (κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν) quidam septem pueros et septem puellas accipi volunt, quod et Plato dixit in Phædone (p. 58.) et Sappho in Lyricis (p. 255. in Wolf's Poetr. Gr.) et Bacchylides in Dithyrambis (p. 17. ed. Neue.) et Euripides in Hercule (v. 1331.), quos liberavit secum Theseus.

^x The visit to Naxos origi-

which were connected with it, viz. a propagation of religious worship.

The landing at Delos is a fabulous type of the theorias, which the Athenians, in common with all the Ionian islands, had from early times sent to this place^y; moreover, the ship which conveyed Theseus home was always regarded as a sacred vessel. It was sent out at the Thargelia, after the priest, on the sixth day of Thargelion, had crowned the poop^z.

Amongst other Delian rites the worship of Eilhythia was also at that time brought over to Athens, probably from the island of Crete, where an ancient cavern of the goddess, near Amnisus, has been already mentioned^a. One point at which the procession from Attica to Crete touched was the borough town and harbour of Prasias, on the eastern coast of Attica, where, besides the temple of Apollo, was the tomb of Erysichthon, the Delian and Athenian hero; and tradition represented the gifts of the Hyperboreans to have been transported from this port to that sacred island^b.

nally signified a transmission of the worship of Bacchus and Ariadne to that island, which rites had been kept up at the festival of the Ὀσχοφόρια, though confounded with the laurel-bearing procession of Apollo.

^y Boeckh Economy of Athens vol. II. p. 150. Erysichthon is said to have sent the ξόανα with theorias to Delos, Plutarch Fragm. 10. p. 291. ed. Hutten.

^z This confirms a fact which we collected from other sources, viz. that the Thargelian Apollo was the same god as that worshipped at Delos and Crete.

There was an ancient writing on this subject preserved in the Daphnephoreum at Phyle in Attica, Theophrastus ap. Athen. X. p. 424 F. The origin of the Thargelia is also referred to Crete by a tradition, that this festival arose from the expiatory rites for the murder of Androgeus, Helladius ap. Phot. in Gronov. Thes. Ant. Gr. vol. X. p. 978.

^a Paus. I. 18. 5. τὰ μὲν δὲ δύο ξόανα εἶναι Κρητικά. See above, ch. 1. §. 5.

^b Pyth. I. 31. compare Dodwell vol. I. p. 532.

Lastly, the origin of the Delphinian expiatory festival from Delphi and Crete is as evident as its introduction by the Ionian princes. For Ægeus dwelt in the Delphinium, and was there buried. To him was also ascribed the establishment of the Delphinian tribunal. Theseus, previously to his expedition to Crete, here placed the olive-branch, bound with wool, on the sixth day of Munychion^c, and purified himself from the murder of the Pallantidæ^d.

15. The political situation of the worship of Apollo at Athens still requires to be noticed. From our previous observations it is clear that the Ionians had adopted it from the Dorians; hence Ion himself is called the son of the Pythian god. The paternal deity of Athens was, as Demosthenes says, no other than the Pythian Apollo^e. We may then assert, without hesitation, that the Ionians were the only race who had gentilitious rites of Apollo, and that they alone could properly be called γενῆται Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῶου. Thus, when the archons at the scrutiny (δοκιμασία) swore, that besides Jupiter Herceus, the household god, they worshipped also Apollo πα-

^c Plutarch Thes. 12, 14, 18. cf. Paus. I. 19. 1. On his return Theseus sacrifices to Apollo and Diana as οἰλαιοί θεοί, Pherecydes ap. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. frag. 59. ed. Sturz. comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 40, 46.

^d See Pollux VIII. 10, 119.

^e Demosth. de Coron. p. 274. cf. Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in Ἀπόλλων πατρῶος. The Athenians had πατρῶοι θεοὶ at Delphi, Demosth. Epist. p. 1481. Apollo's Attic title of

πατρῶος is explained from his being the πατήρ of Ion; it is possible however that he was so called as being the god of the πάτριαι of the Ionians. Apollo was also called λεσχηνόριος at Athens (Plutarch Ei 2. p. 217. Suidas in v.); perhaps as being the titular deity of the 360 Λέσχαι of the 360 γένη at Athens, Proclus ad Hesiod. Op. et Di. p. 116. Heins. Cleanthus ap. Harpocrat. in λέσχαι, Meursius ad Lycophr. 543.

τρώος^f; this form of oath originated at a time when the Eupatridæ, that is, the noble Ionic and Hellenic families, were alone eligible to the dignity of the archonship. Nor was it till, by the timocracy of Solon and democracy of Aristides, the richer class in general and the whole people were admitted to this office, that Apollo πατρώος was considered as a deity common to all families^g. The democratical judges of Athens also yearly took an oath before this deity^h: this ceremony was at first perhaps only required of the criminal judges of aristocratical descent, viz. the Ephetæ. It is however clear that originally the religion of Apollo was adapted for the military caste alone, the ancient Hopletes; hence he was not a god of artisans and husbandmen, but of warriors. Hence also Ion or Xuthus adopted him as the Athenian god of war (πολέμαρχος) at the festival of Boedromiaⁱ, the name of which is derived from the onset of armed troops in battle.

As originally the Eupatridæ alone cultivated the worship of Apollo, they alone possessed the ceremony of purification (κάθαρσις), which is here, as elsewhere, mixed up with the rites of the Cretan

^f γεννῆται Ἀπόλλωνος πατρώου καὶ Διὸς ἱρκείου, Demosth. in Eubulid. p. 1315. 15. Pollux VIII. 85.

^g As appears from Plato Euthyd. p. 302 B. cf. Schol. et Heindorf. p. 404.

^h Pollux VIII. 122.

ⁱ Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 69. with the Schol. and Spanheim. Harpocrat. in Βοηδρόμια. Suidas and Etym. M. in βοηδρομεῖν. Hence the archon Polemarchus administered justice in

the Lyceum, the temple of Apollo Lyceus, near the statue of a wolf, Suidas in ἄρχων. Bekker Anecd. vol. I. p. 449. Hesych. in ἐπιδύκιον. Λυκαμβίς ἀρχή of the polemarch, according to Cratinus, Hesych. in v. And in general all the courts at Athens were under the protection of the wolf, viz. Apollo, Eratosth. ap. Harpocrat. in δεκάγων. Lexic. and Paræmiogr. in Χύκον δέκας. Etymol. M. in δεκάσαι.

worship. According to Plutarch^k, Ion had instructed the Athenians in religion, i. e. in that of Apollo; and the same author relates^l, that Theseus established the Eupatridæ as administrators of the government, judges, and interpreters of the sacred rites (ἐξηγηταὶ δσίων καὶ ἱερῶν). By which we are to understand that it was their duty to give information respecting every thing which regarded the *jus sacrum*; which in ancient times especially comprehended expiations and excommunications for murder. The rites necessary at purification were also entirely in the hands of the Eupatridæ, and formed part of their hereditary rights (πάτρια^m); and this is the reason why in old times they took cognizance of every homicide, and in later times of manslaughter, the connexion of which duties with the worship of Apollo will be shewn hereafterⁿ.

I have been induced to place these points in as strong a light as possible, from the democratical tendency of Athenian poetry, which endeavoured to obliterate all traces of the forcible occupation of Attica, and of the foreign genealogy of the families of the Eupatridæ. On this account the vacant period between the times of the Erechthidæ and Ægidæ was notoriously supplied by arbitrary insertions, and the fable of Ion represented in a thousand various ways. This tendency is also recognised in the tragedy of Ion by Euripides, the artful and ingenious plan of which cannot be sufficiently admired. Ac-

^k In Colot. p. 31.

^l Thes. 25. According to Plato Rep. IV. p. 427. Apollo is the *πάτριος ἐξηγητής* of the Athenians.

^m Hence Dorotheus (ap.

Athen. IX. p. 410 A.) ἐν τοῖς τῶν εὐπατριδῶν (not τῶν θυγατριδῶν) πατρίους treated of the purification of suppliants.

ⁿ Below, ch. 8. §. 6.

cording to the ancient tradition Ion was the son of the hero Xuthus, or of the Pythian Apollo (who were originally considered as identical), and probably of Creusa, a native of Attica, which was a mode of expressing his new settlement there. Euripides, on the other hand, separates Ion from Xuthus^o, who is always represented as somewhat rude and coarse, and even tyrannical^p, and so alters the whole story, that the hero does not appear as a new comer, but as the legitimate offspring of the female line of the race of the Erechthidæ.

By this means the poet preserved the idea that the Athenians were an aboriginal nation, on which they so prided themselves^q, and set aside, in a manner most agreeable to their feelings, the fable which contradicted this claim to antiquity. Ion himself in the tragedy gives utterance to some very popular sentiments; and of the power of aristocracy, once so firmly established, the last faint memorial is almost buried in oblivion^r.

^o By representing the notion that Xuthus was the father of Ion as a mere deceit of Xuthus.

^p For example v. 668. Ὑμῖν δὲ σιγᾶν, δμῶϊδες, λέγω τὰδε, *Ἡ θάνατον εἰπούσαισι πρὸς δάμαρτι* ἑμῇ.

^q V. 591. Εἶναί φασι τὰς αὐ-

τόχθονας Κλεωνὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ εἰσακτον γένος, &c.

^r The view taken in the text on the Ion of Euripides has been approved, since the first publication of this work, by Hermann in the preface to his edition of that tragedy, p. 32.

CHAP. III.

On the universal diffusion of the worship of Apollo through the Peloponnese, and afterwards all Greece, by the Doric migration. On its subsequent extension in foreign parts by the authority of the Delphian oracle.

1. We now come to the *third* epoch of the propagation of the worship of Apollo. The first embraced the earliest migrations of the Doric nation, when the great temples at Delphi, Cnosus, and Delos were founded from Tempe. The second period is that of the maritime supremacy of Minos, when the coasts of Asia and Greece were covered with groves and expiatory altars of this god. The third comprehends the chief migration of the Dorians, and others occasioned by it. Through these means Apollo became the principal deity in the Peloponnese, where, in early times, we find few traces of his existence. That the Carnean Apollo of the Lacedæmonians, and the Apollo Nomius of the Arcadians, form no exceptions to our assertion, will be proved in a subsequent inquiry into the nature and origin of these worships^s.

After the Doric conquest of the Peloponnese, the chief temples were every where consecrated to Apollo. We have already spoken of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythæus, in which the Argive confederacy held their meetings^t; nor was the temple of

^s Below, ch. 5. §. 2. ch. 8. §. 15.

^t Book I. ch. 5. §. 3. comp. Pausan. II. 24. 1. He was also called Δειραδιώτης, from the height. There was likewise divination there, Telesilla

ap. Pausan. II. 35. 2—36. 5. Πυθαῖος and Κρηταῖος are Doric forms; the hero Pythæus cannot be separated from the god. Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules, were the deities of the city of Argos, Liv. XXXII. 33.

Apollo Lyceus in the market-place less celebrated^u. The Spartans also worshipped this deity under the former name^x, and the inhabitants of Sicyon under the latter^y. Hecatus, it is pretended, was a soothsayer, who came with the sons of Aristodemus to Sparta; and his descendant, in the second Messenian war, held the same office^z: the name of this family refers to the worship of Apollo Hecatus (the far-darting god). At Sparta Apollo was the national deity; the kings sacrificed to him on the first and seventh days of every month^a; the influence of the capital city had also caused its general extension throughout the country^b. Corinth^c, Epidau-

^u Thucyd. II. 47. Sophocl. Electr. 7. Hence *Λύκειος ἀγόςρα*, Sophocles, Hesych. in v. The Argive coins with the wolf refer to this statue, comp. Pausan. VIII. 40. 3. Here was also an oracle, Plut. Pyrrh. 31. 31. where write, *ἡ τοῦ Λυκείου προφήτις Ἀπολλωνος*. At Argos also stood the statue of Apollo *Ζωστέας*, Hesych. in v. A temple of Latona, Pausan. II. 21.

^x Alcman Fragm. 35, 36. ed. Welcker. Herod. I. 69. comp. Bast. ad Gregor. Corinth. p. 187. At Sparta, according to Hesychius, *Λυκιάδες κόραι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριάκοντα αἱ τὸ ὕδωρ κομίζουσαι εἰς τὸ Λύκειον* (a kind of Hydrophoria).

^y Pausan. II. 9. 7. Respecting the ancient temple of Apollo there, and a brass statue, see Pseud-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. p. 59. Pausan. II. 11. 2. Polyb. XVII. 16. 2. The tradition respecting its foundation by Epopeus is not worth

notice. Cleisthenes was the person who instituted the Pythian games, Schol. Pind. Nem. IX. 49, 76. comp. Boeckh and Dissen Explic. p. 451. Apollo had there an *ἐπὶ χάρα*, Polyb. ubi sup. Liv. XXXII. 40.

^z Pausan. IV. 15. 5. The Messenians at Naupactus had also a temple of Apollo (Thucyd. II. 91.); and the coins of the Messenians of Sicily afford proof of the same worship. Concerning the ancient temple at Æpea, Pausan. IV. 34. 4.

^a Herod. VI. 57.

^b Apollo Acreitas, Pausan. III. 12. 7. At Thornax Apollo Pythaeus, III. 11. 2. Hesych. in *Θόρναξ*, cf. in *Θοράτης*. Apollo Maleates, Pausan. III. 12. 8. Thucyd. VII. 26. Apollo *Λιθήσιος*, Steph. Byz. Suid. in v. comp. Pausan. II. 27. 8. Apollo at Geronthræ, Boeckh Inscript. N^o. 1334.

^c Herod. II. 32. Plutarch Arat. 40. Pausan. II. 5. 4.

rus^d, Ægina^e, and Trœzen^f followed the same example.

The name of the Delphian god had now attained throughout the Peloponnese the universal respect which it so long enjoyed: it had even led the way to the settlement and conquest of that peninsula, and hence he was by the Dorians called their *leader* and *founder*^g. It was not till a later period that the kings of Messenia (who upon the whole adhered less strictly to the Doric customs than the Spartans) entered into a connexion with the sanctuary at Delos, which had then already fallen into the power of the Ionians. About the fifth Olympiad (760 B. C.) Eumelus, the Corinthian poet, composed an ode for a Messenian chorus to that holy island^h. On the other hand, it was owing to the Dorians (particularly to the Spartans) that the Pythian sanctuary remained independent, in the hands of the Delphians; to preserve it in this state was one of the duties which they inherited from their

Hesych. in Ζωτελιστής. At Corinth, Apollo, as at Argos, was ἀγορῆς καλλίχορου πρύτανις, Simonides in Palat. Anthol. VI. 212. On the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, likewise in the market-place, Ampel. Liber. Memor. 8.

^d Pausan. II. 26. 3. comp. the inscriptions of the temple of Æsculapius, Boeckh. Inscript. Nos. 1175, 1176. The temple of Apollo Ægyptius belongs to the time of the Antonines.

^e In this island a temple of Apollo was connected with the Thearion (see Dissen ad Pind.

Nem. III. p. 376.), with the worship of Apollo Δελφίνιος, Οἰκιστής, and Δωματίτης, and the festival of the Hydrophoria. *Æginetica* p. 150. cf. 135.

^f Above, ch. 2. §. 8. The Pythian games, according to Pausan. II. 32. 2. founded by Diomed, are probably of a later date.

^g ἀρχηγέτης, δωματίτης, οἰκιστής (*Æginetica* p. 150. note ^k); for, as Callimachus says (Hymn. Apoll. 55.), Φοῖβος ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιληθεὶ Κτιζομένης.

^h Pausan. IV. 4. 1. 33. 3. cf. V. 25. 1.

fathersⁱ; and they protected it more than once, particularly against the Athenians.

2. The political power of the Dorians over the whole Peloponnese necessarily ensured the preponderance of their religious institutions; nevertheless we find that the Achæans and Arcadians possessed few temples of Apollo, and those not the principal ones in their cities^k. The worship of Apollo was however, through Spartan influence, held in great respect at Tegea (the customs of which town had indeed become almost entirely Doric), where there was also a tribe called Apolloneatis^l. The country moreover being intersected in every direction by roads to Olympia and Delphi (to which place the Peloponnese despatched her hecatombs in the beginning of the spring^m), must have been by this very circumstance induced to establish temples in honour of Apollo, an instance of which appears in that at Onceum.

The principal deity of the Doric name soon obtained a conspicuous place in the national festival, held equally sacred by all Peloponnesians; I mean that of Olympia. The establishment of this festival is probably of early date; perhaps it took place during the time when the dominion of the Pelopidæ spread from Pisa and Olympia over most parts of the peninsula. Hence the Elean Ætolians, when they seized upon the presidency of these games, were, by the command of the oracle, at the same

ⁱ Thucyd. V. 18. IV. 118.

id. VII. 23. 3.

^k Among the Achæans of Patræ. Pausan. VII. 21. 4.—
of Ægira. id. VII. 26. 3. comp.
the tradition respecting Bolina,

^l Pausan. VIII. 53. 1.

^m ἡρος ἐπερχομένου. Theognis
of Megara V. 777.

time obliged to take one of the Pelopidæ from the Achæan town of Helice for their princeⁿ. Moreover, the ancient rivalry between the Olympian and Isthmian worship, which occasioned the prohibition against any Elean contending at the Isthmus^o, can hardly have arisen at any other time than when (previously to the Doric usurpation) the Olympian Jupiter was the chief god of the Achæans^p, the Isthmian Neptune of the Ionians.

But it was not till the Dorians, for the purpose of assembling all the Peloponnesians, at least every four years, under the protection of their god, had taken possession of the temple at Olympia; nor till Iphitus the Ætolian, and Lycurgus the Dorian, had renewed these contests, or given them a greater degree of importance, that Apollo and Jupiter are found in connexion with each other, and even contending in the course at Olympia. And as a further instance of change, the sacred armistice of Olympia went by the local name of Therma^q; and hence Apollo, as the patron and guardian deity of the institution, was called Thermius, and worshipped under that title in the grove of Altis^r. At this time Hercules (whose worship, once entirely un-

ⁿ Pausan. V. 4. 2.

^o On this enmity, to which so many legends refer, see Pausan. V. 2. 4. VI. 16. 2.

^p That Jupiter was the chief god of the Eleans is evident from the confederate temple at Ægium and elsewhere.

^q Hesychius in v.

^r Pausan. V. 15. 4.—τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ἑλείους θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῶ μοι παρίστατο εἰκάζειν, ὡς κατὰ

Ἀτθίδα γλώσσῃ εἶη θέρμιον; for the last θέρμιον Buttmann corrects θέσμιον; and it is evident that θέρμα was Elean for θέσμα, "sacred ordinance or "armistice." See Appendix VIII. §. 2. Also Therma, the place of the Panætolia, derived its name from this word, which is probably of Ætolian-Elean origin. On its temple of Apollo, see Polyb. XI. 4. 2.

known in Elis, was introduced by Iphitus^a) is also reported to have brought the wild olive-tree from the Hyperboreans to the Alpheus, and planted the sacred grove of Altis with it¹. The important influence of the Delphian oracle on the Olympian games also occasioned the time of their celebration to be regulated by the Pythian cycle of eight years (as has been recently shewn by a learned author^u). For whereas the whole cycle of eight years consisted of ninety-nine lunar months, at the expiration of which time the revolutions of the moon and sun again nearly coincided; this period was at Olympia divided into two unequal parts of fifty and forty-nine months, so that the festival took place sometimes in the month of Apollonius, sometimes in Parthenius.

The introduction of the worship of Apollo must have had no less influence on the families of the soothsayers, who ministered at the altars of the Olympic deities. These were the Clytiadæ, Iamidæ, and Telliadæ^x; of which the Clytiadæ considered

^a Pausan. IV. 4. 4.

¹ Perhaps this was the beginning of the connexion with Crete, to which the name of the *Ἰδαίων ἄντρον* at Olympia (Pind. Olymp. V. 42. Demetrius *ἐν νεῶν διακόσμῳ* in the Scholia. Boeckh ad Schol. and Explic. p. 150.) and the tradition that Clymenus, a descendant of the Idæan Hercules, came to Pisa soon after the flood of Deucalion, and there founded a temple, refer; comp. Pausan. V. 8. 1. VI. 21. 5. V. 14. 6.

^u Boeckh ad Pind. Olymp. III. 18. p. 138. Explic. Tzetzes

ad Lycophr. 41. does not speak of this event with the same exactness as the Schol. Pind. Olymp. III. 39. Comp. also Wurm *de Ponderum etc* §. 90. p. 174.

^x See particularly Philostratus Vit. Apollon. V. 25. pag. 208. Cic. de Divin. I. 41. concerning the Telliadæ, Herod. IX. 37. VIII. 27. These diviners are called the *μάντις* *Ἡλείων πρόπολοι* at the altar of Olympia in the oracle in Phlegon p. 129. in Meursii Op. vol. VII.

themselves as belonging to a clan, which produced very many soothsayers, viz. the Melampodidæ^z. This explains the fable that Melampus received the gift of prophecy from Apollo on the banks of the Alpheus^a, in the place where it was exercised by his descendants the Clytiadæ.

3. The Doric migration gave rise to many others, which spread in various directions the worship of Apollo; no longer, however, as a peculiar deity of the Dorians and Cretans, but in a more extended sense as the national god of the Greeks. This was chiefly occasioned by the influence of Delphi, which seems to have given the chief stimulus to that great migration. In fact it became from this time invested with a power which hardly belonged to any subsequent institution. Apollo is represented as governing nations with an arbitrary power, compelling them, however unwilling, to undertake distant expeditions, and pointing out the settlements which they are to occupy. In order to convey a more distinct idea of this singular phenomenon, it is necessary that the condition of the immediate subjects of the Pythian temple should be more closely examined.

When the district of the Cirrhæans had, by the Amphictyonic war, become forfeited to the temple of Delphi, the sacred lands belonging to it formed a very considerable territory. Two inscriptions contain surveys of the Hieromnemons respecting its boundaries: one relating to those towards Anticirra in the east, the other to those in the direction of Amphissa to the west^b. Now it certainly ap-

^z Pausan. VI. 17. 4.

^a Pausan. V. 8. 1.

^b Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N^o.

1711.

pears that in ancient times, when Cirrha was in existence, none of these lands belonged to the temple, which must therefore have possessed little or no territory. But in spite of the generally received accounts of the Amphictyonic war, it can be satisfactorily proved, that in earlier times Cirrha and the temple, with its appendages, formed one state^c. Their territory indeed consisted for the most part of rock, mountain, and narrow glens^d; yet towards the south it embraced the spacious plain of Crissa, and in the north at least the luxuriant vineyards of Parnassus. By whom then was this territory cultivated? certainly neither by the Doric nobles nor the Cretan colonists, who in the Homeric hymn are derided by the god for thinking of the labours of agriculture, and commanded to employ themselves merely in sacrificing victims^e. Thus it is evident, that there were subjects of the temple, who, besides the humble employment of cultivating the soil, were also obliged to tend the herds belonging to the temple. These were the servants of the temple whom we so frequently find mentioned^f. The same class also existed in Crete, as we have before proved from the tribute sent by Athens; and Crete, in its turn, as well as Eretria and Magnesia^g, sent such "human firstlings" to the temple of Pytho. Mention is also made of a town in Crete composed of a

^c As appears from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.

^d See Porphyry, de Abstin. II. 17. comp. Apostol. VI. 93. and the story of Æsop, also the proverb *Δελφός ἀνὴρ στέφανον μὲν ἔχει, δίδωει δ' ἀπόλωλεν*.

^e Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 535.

^f The λαὸς οἰκῆτορες θεοῦ, Eur.

Androm. 1092.

^g Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273. The Thessalians vowed at least every year a hecatomb of men to Apollo *καταιβάτης*. Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1416. Zenobius in *θετταλῶν σόφισμα*.

thousand men, all sacred slaves^b. Now these slaves of Delphi may have been procured in different ways, either as tribute (and that either of a city or of individuals), as voluntary bondsmen, or by purchaseⁱ: the latter mode was probably of rare occurrence in early times. There still remain a considerable number of Delphian monuments, in which private individuals present or sell to the god those slaves whom they wish to favour^k. The condition of these vassals corresponds to that of the Doric bondsmen^l; but their servitude was probably of a milder nature; for we find it frequently stated that the sacred slaves lived inviolate under the protection of the god, although (at least in early times) they were entirely dependent on the sacred council of the temple. Originally, a great part consisted of prisoners taken in war. We collect from ancient epic poems that Manto the daughter of Tiresias was, after the war of the Epigoni, sent to the Pythian god as a share of the spoil^m (ἀκροθίνιον): one individual, as is usual

^b Sosicrates ap. Suid. vol. I. p. 621. Hesych. p. 1026. Apostol. VII. 37. Prov. Vat. App. II. 94. and Steph. Byz. in Δούλων πόλις, with which he mentions the ἱερόδουλοι. We may probably discern a similar servitude in the gift of the golden tripods which the Θηβαῖοι were bound to bring at certain times to the Ismenian temple of Apollo, *Orchomenos* p. 397. Apollo Nesiotēs at Chalia in Bœotia also possessed Hieroduli. Boeckh. Inscript. N^o. 1607. The Delian Ἐκατηβελῆτας θεράπναι (Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 157) were of the same description

as the chorus in the Phœnissæ. In the Didymæum (Inscript. in Walpole's Travels p. 582) there were οἱ περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον πάντες καὶ οἱ τὸ ἱερόν κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ προσχωροί, boys sent thither as the spoil of war, Conon. Narr. c. 44.

ⁱ ἀνάθημα πόλει ἢ τινὸς στρατῷ ὕπο. Eurip. Ion. 322.
ἱερὸν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θεῷ δίδωμι Ἰχμιν.
Ver. 1299.

^k Boeckh in Hirt *Ueber die Hierodulen* p. 48.

^l See book III. ch. 4.

^m Diod. IV. 66. Pausan. VII. 3. 1. see above, ch. 2. §. 7.

in the language of mythology, standing for many. The Gephyræans also are said to have been at that time decimated, sent from Thebes to Delphi, and thus to have arrived at Athensⁿ. After the Persian war, an idea was actually entertained of reviving this punishment against the Thebans, whose enemies considered them, at a still later period, as in the eye of justice decimated, and given as slaves to Apollo^o.

When the Pythian god was either unwilling or unable to retain within his territory the crowds who had been collected in this manner, he sent them out as colonists; without, however, entirely giving up all claim to their obedience. The early Grecian history affords several examples of this proceeding: the earliest is a Doric tradition respecting the Dryopes, which differs in some respect from their own account. Hercules, here represented as a Doric hero, had subjugated the Dryopes, and brought them to Delphi as an offering to Apollo, by whom he was commanded to settle them on the southern coast of Argolis^p. That this nation, probably of Pelasgic origin, did not in early times worship the Doric god, is evident from the tradition that Leogoras the Dryopian violated the temple of Apollo^q. But it is equally certain that they were henceforth compelled to serve Apollo as their chief deity, especially in his character of Apollo Pythæus

ⁿ Apostol. VII. 34. where for *Ἀθηναίων* read *Ἀργείων*. Suidas in *δόρυ κηρυκίον*. *Orchomenos* p. 118.

^o Herod. VII. 132. Xenoph. Hell. VI. 3. and 5. *ἐλπὶς δεκατενθῆναι τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον Θη-*

βαίους. Not the land, but the people themselves were to be decimated.

^p See above, p. 48, note 1. Etymol. M. p. 154. 7.

^q Apollod. II. 7. 7. cf. Diod. IV. 37.

at Argos^r. A part of this nation however remained at Delphi, where it is frequently mentioned in later times under the name of Craugallidæ, who, together with the Cirrhæans, appear as enemies to the temple^s: from which circumstance it may be inferred that most of these Cirrhæans were revolted subjects of the temple.

4. The migration of the Magnesians approaches rather nearer to the historical age. This race, dwelling under mount Pelion, felt itself, about the time of the Thessalian migration, so pressed for want of territory, that it had recourse to the Delphian oracle, by whose advice it decimated its numbers; i. e. sent off a tenth part of the young male population, who (like a *ver sacrum* in Italy^t) renounced their native land^u. These young colonists were mostly despatched to the worshippers of Apollo in Crete, where they founded the town of Magnesia, which Plato speaks of as a place that had been destroyed, and considers as a prototype of his ideal state, Apollo having been its only legis-

^r Pausan. II. 35. 2. Apollo was also worshipped under the titles of Ὀπίος and Πλατανίστιος. Concerning the Dryopes as worshippers of Apollo see Pausan. IV. 34. 6. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 480. Prob. ad Virgil. Georg. III. 7. Anton. Liberal. c. 32. Etymol. M. p. 288. 32. Heyne ad Æn. IV. 143. vol. II. p. 736. ed. 3. According to Pausanias they also retained this worship in the Messenian settlements. According to Conon c. 29. upon the occasion of the return from Troy they sent a tithe (δεκάτη).

^s See above, b. I. ch. 2. §. 4.

^t *Ver sacrum* votere, i. e. *quæcunque vere proximo nata essent immolaturos*. Festus in v. Mamertin. *Trecenta millia hominum, velut ver sacrum, miserunt*, Justin XXIV. 4.

^u According to the remarkable account of Parthen. Erot. 5. they were δεκατευθέντες ἐκ Φερῶν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτου, and were conducted by Leucippus a Lycian. Strab. XIV. 647. reverses the story: Δελφῶν ἀπόγονοι, τῶν ἐποικησάντων τὰ Δίδυμα ὄρη (near Pheræ, Orchomenos p. 192.) ἐν Θερραλίᾳ.

lator^x. The intercourse of Crete with the coast of Asia Minor soon carried over these sojourners to the banks of the Mæander and the Lethæus, at the confluence of which rivers they had been settled some time before the Ionic migration^y; being, as was afterwards declared by an Amphictyonic decree, the first Greeks who settled in Asia Minor^z. Still, although thus separated from their mother-country, they maintained, as sacred colonists (ἱεροὶ ἀποικοί), a perpetual connexion with Delphi, and were bound, in ancient times, to provide all travellers with food and lodging^a. The Delphians could expect a similar reception at Delos^b: and indeed an extended exercise of the duties of hospitality formed one of the principal objects of this worship. Pausanias^c gives an account of this very important worship of Apollo at Magnesia as follows^d: “At Hylæ, a place in the territory of the

^x Plato Leg. XI. p. 919 D. comp. Boeckh *In Minoem et Leges*, pag. 68. Magnesia, re-established according to Plato's fiction, consecrates to Apollo and Helius κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον, three men as an ἀκροθίνιον, ibid. XII. pag. 945. See also Apollod. Fragm. p. 386. Conon Narr. c. 29. Varro 3. *Rev. Human.* apud Prob. ad Virg. Ecl. VI. Cretans in the Asiatic Magnesia, Strab. XIV. p. 636. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. I. 584.

^y Parthenius mentions Κρητιναίων and Leucophryne instead of Magnesia.

^z Inscript. in Fourmont's Papers; and see particularly Conon *ubi sup.*

^a Aristot. and Theophrast.

ap. Athen. p. 173 F.

^b Semus ἐν Δηλιακοῖς ap. Athen. *ubi sup.*

^c It is to this that the Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollo, v. 1. refers; also the coins of Magnesia (*Apollo supra Mæandrum stans*). There was also a place near Magnesia called Apollonia.

^d X. 32. 4. Ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνείται σπήλαιον, μεγέθους μὲν εἰνέκα οὐ πολλοῦ θαύματος, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ ἔργῳ παρέχεται παντί, καὶ αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν τε ἀποτόμων καὶ πετρῶν πηδῶσιν ὑψηλῶν, καὶ ὑπερμήκη δένδρα ἐριπόντες ἐκ ῥιζῶν κατὰ τὰ στενώτατα τῶν ἀτραπῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄχθεσιν ὁδεύουσιν.

"Magnesians^e, is a cavern consecrated to Apollo; "not, indeed, remarkable for its size; but it contains a statue of Apollo of great antiquity, and "which confers strength for every kind of work. "Certain devotees throw themselves, by the assistance of this image, from steep and lofty precipices; or tearing large trees up by the roots, walk "with their burden down the steepest paths." We would attempt to trace more minutely the connexion of Magnesia with Crete and Delphi, had not all clue to history been necessarily broken off by the conquest of this proud and prosperous city by the Ephesians, and its complete destruction by the Tretres, a Cimmerian tribe, in the time of the Lydian monarch Ardys^f.

We have only time to notice some few other events of a similar nature. Thus the Ænians came to the oracle about the same time, and on a similar emergency as the Magnesians; dwelt for some years in the territory of Cirrha, and were afterwards sent to the bank of Inachus in southern Thessaly^g. An example of historical authority is furnished by the Chalcideans in Eubœa, the youthful part of whose population was despatched by Apollo to Rhegium in Italy^h; hence this town also celebrated the wor-

^e Hence the name of Apollo Hylates in Lycoph. 447; where Tzetzes is confused. Apollo Hylates at Amamassus in Cyprus, Steph. Byz. in v. In Athen. XV. p. 672 E. for ὕβαα read ὕλαα. Query, whether Hiera Comé, Liv. XXXVIII. 12, 13. is the same place? Magnesia on the Sipylus also worshipped Apollo, τὸν ἐν Πά-
 ρου, Marm. Oxon. 26. 85.

^f See Frank on Callinus p. 89. Liebel Archil. p. 202.—Concerning the founding of Magnesia see Ruhnken on Velleius I. 4. Canne on Conon c. 29. Raoul-Rochette tom. II. p. 387.

^g Plut. Quæst. Græc. 13, 26.

^h A Rhegian in Timæus (Strab. p. 260 C. Antig. Ca-

ship of the god with expiatory rites and festivals^l, to which the Messenians of Sicily sent choruses of thirty-five boys across the Straits^k.

These events, which from their connected form cannot be poetical fictions, give some idea of the extensive influence of the temple of Delphi, the power of which was probably at its highest pitch in the time immediately succeeding the Doric migrations. Hence also this was the epoch of the greatest influence of the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ^l; which confederation of Thessalian tribes, and of tribes derived from Thessaly, united the worship of the Doric temple of Apollo with that of Ceres at Thermopylæ, and thus an Hellenic and ancient Pelasgic worship were combined together^m, probably not without a view of forming a more intimate union between the different races of Greece. The assembling in the spring of the year at Delphi was probably copied from the meeting of the neighbouring towns, in the spring festival, at Tempe, at which, business of a political kind was sometimes transactedⁿ. The power, however, of the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ was at no time actually po-

ryst. 1), *ιερούς εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐνθὲνδε ἐστάλθαι*. cf. VI. pag. 257 D. Creuzer Fragm. Xanth. p. 373. cf. p. 178.

^l Respecting the ablutions in the seven rivers, the sacred laurel-tree, &c. see Varro ap. Prob. Præf. ad Virg. Ecl. and compare Hermann's excellent dissertation on the Glauci of Æschylus, *Opuscula* vol. II. p. 59.

^k Pausan. V. 25. 1. The coins

of Rhegium have the head of Apollo, a lyre, a tripod, and cortina.

^l See particularly Tacit. *Annal.* IV. 44.

^m Founded, according to Callim. *Epigr.* XLI. 2. by Acrisius the Pelasgian, to whom the establishment of the Amphictyonic council was *for that reason* attributed.

ⁿ Ælian. V. H. III. 1. Liv. XXXIX. 24. comp. Plutarch de Def. Orac. 14.

litical, and, with a very few exceptions, all their regulations and undertakings concerned the protection of the two temples in their rights and possessions, the rights of other temples in Greece, and the maintenance of some principles of international law (*νόμοι Ἀμφικτυονικοί*), founded upon religious notions.

6. The Dorian colonies introduced Apollo into Asia Minor as the principal deity of their national and federal festival on the promontory of Triopium^o, where they probably first planted his worship, without, however, excluding the more ancient Pelasgic rites of Ceres and the infernal gods, which, although of a different nature, were united in the ceremonies at Triopium with those of Apollo^p. In the same manner the twelve towns of the Æolians, with whom Apollo was by no means so nearly connected, celebrated in his honour, as it seems, their federative festival in the grove of Gryneum near Myrina^q. And though when the Ionians crossed over from Athens to Asia Minor they remained so constant to the worship of Neptune that they consecrated to him their national festival at Mycale, and also built in the island of Tenos a splendid

^o On the towns included in the league see above, book I. ch. 6. §. 2. On the games at the festival, Herod. I. 144.

^p Neptune and the nymphs were also of the number of the Triopian deities, Schol. Theocr. XVII. 69. Comp. Boeckh ad Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 27. pag. 314. Concerning the worship of Apollo at Halicarnassus, see Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 576. Apollo Telchinius at Lindus (see Meurs. Rhod.), at

Cameirus *ἀειγεννήτης* and *ἐπιμήλιος*. Macr. Sat. I. 17. at Anaphe, Apollo Ægletes, *Æginetica* pag. 170. note ^a; comp. above, p. 121. note ^r.

^q I have adopted the opinion of S^{te}. Croix *Gouvernemens fédératifs*, p. 156. that the federal festival of the twelve Æolian cities was at Gryneum, chiefly on account of the altars of the twelve gods, and the *Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν* at that place, and the statements of Scylax.

temple of Neptune and Amphitrite, celebrated by festivals and sacred embassies^r; yet the Cretan worship was so prevalent at Delos, when first overrun by the Ionians, that this island was itself the religious metropolis of the Cyclades^s, at whose festivals and contests the higher classes of the islanders attended with their families, even in ancient times; which naturally gave rise to the establishment of temples to Apollo, the principal deity, in the rest of the Cyclades; as Cythnus^t, Siphnus^u, Ceos^x, Naxos^y, &c.

7. The principal places to be mentioned in Italy besides Rhegium are Crotona and Metapontum. The former was an Achæan and Lacedæmonian colony; in the founding of which, according to tradition, the oracle had an important share^z; the memory of which is preserved by temples of Apollo

^r According to Strabo X. p. 487. there were here *ἱστιάρια*; as at Delos, for the assembly; and in a Tenian inscription (Dodwell vol. II. p. 518), a citizen is eulogized for having undertaken a *θεαροδοκία* for the Delians, the office of receiving the *θεωροί*, a species of *λειτουργία*. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 325.

^s *Ἰστίη νήσων*, Callim. Hymn. Del. 325. et Spanheim ad l.

^t Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll. Del. 141. The coins like those of Delos: the name also reminds us of mount Cynthus. (Hemsterh. ad Aristoph. Plut. p. 311.)

^u An Apollonia in this island, Steph. Byz. Compare the coins.

^x Particularly at Carthæa, Pind. Isthm. I. 6. Athen. X.

p. 456 E. Probably a *Δήλιον*, according to Dissen. Explic. p. 484. *Πύθια* at the same place. Anton. Lib. c. 1. An inscription on the choruses of Apollo at Carthæa is published in Brøndsted's *Voyages dans la Grèce*, livr. 1. A *Smintheum* at Coressus and Pæessa, Strabo X. p. 486.

^y Apollo Tragiæ, Steph. in *Τραγῶν*. Apollo *Ποίμνιος*, Macr. Sat. I. 17. Hipponax ap. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 658. A *Δήλιον* at Naxos. Aristot. Plut. Virt. Mul. p. 289. ed. Hutten. Parthen. Erot. 9. comp. Obs. Misc. Bat. vol. VII. p. 24. Besides these, there were many other Ionic temples of Apollo, in Samos, Eubæa, &c.

^z See above, book I. ch. 6. §. 12.

Pythius, Hyperboreus ^a, and Alæus ^b, within, and close to the town. Crotona was peculiarly subject to the influence of Apollo, whose worship operated to an unusual extent on the character and customs of its inhabitants. On the founding of Metapontum our information is scanty. The inhabitants generally supposed themselves to be of Achæan origin; yet Ephorus has preserved a remarkable, though confused tradition, that Daulius the tyrant of Crissa was the founder of that town ^c. It seems, then, that inhabitants of Daulis, in the narrow valley of Parnassus, and Crissæans, from the coast, had passed over to Italy in very early times. The inhabitants of Metapontum, as ancient subjects of Apollo, sent him golden ears of corn (χρυσέων θέρος) as a tithe of their harvest; we find on their coins the full ears of barley, which were paid as tribute, and on the reverse the god himself, armed with his helmet, arrow and bow, as a conqueror, and holding a branch of laurel; exactly coinciding with the symbols used in the temple of Delphi ^d. Thus historical tradition and religious symbols both point to the same conclusion ^e.

^a Ælian, V. H. II. 26. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 911. Wesseling corrects 'Αλαῖος for "Αλιος in Aristot. *ubi sup.* comp. Heyne Opusc. Acad. vol. II. p. 178. with Creuzer *Symbolik.* II. p. 200. The bird on the coins is not an eagle but a raven (Mionnet Descr. planche 60), the *comes tripodum*.

^b One hundred and twenty stadia from Crotona. Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. p. 1098 C. Justin XX. 1. Etym. Mag. in 'Αλιαῖος.

^c Ap. Strab. VI. p. 265 C.

^d On the statue of Aristeas in the market-place of Metapontum, by the side of the statue of Apollo, see Herod. IV. 15. and on a brass laurel-tree in the same place, Athen. XIII. p. 605 C. In the temple of Apollo, Plutarch *περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν* 8.

^e Caulonia in Italy is also remarkable for this worship; the ancient coins of which town exhibit Apollo bearing a laurel, or a bow, with a stag.

During the period of which we are treating, the regulation of colonies by the Delphian oracle was the chief instrument which extended the worship of Apollo on the coast of the Mediterranean. In honour of this deity the Chalcideans who founded Naxos, the first Greek colony in Sicily (Olymp. 5. 2. 759 B. C.), erected on the coast an altar of Apollo Archegetas, upon which the Sicilian Theori always sacrificed when they sailed to the temple of Apollo in their mother-country^f. Apollonia, the Corinthian settlement on the Ionian sea, was also supposed to have been founded by Apollo^g; hence the above-mentioned custom of sending "*the golden summer*" to Delphi prevailed in this town^h. We have in a former workⁱ shewn that the worship at Thera and Cyrene was paid to the deity of the Theban Ægidæ, viz. the Carnean Apollo; who, however, at the founding of the colony (Olymp. 37), was already considered as the same with the Dorian god; hence the fountain of Apollo at Cyrene, its colony of Apollonia, &c. Mythology, which often first clothes the events of history in a fabulous garb, and then refers them to an early and unknown time, ex-

^f Thucyd. VI. 3. ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, on the coins of Tauromenium and Enna. As to Sicily, there was a temple of Apollo Temenites Pythius at Syracuse, Cic. Verr. IV. 53. Steph. Byz. in Συρακοῦσαι, comp. Ælian. V. H. I. 18. Letronne *Topographie de Syracuse*, p. 26. Göller de Situ Syrac. p. 59. also of Apollo Δαφνίρας, Etymol. p. 250. 38. At Gela there was a colossal statue of Apollo in front of the town, Timæus apud Diod. XIII. 107. Apolli-

narian rites of the Erbitæans and their colony Alæsa, Diod. XIV. 16. Inscript. ap. Castelli, p. 109 sqq. At Lilybæum, according to the coins, Apollo Libyrtius near Pachynum. Macr. Sat. I. 17. The month Dalius in Sicily, Castelli Prol. 73.

^g Inscription at Olympia, ap. Pausan. V. 22. 2.

^h Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 6. p. 273. Also at Myrina in Æolis.

ⁱ *Orchomenos* p. 327 sqq.

pressed the founding of Cyrene, under the guidance of the temple of Apollo, in the following elegant personification; viz. that Cyrene, a Thessalian nymph, the favourite of Apollo, was carried by her divine lover to Africa, in his chariot drawn by swans^k.

We shall abstain from bringing down the colonization of this religion to a later period, since in after-times the lively principle which at first actuated the worshippers of Apollo was lost; and, instead of considering their actions as the effect of supernatural compulsion, men were rather disposed to regulate their conduct according to the dictates of sense and free-will.

CHAP. IV.

On the Hyperboreans, and their connexion with the worship of Apollo.

1. Wearisome as it is to follow up the chain of remote events which gave rise to the wide diffusion of the worship of Apollo, nevertheless the fable of the Hyperboreans, by referring a number of particular circumstances to one head, is very well qualified to arrest and fix our attention.

We assert, then, the connexion of this tradition with the original worship of Apollo. No argument to the contrary can be drawn from its not being mentioned either in the Iliad or Odyssey; these poems not affording any opportunity for its introduction. Moreover, the Hyperboreans were spoken of in the poem of the Epigoni, and by Hesiod^l.

^k A similar tradition in Sinope, Philostephanus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 953. Diod. IV. 71.

^l Herod. IV. 32. See also Homer. Hymn. VII. 29.

The fable, indeed, may not have come till late within the province of poetical mythology; as a local tradition it must have arisen whilst that primitive connexion between the temples of Tempe, Delphi, and Delos (which was afterwards entirely dissolved) still existed in full vigour.

2. According to a Doric hymn of Bœo, a poetess of Delphi, quoted by Pausanias^m, Pagasus, and the godlike Agyieus, the sons of the Hyperboreans, founded the celebrated oracle at Delphi. Agyieus is merely another name for Apollo himself. Pagasus refers to the Pagasæan temple on the sacred roadⁿ. With them came Olen, the first prophet and bard of Apollo. Two other Hyperborean heroes, Hyperochus and Laodicus, assisted in the slaughter of the Gauls at Delphi^o; and, in accordance with similar traditions, Mnaseas of Patara called all the inhabitants of Delphi descendants of the Hyperboreans^p.

Alcæus^q, in a hymn to Apollo, related how “ Jupiter adorned the new-born god with a golden fillet and lyre, and sent him, in a chariot drawn by swans, to Delphi, in order to introduce justice and law amongst the Greeks. Apollo, however, ordered the swans first to fly to the Hyperboreans. The Delphians, missing the god, instituted a pæan

^m X. 5. 4.

ⁿ See above, ch. 1. §. 3.

^o Thus I write for *Ἀμάδοκος* in Paus. I. 4. 4. and *Λαοδόκος*, ib. X. 23. 3. on account of the *Laodice* of Herodotus. Herodotus VIII. 39. mentions, on a similar occasion, the native heroes Phylacus and Autonous.

^p Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 675. unless Cluver. Germ. Ant. I. p. 16. is right in correcting

Κελτούς for Δελφούς.

^q See the beautiful fragment in prose in Himerius Orat. XIV. 10. with which Cicero de N. D. III. 23. agrees; see Heindorf's note. It is to this ode, perhaps, that the words of Plutarch refer, De Mus. 14. δῆλον ἐκ τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὥς προσήγον μετ' αὐλῶν τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλκαίος ἐν τινὶ τῶν ὕμνων ἱστορεῖ.

“ and song, ranged choruses of young men around
 “ the tripod, and invoked him to come from the
 “ Hyperboreans. The god remained an entire year
 “ with that nation, and at the appointed time, when
 “ the tripods of Delphi were destined to sound, he
 “ ordered the swans to resume their flight. The
 “ return of Apollo takes place exactly in the middle
 “ of summer; nightingales, swallows, and grasshop-
 “ pers sing in honour of the god; and even Cas-
 “ talia and Cephissus^r heave their waves to salute
 “ him.”

If Alcæus consecrated this pæan, as Pindar did his pæan, to the worship of the Delphian god, he would hardly have dared to do more than embellish the local traditions. Supposing, however, that this was not the case, he would still have taken the principal event (*viz.* the arrival of Apollo from the Hyperboreans) rather from a fable universally acknowledged, than the unauthorized fictions of poetry. The whole account, and even the time, are clearly drawn from the mysteries of the worship. According to the tradition of Delphi, Apollo, at the expiration of the great period, visited the beloved nation of the Hyperboreans, and danced and played with them from the vernal equinox to the early setting of the Pleiades; and when the first corn was cut in Greece, he returned to Delphi, as I suppose, with the full ripe ears, the offerings of the Hyperboreans^s. Even the story of the swans was no ad-

^r In this part occurred what Pausanias X. 8, 5. cites from the *προϊμίον ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα* of Alcæus, that the water of Castalia came from the Cephissus.

^s Diod. II. 47. where the

period is alone falsely stated. That the harvest begins at the rising of the Pleiades, is stated by Hesiod. *Op. et D.* 381. Compare the story in Eratosth. *Catast.* 29.

dition of Alcæus; for the painted vases in the south of Italy (the extremity of the Grecian world) represent the same fiction as the Lesbian poet; nay, so exactly do they correspond, that we do not indeed recognise Alcæus, but the traditions upon which the account was founded, as they were perhaps related at Cuma^t, Metapontum, and Crotona. The boy Apollo, the sceptre and goblet in one hand, and full ears of barley in the other (which allude to the offerings of the Hyperboreans, and the "golden summer"), is seated, with a mild aspect, on a car, the axles of which are bound with swans' feathers. Hyperborean women, with torches; and pitchers for sacred libations, conduct him^u. The swans, with which Apollo here comes, occur elsewhere in the legends of Delphi, which refer to the Hyperboreans. The most ancient temple of Delphi, according to the assertion of the priests, was merely a low hut, built with branches of the sacred laurel of Tempe; the second was a tent, which either the Hyperboreans or Pteras of Crete formed of swans' feathers and wax^x. The Peneus flowed by the altar of Tempe;

^t Melanopus, a Cumæan, celebrated in verse the arrival of Opis and Hecaerge in Achaia and Delos from the Hyperboreans, Paus. V. 7. 4.

^u Tischbein I. 8. 9. with the correct explanation of Italsky. As in the vase in Tischbein IV. 8. the tripod is represented as standing beside the figure, which is a certain proof that Apollo is in question. Nevertheless, some very distinguished antiquarians are still of opinion that the figure is *Triptolemus*, and not Apollo;

indeed the *Istituto di corrispondenza Archeologica* at Rome has lately published a painted vase (I. Distrib. pl. 4.), in which *Τριπτολεμος* is written by this figure in the same position and with the same accompaniments; whence it seems to me probable that, in antiquity, the ideas attached to this composition were not fixed. A vase in Millin I. 46. represents Apollo Daphnephorus attended by a Hyperborean in the Arimaspiæ costume.

^x Paus. X. 5. 5.

the notes of the swans on the banks of this river are mentioned in a short hymn attributed to Homer^y. And allowing that these birds were here particularly numerous, it is evident that their brilliant colour and majestic motion peculiarly adapted them for symbols of Apollo.

3. We find the same tradition, with merely a few local alterations, at Delos^z. Latona, in the first place, is said to have arrived in that island from the country of the Hyperboreans as a she-wolf, having completed the whole journey, pursued by Juno, in twelve days and nights^a. Afterwards the young virgins, Arge and Opis, came with Apollo and Diana; a lofty tomb was erected to their memory at Delos, upon which sacrifices were offered; an ancient hymn, which was attributed to the ancient minstrel Olen, celebrated their appearance^b. Afterwards the Hyperboreans sent two other virgins, Hyperoche and Laodice, the same names as occur above, and with them five men, who are called *perpherees*^c (from their bringing the sacred gifts enveloped in wheaten straw): this exactly corresponds with "the golden summer" of the Delphians. The

^y XXI. 3.

^z Enomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 133. Steph. quotes from a supposed oracle of a prophetess named Asteria, that the inhabitants and priests of Delos came from the Hyperboreans.

^a Aristot. Hist. An. VI. 35. Antig. Caryst. 61. p. 111. ed. Beckmann. Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 124.

^b Herod. IV. 35. Opis and Hecaërgus, according to Pseu-

do-Plato Axioch. pag. 371 A. Servius ad Æn. XI. 858. The circumstance of the *θήκη* of these virgins being turned to the east shews that it was of the Cretan time, since the Dorians laid their dead to the east, the Ionians to the west. See book IV. ch. 1. §. 2.

^c *περφέρες*, also *ἀμαλλοφόροι* and *ἐλοφόροι*. See Porphy. de Abstin. II. 19. Rhoer ad l. and Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 283.

perpherees received great honours at Delos; and the Delian maidens before marriage laid on the tomb of the two Hyperborean virgins a spindle, the young men a branch, both entwined with locks of hair. The offering however of the Hyperborean women was, it was said, really intended for Ilithyia, the protectress of women in labour, in order to fulfil a vow made to that goddess for the birth of Apollo and Diana. Now these missions, according to Delian traditions, always continued to be carried on. The Hyperboreans were supposed to pass them on to their neighbours the Scythians; from them they were transmitted through a chain of nations on the coast of the Adriatic, by Dodona^d, through Thessaly, Eubœa, and the island of Tenos, and came, accompanied with flutes and pipes^e, to Delos^f. This story cannot have been a mere poetical fiction; it doubtless originated in the active connexion kept up by means of sacred missions with the ancient settlements of the worship of Apollo in the north of Thessaly^g. In Delos also, as at Delphi, there was a story of the god resting for some time amongst the Hyperboreans; though the scene was generally changed to Lycia^h. A painted vase exhi-

^d Dodona was Hyperborean, according to Etymol. M. in Δωδωναῖος.

^e Plutarch de Musica 14.

^f According to Herodotus and Callim. ad Del. 281. cf. Plin. H. N. IV. 26. Mela III. 5. Salmasius considers the gifts as *θυμάτων ἀπαρχαί*, *prociæ hostiarum*, with Mela; but they were doubtless *primitiæ frugum*, Exerc. Plin. p. 147.

^g No weight can be laid on the particular road, as Pausanias I. 31. 2. mentions one which touches Attica, where also there were rites or sanctuaries, τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων, Chrysost. Epist. ad Tit. Rom. 3, vol. XI. p. 744 E. ed. Montfaucon. See below, §. 6.

^h Heyne Excurs. ad Æn. IV. 2. He also comes to Delos in the spring.

bits the god with a lyre in his hand, alighting near the palm-tree of Delos; a young woman, representing a whole chorus, receives him, playing upon a stringed instrumentⁱ.

As the temple at Olympia was connected with Delphi, we find also here some traditions respecting the country of the Hyperboreans, as the native land of the wild olive-tree which flourished in the grove of Jupiter.

4. Thus much concerning the places where the fable of the Hyperboreans really existed; we must next notice the situation generally assigned to that sacred nation. In this the name is our chief guide. In the first place it indicates a *northern* nation; which idea is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the worship of Apollo came from the most northern part of Greece, from the district of Tempe^k; and although the actual distance was not great, yet the imagination might have been moved by this circumstance to conceive Apollo as coming from the most remote regions of the north. But, in the second place, the Hyperboreans are said to dwell *beyond* Boreas; so that this happy nation never felt the cold north wind: in the same manner that Homer represents the summit of Olympus as rising above the storms, nor ever covered with snow, but surrounded by an atmosphere of cloudless and undisturbed serenity.

5. This is nearly the whole of our information on the origin of this fabulous people. Poets, how-

ⁱ Tischbein II. 12. Compare the coins of Chalcedon ap. Valliant. et Theupoli. A commentary is furnished by the be-

ginning of Callimachus' hymn to Apollo.

^k Above, ch. 1. §. 2.

ever, and geographers, dissatisfied with such accounts, attempted to assign to it a fixed habitation among the catalogue of nations: and for this purpose connected multifarious and foreign accounts of the northern regions of the world with the religious fable of the Hyperboreans, and moulded the whole into an imaginary picture of a supposed real people.

6. Among these stories the most remarkable is that which connects the Hyperboreans with the Scythians. Herodotus found them mentioned in the Arimaspea of Aristeas the Proconnesian, in which poem his ideas of the worship of Apollo were interspersed with obscure accounts of the northern regions^l. He came, led by the spirit of Apollo, through Scythia to the Issedones^m, the one-eyed Arimaspians, the Griffins that kept watch over the gold, and thus at last reached the Hyperboreans who inhabited the coasts of the sea on the further side of the ocean. Now Aristeas must have collected the tradition concerning these nations and monsters from the same sources as those made use of by Herodotus, viz. from the Greeks dwelling on the Pontus and Borysthenes, and through these from the Scythians.

In the list of the fabulous nations of the north, the ancient Damastes exactly agrees with the Arimaspea of Aristeasⁿ. Beyond the Scythians he places the Issedones, then the Arimaspians, then the

^l Herod. IV. 13. The statement of Herodotus is exactly confirmed by a fragment of Aristeas in Tzet. Chiliad. VII. 144. which may be genuine. In v. 688. for καὶ σφᾶς ἀνθρώπους should be written καὶ φᾶς' ἀνθρώπους (φασί).

^m Φοιβόλαμπος. The Isse-

dones were first mentioned by Alcman, who called them Ἀσσείδονες, Steph. Byz. in Ἰσσηίδονες. He also mentioned the Rhipæans, Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 1312.

ⁿ Ap. Steph. Byz. in Ὑπερβόρειοι.

Rhipæan mountains, from which the north wind blows, and on the other side of these, on the sea-coast, the Hyperboreans^o. Without doubt this geographer placed the Issedones in the districts to the north of the Euxine sea, and rather to the east of Greece^p. And indeed neither Issedones, Arimaspians, nor Griffins could be placed in any other region than that which lies to the north of the Euxine sea, as all this tract had become known to the Greeks by means of the Scythians, who dwelt in these parts; it was only in this district that the Greeks heard of Arimaspians. The case is entirely different with respect to the Hyperboreans and Rhipæans. Of the former the Scythians, as Herodotus tells us, knew nothing; and the latter are a mere poetical fiction of Greece, since they derived their names from hurricanes (*ῥίπται*), issuing from a cavern, which they warded off from the Hyperboreans, and sent to more southern nations. For this reason the Hyperboreans could also be placed in another part, remote from Scythia; still however they kept their original position in the *north*. Thus Pindar^q, and also Æschylus in the Prometheus Unbound^r, place the Hyperboreans at the source of the Ister. Now, if, with Herodotus, the Ister is conceived to be a river which runs through all Europe from its *western* extremity, the Hyperboreans, in spite of their name, must be placed in the regions of the *west*^s. But

^o The two last points are likewise mentioned by Hellenicus ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 305. Later authorities on this point I pass over.

^p Herod. IV. 25.

^q Olymp. III. 14. cf. Olymp.

VIII. 47. Pyth. X. 31. Isthm. V. 22.

^r Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 284.

^s This is considered by Voss as the original notion, who supposes the whole fable of

there was in ancient times also an idea that the Ister was a vast stream descending from the extreme *north*[†]; and this notion was evidently entertained by the two poets just mentioned; thus Æschylus, in the *Prometheus Unbound*, represented Hercules as penetrating to the place where Boreas rushes from the mountains; and with this the Rhipæan mountains, the Hyperboreans, and the Ister were doubtless mentioned. Sophocles also placed the "*ancient garden of Phæbus*," i. e. the country of the Hyperboreans, at the extremity of the earth, and near the dwelling of Boreas^u. This natural conception of the Hyperboreans, and agreeing so well with the origin of the legend, is universal among the early poets; it is only in the works of later writers that we find certain traces of a translation of the Hyperboreans to Italy and other western countries, and of a confusion of the Rhipæans with the Alps and Pyrenees.

7. We see then that notwithstanding the arbitrary license assumed by poets, the religious ideas respecting the Hyperboreans were every where preserved without the slightest variation. They were represented as a pious nation, abstaining from the flesh of animals, and living in perpetual serenity, in the service of their god, for a thousand years^x.

the happy Hyperboreans to be an invention of Spanish sailors. *Ad Virg. Georg. II. pag. 381. Weltkunde, Jena Journal Quart. II. p. 20, 29. sqq.:* on the Griffins *ib. Quart. IV.* His opinions have been implicitly followed by Uckert *Geographie* vol. II. p. 237.

[†] See particularly Apollon.

Rh. IV. 284. who, according to the Scholia, follows Æschylus.

^u Boreas, according to Sophocles ap. Strab. VII. p. 204. carried Orithyia

*Ἦτις ἐν πόντῳ πάντ' ἐπ' ἱερὰτα χυθείς,
Νεκτὺς τε πηγῆς εὐραίου τ' ἀναπτυχαί,
Φοίβου παλαιὸν αἶψον.*

^x Hellanicus ubi sup. Simo-

"The muse," says Pindar, "is not estranged from their manners. The choruses of virgins and sweet melody of the lyre or pipe resound on every side; and, twining their hair with the glittering laurel, they feast joyfully. Neither dis-ease nor old age is the lot of this sacred race; while they live apart from toil and battles, undisturbed by the revengeful Nemesis¹."

Respecting their festivals, which were supposed to take place in the open air², it was related by Hecataeus the younger, of Abdera, that these were celebrated by three gigantic Boreadæ, whose songs and dances were accompanied by innumerable flocks of swans³. But the strangest account is that of Pindar, that whole hecatombs of asses were sacrificed at these festivals⁴: this however is borrowed from the real worship, from one of the sacred rites of Delphi, where asses were sacrificed on the rocks⁵. Lastly, the account given of the death of the Hyperboreans strongly reminds us of the rites of the Thargelia,

nides and Pindar ap. Strab. XV. p. 1038 B. Æschyl. Cho-
ëph. 371.

¹ Pyth. X. 56. Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεί τρώποις ἐπὶ σφετέροισι· παντῇ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων λυρᾶν τε βοᾶν καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται· δάφνα τε χρυσέα κόμας ἀναδήσαντες εἰλαπινάζουσιν εὐφρόνως. νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται ἱερῇ γενεῇ· πόνων δὲ καὶ μαχῶν ἄτερ οἰκέοσι φνυγόντες ὑπέρδικον Νέμε-
σιν.

² Compare the αἶθρια στέφη, Suidas in στέφος—τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερ-
βορέων κομιζόμενα, ὡς αἰεὶ ἐν ὑπαί-
θρῳ τιθέμενα. Cratinus ap. He-
sych. in v. Bekker. Anecd. p.

355. 30. Classical Journal vol.
VI. p. 369.

³ Ap. Ælian. N. A. XI. 1.
compare Creuzer Vet. Histo-
ric. fragm. p. 85. This Heca-
tæus still believed in the real
existence of the Hyperboreans,
Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 675.
Steph. Byz. in Καραμβύκαι.

⁴ Comp. Callim. fragm. 187.
Bœus and Simmias ἐν Ἀπόλλωνι
ap. Anton. Liber. c. 20. Tzet-
zes Chil. VII. 144. v. 677.
(compare Brunck Anal. vol.
II. p. 525). Gesner Comment.
Soc. Gotting. vol. II. p. 33.

⁵ Boeckh. Corp. Inscript.
N^o. 1688. lin. 14.

and the leap at Leucate; we are told that, tired of a long existence, they leapt, crowned with garlands, from a rock into the sea^d.

CHAP. V.

On the diversity of Apollo Nomius, and Apollo the father of Æsculapius, from the Doric Apollo. That Apollo was not originally an elementary deity.

1. Having now treated of the extension and propagation of the worship of Apollo, and some of the most remarkable legends and fables connected with it, our attention is next turned to the nature and character of the religion itself.

In the first place, then, we shall remind the reader of a position sufficiently established by the foregoing inquiries; viz. that the Apollo of Tempe, Delphi, Delos, Crete, Lycia, Troy, Athens, and the Peloponnese, is the same god, and not, as was very frequently the case in the religions of Greece, a combination of several deities under one name. This conclusion we supported as well by historical accounts respecting the foundation of his numerous temples, as by memorials of another kind; viz. the recurrence of the same names, rites, and symbols; such, for example, as the titles of Lycius and Lycia, Delphinus and Pythius; the oracles and sibyls; the purifications and expiations; the custom of leaping from rocks; decimations; the golden summer,

^d Mela and Plin. ubi sup. cf. Hellanic. ubi sup. It is remarkable that this custom of leaping from high rocks occurs, in precisely the same manner as among the Hyperboreans, in Scandinavian legends. See Grimm *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* p. 486.

and bloodless oblations; the laurel-berries; the legend of the Hyperboreans, and the cycle of eight years. Hence the theologians mentioned by Cicero^c were wrong in endeavouring without any authority to make a distinction between the Athenian, Cretan, and Hyperborean Apollo.

2. It appears however that they were warranted by facts in distinguishing from the rest the Apollo Nomius of Arcadia, although in their etymology of the name^f, which made him a divine *lawgiver*, they by no means followed the most authentic sources of religious history. The correct account of the fact^g is without doubt that given by Pindar, who calls Aristæus, conjointly with Jupiter and Apollo, a protector of flocks, and guardian of huntsmen. In fact, Aristæus and his son Actæon were ancient deities of the early Pelasgic inhabitants of Greece^h. That god also protected agriculture and pasturing, warded off the scorching heat of summer, charmed by incantations the mild Etesian winds, and loved hunting and the care of bees. His chief haunts were the plains under mount Pelion and Iolcus—from which place his worship was introduced into Cyrene—the fertile valley of Thebes, Parrhasia in Arcadiaⁱ, and the Parrhasian island of Ceos^k; at Cyrene Apollo and Cyrene were called his parents^l.

^c De Nat. Deor. III. 23.

^f So also Etymol. M. in νόμοι κίθαρ. p. 607. Referred to *music* (from νόμος, a strain) by Schol. Pind. Nem. V. 42. Procl. Chrestom. p. 282. 13. in Gaisford's Hephæstion.

^g Pyth. IX. 64. Boeckh Explic. p. 324.

^h Orchomenos p. 348.

ⁱ The Parrhasian Apollo on mount Lycæum (Paus. VIII. 38. 2.) was originally the Apollo Nomius.

^k Cicero de Div. I. 57. 130. from Heraclides Ponticus.

^l Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 500. partly from Bacchylides, Pherecydes fragm. 42. ed. Sturz.

The genealogy attributed to Aristæus varied considerably in different places; through the prevalence of Greek worship in Arcadia he was considered identical with Apollo. It was remembered that the Delphian god had also tended the herds of Admetus; and perhaps the national worship of Aristæus at Pheræ had partly contributed to the formation of this fable^m. Deities, whose worship at an early period fell into disuse, were adapted and modified in various ways to suit the ruling dynasties: and even if a complete and consistent system of mythology was eradicated and destroyed as a whole, yet particular portions of it would combine themselves with the prevailing religion, and thus obtain a new existence. Thus also the ancient elementary deity, which had received the name of Apollo Nomius, was called the son of the ancient Silenusⁿ, because his attributes seemed to resemble those of Bacchus^o. I shall take occasion hereafter to explain the connexion between the Carnean Apollo and this deity^p.

3. It should also be observed that Apollo and Æsculapius were connected in fable and mythology; and this at an early period, for Hesiod called Æsculapius the son of Apollo^q; but, as it appears, only

^m Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 514. cf. Schol. Il. *a*. 766.

ⁿ Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 8. cf. Porphy. Vit. Pythag. §. 16. Cyrill. adv. Julian. pag. 542.

^o The statement that Pythagoras placed at Delphi on a grave an inscription of these words, "Apollo the son of Silenus," is a confused and

fabulous story of late times, Porphy. *ubi sup.* The wild olive was sacred to Apollo Nomius, according to Theocritus XXV. 20; and he was considered the author of a kind of epilepsy, Hippocrat. de Morbo Sacro p. 303.

^p Below, ch. 8. §. 15.

^q Hesiod. fragm. 21. ed. Gaisford.

in mythology, and not in any religious worship. Thus neither at Tricca, Lebadea, Epidaurus, nor Cos, were Apollo Pæan and Æsculapius intimately connected; nor do we ever find that they had altars, festivals, or sacrifices in common, except perhaps in a temple at the modern town of Megalopolis^r. This practical difference may be accounted for by the national origin of the two worships. For Phlegyas, the ancestor of Æsculapius, and the sons of Æsculapius mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue, belonged to races which were hostile both to the Dorians and the temple of Delphi; and the dispersion of the schools of the Asclepiadæ through Greece had nothing in common with the foundation of the temples of Apollo.

4. Having made these distinctions, we now return to the principal position established by the preceding inquiries; viz. that it was the Dorians among whom the religion of Apollo was the most ancient, important, and truly national worship.

The Dorians being an active and heroic people, it is natural that their peculiar religious feelings should have had a like tendency. Hence, as they displayed a perpetual aversion to the innocent employments of agriculture, and a love for active and military exertion, their national god was exactly the reverse of the elementary deities worshipped by the agricultural races.

But this inference seems to be invalidated by an opinion entertained by many at least of the later Greeks, and by most modern writers on mythology, that Apollo was an elementary deity, the deified personification of the sun. On the whole of this difficult

^r Paus. VIII. 30.

and doubtful subject it is not my intention now to enter; but I shall be satisfied with laying before the reader the principal arguments on both sides, and afterwards stating my own views on the subject.

5. In the first place, then, the accounts above given of Apollo returning from the Hyperboreans with the ripe ears of corn, and the tribute of the golden ears, certainly suggest the idea of a guardian of agriculture*. On the coins of Metapontum we frequently see these ears of corn, with the grasshopper, or mouse, both in the act of creeping, upon the reverse. The same explanation is applicable to both symbols. The mouse and grasshopper are animals hurtful to the corn, which the god was supplicated to protect from their attacks. In like manner the Cretan Apollo Σμίνθειος was doubtless a destroyer of field mice (σμήνθοι¹); and his statue was represented with one foot upon a mouse^u. Again, in Rhodes he was called ἐρπιβίος, "the averter of mildew^x;" which attribute was peculiarly suitable to him, as being one of the Triopian deities, one of whom was Ceres, the destroyer of

* Apollo is represented with a crown of ears on his head, in a gem in Lippert's *Dactyliothek* I. p. 62. N^o. 145. Sometimes also on coins there is only a grain of corn with symbols of Apollo, e. g., on those of Hephestia and Abdera.

¹ Σμήνθοι ἀρουραῖοι, *Æschylus* ap. *Ælian*. Hist. An. XII. 15.

^u Strabo XIII. p. 604. Schol. II. d. 89. *Ælian* ubi sup. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 1302. Apollo bears a mouse in his hand on a coin of Hadrian, belonging to Alexandria Troas, Mionnet tom.

II. p. 644. A painted vase in Tischbein II. 17. probably refers to the sacred mice of Smintheum; concerning which see *Heraclid. Pont. ap. Strab. ubi sup.* According to Pollux IX. 6. 84. the Argives had a mouse on their coins (as an emblem of Apollo); *Eckhel* has none of this kind; Mr. Payne Knight's collection contains a very small ancient gold coin with this type. See Knight on the Symbolical Language of Mythology, §. 128. note.

^x Strabo XIII. p. 613.

Erysichthon. These are probably the chief reasons which can be adduced in favour of the position that Apollo was an elementary deity; reasons which are founded on the symbols and ceremonies of the real worship, and on the opinions of later philosophers. But, first, the argument that Apollo was an elementary god, because he was a patron and protector of agriculture, is inconclusive; for he performs this office in his character of guardian and averter of misfortune generally. The case indeed would be otherwise, had Apollo been supposed either to call forth the seed from the earth or bring it to maturity; no trace however of these functions being attributed to him ever occurs. It is therefore unnecessary in this account to identify him with the sun. And it may be remarked likewise, that the chief festivals of Apollo were not connected with any remarkable epochs of the sun's course, but rather with the rising of the stars, particularly of the pleiads, and with the phases of the moon. Thus the new moon was sacred to Apollo, who hence received the name of *Νεομήνιος*^y; and so likewise the first quarter, or the seventh day; and, finally, the full moon (*διχομηνία*), particularly in the island of Zacynthus^z. From these circumstances, however, no one will infer that Apollo was a god of the moon.

We do not, however, deny that Apollo and the god of the sun admitted in particular points of a comparison and parallel with each other; the source of external light might be a symbol of the "bright" and "pure" god; and indeed the Platonists favoured

^y Philochorus ap. Schol. XXI. 258.
Vulg. ad Od. XX. 155. cf. ad ^z Plutarch Dion. 23.

this supposition^a, which is not, however, supported by any historical authority. The worship of the sun was practised in the Acropolis of Corinth, at Rhodes, Athens, and in earlier times also at Calauria and Tænarum; but in none of these places was it connected with the rites of Apollo^b.

6. This naturally leads us to inquire how any ideal connexion between Apollo and the sun, if it really existed, should have been entirely overlooked for so many centuries; how was it that these deities were not identified till the Grecian mythology had ceased to have any influence upon the ideas and feelings of mankind? Even when the Egyptian interpreters identified Horus with Apollo, they were in all probability guided only by the resemblance between the destroyer of the Python and the vanquisher of Baby (Typhon in Greek^c). The Persian magi, however, in discovering a connexion between the worship of Apollo and their religion (on which account Xerxes preserved from injury the island where Apollo and Diana were born^d), were influenced by a well-grounded comparison, which we shall find occasion to confirm in a subsequent chapter^e; yet, in all probability, it was not the sun, but Ormuzd, whom they supposed to be Apollo. It was not until the philosophers of the Ionic school identified the deities of the popular creed partly with material powers

^a Plutarch de Defect. Orac. 7, 12. de Pyth. Orac. 12. Symp. Quest. III. 10.

^b *Æginetica* p. 27. The Apollo Ἡλείος at Argos (Paus. VIII. 46. 2.) is hardly a Ἡλίος.

^c The Træzenian Ὀρος (Paus. II. 30. 6.) was probably a god of the seasons, and afterwards

the sun; but ὥρα and the Ægyptian Horus cannot surely have any etymological connexion.

^d See below, ch. 6. §. 10.

^e Herod. VI. 97. Pseudo-Plat. Axioch. p. 371 A. comp. Æsch. Pers. 206.

and objects, and partly with the attributes of the universal intellect ($\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$), that the doctrine was advanced of Apollo being the sun. From them Euripides, who called Jupiter the air, and Vesta the earth, was naturally among the first to receive it. In the tragedy of Phaethon, the mother of the unfortunate youth complained against his father Helios as follows; "*Rightly does he who knows the secret names of the gods call thee Apollo*" (the destroyer^f); referring, without doubt, not to any doctrine connected with, or revealed in the mysteries, but to a philosophical interpretation. This opinion, thus adopted by Euripides, became still more general at Alexandria; and Callimachus blames those "who separate Apollo from the sun, and Diana from the moon^g." Soon afterwards it was said to have originated in very early times; and the author of the astronomical treatise attributed to Eratosthenes^h relates, that Orpheus the Thracian had from the top of a mountain, at break of day, prayed to the sun, whom he also called Apollo, as the greatest of all the deitiesⁱ. Nevertheless, this statement does not authorize us to infer, that in the ancient Orphic Hymns, previous to Herodotus, Apollo and the sun were identified. For this system of religious speculation was chiefly concerned about Bacchus; and

^f Eurip. Phaeth. fr. 2. Mat-thiæ. 'Απόλλω δ' ἐν βροτοῖς σ' ὀρθῶς καλεῖ "Οσσις τὰ σιγῶντ' ὀνόματ' οἷδε δαιμόνων.

^g Fragm. 48. The same doctrine was followed by Apollodorus (Macrob. Sat. I. 17.) and Philochorus, according to whom there was a Helios-Apollo among the Tritopato-

res, ap. Strab. XIV. p. 655.

^h C. 24. It is only the following narration which is taken from the Bassarides of Æschylus; comp. Timotheus περὶ κοσμοποιίας ap. Euseb. Scalig. p. 4.

ⁱ This fact refers to the actual worship of the sun in Thrace, Sophocles in Tereo ap. Schol. Il. XV. 705.

in all the fragments of the Orphic Hymns of any antiquity Apollo is hardly ever noticed^k.

7. It seems, therefore, that whatever might have been the poetical attributes of Apollo in late times, in his religious character he was in no respect an elementary deity, the essence of whose godhead is a personification of the creative powers of nature. None of the characteristic marks of such a religion are discoverable in his worship. So far from being a god of generation^l and production, he remains unmarried and youthful; for it is easy to see that his poetical amour with the nymph Daphne, and his sons, mentioned in poetry and prophecy, have no connexion with his worship. In his sacred rites and symbols there is no trace of the adoration of the generative powers, like those occurring in the ancient Arcadian worship of Mercury, the Argive fables of Juno, or the Attic legends of Vulcan and Minerva. The worship of Apollo is even still more widely removed from the boisterous and frantic orgies so conspicuous in the Thracian rites of Bacchus. And although this latter worship flourished by the side of mount Helicon and Parnassus, near the Pythian temple, and both kinds of religious worship were practised in the immediate neighbourhood

^k The passages in which he is considered as the god of the sun, a fragment in J. Diaconus, and a hymn, are of the latest date. The Sibylline oracle in Zosimus §. 6. where Apollo is called Helius, is of the Alexandrine age; likewise the strange hymn in Brunck's *Analecta* vol. II. p. 518. is of very late date. Moreover, the coins, in which Apollo is

represented with rays round his head, are, as far as I can discover, all of the age of the emperors.

^l The Apollo γενεῖται of Delos was probably so called with a fixed though obscure reference, like the Apollo πατῆρ, which the Orphic philosophers in Macrobius Sat. I. 17. also explained to be progenitor in general. See above, ch. 2. §. 15.

of each other^m, yet the religious feelings and rites which distinguished the service of the two gods always remained dissimilar.

In the subsequent discussion we shall accordingly take for granted the original diversity of Apollo and the sun; and though the rites of the worship of Apollo, as preserved and recorded in later times, are doubtless of greater antiquity than any written documents which either we or the Greeks possessed, it will be convenient first to state the clearer and more intelligible accounts of Homer on the subject of Apollo, his divine character and worship.

CHAP. VI.

On the double character of Apollo as a punishing and avenging, and also as a healing and protecting deity. On the meaning and etymology of his different titles of Apollo, Phæbus, Pæan, Agyieus, and Lyceus.

1. Homer, as we have already seen, had, both from hearsay and personal observation, acquired a very accurate knowledge of the Cretan worship of Apollo in the Smintheum, in the citadel of Troy, in Lycia near mounts Ida and Cragus, as well as of Pytho and the Delian palm-tree. His picture of Apollo is, however, considerably changed by the circumstance of the god acting as a friend to the Trojans and an enemy to the Greeks, although both equally honour him with sacrifices and pæans. Yet he generally appears to the Greeks in a darker and more unfavourable view. "*Dread the son of Jupiter,*" says

^m *Orchomenos* p. 383. compare *Schwarz* *Miscell. Polit.* hum. p. 89. *Creuzer Symbolik* vol. III, p. 166.

the priest of Chryse to the Greeks, "*he walks dark as night; the sure and deadly arrows rattle on his shoulders.*" His punishments are sudden sickness, rapid pestilence, and death, the cause and occasion of which is generally unseen; yet sometimes he grants death as a blessingⁿ. His arrows are said to wound from afar, because they are unforeseen and unexpected. He is called the far-darting god^o; his divine vengeance never misses its aim. He appears in the terror of his might when from the heights of the citadel he stimulates the Trojans with a loud war-cry to the combat^p; and leads them on, a cloud around his shoulders, and the Ægis in his hand, into the thick of the battle^q, like Mars himself^r, though far from shewing the boisterous confidence of that deity. Achilles, to whom he is indeed particularly hostile, calls him the most pernicious of all the gods. Even when he appears amongst the gods, "*all tremble before him in the palace of Jupiter, and rise from their seats; while Latona alone rejoices that she has produced so strong a son and so powerful an archer*."

It is remarkable how seriously Homer (who otherwise speaks of the gods, and particularly of those friendly to Troy, with some levity of expression^t)

ⁿ Od. XV. 402. cf. III. 280. XI. 171. II. XXIV. 759. Diana kills women for him, as in Pindar Pyth. V. 10. On Diana and Apollo, as gods of death, see Nast's Opusc. Lat. P. 11. n. 12. p. 293 sqq.

^o Ἐκατος, ἐκάεργος, ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβελέτης, ἀφίττωρ.

^p II. IV. 508. VII. 21.

^q II. XV. 308. XVI. 703.

^r See Pind. Pyth. IV. 86.

^s Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Del. 13.

^t Homer represents Venus as the protector of Æneas and antagonist of Diomedes, and Mars in battle for the Trojans, in a disadvantageous light; and describes, with evident irony, the weakness of the goddess, and the brutal confidence of

punishing deity, in which light he is introduced by Homer. Archilochus calls upon Apollo to "*punish and destroy the guilty as he is wont to destroy them* ^a." Hipponax, the successor of Archilochus in abusive satiric poetry, prays that "Diana and Apollo may destroy thee ^b;" and Æschylus, with manifest allusion to the name, says, Ἀπόλλων ἀπάλεσσας ^c; which, however, can hardly entitle us to infer that the name of Apollo was really derived from ἀπολεῖν ^d; for we should lose sight of one main point, viz. the object against which his destructive powers were directed, or be reduced to consider him an universal destroyer, a character which is ill adapted to mark the nature of a divine being of any kind whatsoever. Apollo slays, indeed, but only to inflict deserved punishment. At Megara was exhibited the tomb of Coræbus, who had slain the Fury sent by Apollo against that town, to punish the crimes of the fathers by destroying their children ^e. After this action, Coræbus was ordered to carry in his arms a tripod from Pytho, and erect on the spot where he should fall down from exhaustion, a town (Tripodiscus) and a temple to the god. This explains why many sacred fines (ἱεραὶ ζημίαι) were at Corinth, Patara, and Amphipolis ^f, paid into the

^a Ὡναξ Ἀπολλων, καὶ σὺ μὲν τοὺς αἰτίους Πήμαινε, καὶ σφᾶς ἄλλυ ὥσπερ ὀλλύεις. Fragm. 79. ed. Gaisford.

^b Ἀπὸ σ' ὀλέσειεν Ἀρτεμις σέ τε χάπολλων, Fragm. 16. ed. Welcker.

^c Æschyl. Agam. 1091. Plato Cratyl. p. 405. and Eurip. Phæth. (above, p. 312. note ^f.) allude to the same derivation.

^d Hermann Ueber das Wesen

der Mythologie, p. 107.

^e Pausan. I. 43. 7. Anthol. Palat. VII. 154. On a coin of Prusia Apollo is represented with a scourge in his hand, Mionnet Descript. tom. II. p. 482.

^f Herod. III. 52. Walpole's Travels, p. 541. In an Asiatic inscription of the cod. Sherard. these fines are called ἱεραὶ δραχμαί.

temple of Apollo, who thus appears, in some measure, as enforcing his own judgments. Æschylus refers to his office of avenging murder, where he speaks of Apollo, Pan, and Jupiter, as the gods who send the Furies^g; Jupiter as ruler of the world, Pan as the dæmon that disorders the intellect, Apollo as the god of punishment. Hence it was not without reason that the Romans believed Apollo to be represented in a statue of the god Vejovis, a terrible god, equipped with arrows^h. At least there is some connexion between him and Apollo *καταιβάσιος*, "who darts down in the lightning;" to whom the Thesalians vowed every year a hecatomb of menⁱ. At Argos it was the custom immediately after death for the relations to sacrifice to Apollo as a god of death; the priest of Apollo (the *amphipolus*) offered up the victim, and for consuming the fragments of the sacrifice a new fire was always kindled. On the thirtieth day afterwards a sacrifice was offered to Mercury as the conductor of souls^k.

3. Although we have thus for some time turned the reader's attention to the gloomy side of Apollo's character, we wish to caution him against supposing that he was considered in the light of a malevolent and destroying power. Thus Pindar declares that of all the gods "he is the most friendly to men^l." His titles, also, as connected with different temples, serve to remove that impression. Thus he was called the Healer at Elis^m, the Assister at Phiga-

^g Agamem. 55.

^h Gellius N. A. V. 12.

ⁱ Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 1446.

^k Plut. Quæst. Græc. 24.

^l Plut. de Et 21. p. 246. de Defect. Orac. 7. p. 309. non

posse suav. vivi. sec. Epicur. 23. p. 124. Perhaps, likewise, the Apollo Philesius should be referred to this head.

^m Ἀκῆσιος. Paus. VI. 24. 5. ἀκίστωρ, Eurip. Androm. 900.

leiaⁿ, the Defender, the Averter of Evil^o, at Athens, and in many oracles^p. Although some of these names were perhaps not introduced until the Peloponnesian war, and the restriction of his avenging power to physical evil is first perceptible in Pindar and the tragedians^q, yet the idea of the healing and protecting power of Apollo must have been of remote antiquity. Under all these names Apollo does not so much appear bestowing positive good as assuaging and warding off evil; and in this character he was invoked (according to an oracle) to send health and good fortune^r.

4. The preceding arguments may perhaps receive additional confirmation from a description of the god PÆAN (Παιών) in Homer. The name clearly betokens a healing deity, and though the poet indeed speaks of him as a separate individual, and the physician of Olympus^s, yet this division appears

ⁿ Ἐπικούριος, Paus. VIII. 32—41. 5.

^o Ἀλεξίκακος, *ibid.* I. 3. 3. Aristoph. Pac. 420. Compare Visconti Museo Pio-Clement. I. p. 27.

^p Ἀποτροπαῖος, Orac. ap. Demosth. in Mid. p. 331. 27. Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 547. No. 38. Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. I. p. 25. called προστάτης, in the colonies on the Pontus, above, ch. 2. §. 6. comp. Soph. Trach. 208. with Hermann's note. He is invoked in his character of Προστατήριος to avert nightly terrors, in Soph. Elec. 638; in Aj. 187 he keeps off madness; in Eurip. Herc. Fur. 821, the fury. Πύθιοι καὶ σωτήριοι θεοί, Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N°. 1693.

^q Pind. Pyth. V. 63. cf. IV. 270. Aristoph. Plut. 8. Soph. Œd. T. 149. Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 72. See, however, Il. XVI. 527. He was called Λοῖμιος at Lindus, Macrob. Sat. I. 17. Medicus at Rome about 416 A. U. C. Ἰατρὸς, Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1206.

^r Demosth. in Mid. *ubi sup.*

^s Il. V. 401, 899. with Schol. Venet. cf. Od. IV. 232. Aristarchus considered Apollo and Pæon in Homer as identical, yet Hesiod distinguishes them in the fragment in Eustath. ad Od. p. 1493. Schol. Min. ad l. (cf. Hemsterhuis in Gaisford's Poetæ Min. p. 551), and perhaps also in Brunck's Analecta, vol. I. p. 67.

to have been merely poetical, without any reference to actual worship; since from very early times the pæan had, in the Pythian temple^t, been appointed to be sung in honour of Apollo^u. The song, like other hymns, derived its name from that of the god to whom it was sung. The god was first called pæan, then the hymn, and lastly the singers themselves^x. Now we know that the pæan was originally sung at the cessation of a plague, and after a victory; and generally, when any evil was averted, it was performed as a purification from the pollution^y. The chant was loud and joyous, as celebrating the victory of the preserving and healing deity^z. Besides the pæans of victory^a, however, there were others which were sung at the beginning of battle^b; and there was a tradition that the chorus of Delphian virgins had chanted "*Io Pæan*" at the

^t Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll. Pyth. Eurip. Ion 128, 140. Pindar's Pæan in the Fragments.

^u Proclus apud Phot. *ιδίως απέκειτο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμει*.

^x Hom. Hymn. 272, 320.

^y Proclus *ubi sup.* Hesych. In Soph. Œd. T. 152. a song of a chorus resembling a pæan has these words; Φοῖβος—σωτήρ θ' ἱκοίτο καὶ νόσου πανστήριος. cf. Schol. ad v. 174. et Suid. in *ἡρίων*.

^z Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 21. Nænie and pæans opposed to one another. Eurip. Iph. T. 183. The god of death was honoured with no pæan. Æsch. Niob. Frag. 5. Pæans to Hades, the Furies, &c. are an oxymoron; see Monk ad Eurip. Alc. 431.

^a Comp. the pæans of the Spartans at the Gymnopædia for the battle of Thermopylæ. Etymolog. Mag. pag. 243, 4. Apollo and Diana, gods of victory. Soph. Trach. 207.

^b See Æschyl. Theb. 250. The *ὠυλνγμὸς* (*ululatus*) which is here mentioned was in part the *ἐλελεῦ*, which according to Plutarch Thes. 22. occurred in singing the pæan and at the libation (in this passage *σπίνδοντες* is evidently the right meaning). Hence Apollo is called *ἐλελεὺς* in Macrob. Sat. I. 17. From this also comes the *ἐλελίξεν* which Xenophon often mentions, but distinguishes it from the pæan, and represents it as performed to Enyalios or Mars, Anab. I. 8. 18. cf. V. 2. 14. Hell. II. 4. 17.

contest of Apollo with the Python^c. The pæan of victory varied according to the different tribes; all Dorians, viz. Spartans, Argives, Corinthians, and Syracusans, had the same^d. This use of the pæan, as a song of rejoicing for victory, sufficiently explains its double meaning; it bore a mournful sense in reference to the battle, and a joyous sense in reference to the victory. Apollo, under this name, was therefore either considered as a destroying (from *παίω*), or as a protecting and healing deity, who frees the mind from care and sorrow^e; and accordingly the tragedians, by an analogical application of the word, also called Death, to whom both these attributes belonged, by the title of Pæan^f. And thus this double character of Apollo, by virtue of which he was equally formidable as a foe, and welcome as an ally^g, was authorized by the ambiguity of his name.

5. On the other hand, the title AGYIEUS had a single signification^h. This appellation of Apollo was peculiar to the Doriansⁱ, and consequently of great antiquity at Delphi^k; from which place, however, it was brought over to Athens at a very early period, and indeed partly at the command of an oracle^l. His statue was erected in court-yards, and

^c Callim. Apoll. 113. Apoll. Rhod. II. 710. cf. Athen. XV. p. 701 C. Duris ap. Etym. Mag. in *ηγέ*.

^d Thuc. VII. 44. cf. IV. 43.

^e Æsch. Agam. 99.

^f Eurip. Hippol. 1373. Æsch. ap. Stob. Serm. p. 121.

^g Æsch. Agam. 518.

^h Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 352.

ⁱ Dieuchidas in Megaricis ap. Schol. Aristophan. Vesp. 870.

Harpocrat. In Tegea (derived from Sparta) Paus. VIII. 53.1.2.

^k Above, ch. 4. §. 2.

^l Demosth. in Mid. p. 331. comp. Varro ap. Porphy. ad Horat. Carm. IV. 6. 28. *ex responso sui (Pythii) oraculi in viis publicis urbis suæ Athenienses statutis altaribus sacrificare Apollini instituerunt et Agyeum appellare*. Also Eurip. Ion 186. to which Eustath. ad Il. p.

before the doors of houses; that is, at the boundary of private and public property, in order to admit the god as a tutelary deity, and to avert evil. The symbol or image of the god was most simple, being a conical block of stone. The ancients knew not whether to consider it as an altar or statue^m. The worship consisted of a constant succession of trifling services and marks of adorationⁿ. Frankincense was burnt before the pillar^o; it was bedecked with wreathes of myrtle, garlands, &c. This was sufficient to remind, and at the same time to assure the ancient Dorians of the protecting presence of their deity. The Athenians represented their Hermes or Mercury in a similar manner. This god, although fundamentally distinct from Apollo, was by them invested with the same offices: thus the statues of both gods were placed, as protecting powers, in front of the houses: both gods were supposed to confer blessings on those who either entered or left the house: both were represented by simple columnar statues. With Apollo, however, this protection was rather of a spiritual and inward nature:

166. Rom. refers. Varro is probably followed by Euanthius De Tragœdia et Comœdia: *Athenienses cum Apollini Nomio vel Ἀγυιάῳ* (as Osann. Auctar. Lex. p. 82. corrects), *i. e. pastorum vicinorumque* (read *vicorumque*) *prasidi deo constructis aris festum carmen solenniter cantarent.*

^m Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 870. Thesm. 496. Eq. 1317. Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 634. Harpocrat. Hesych. Helladius ap. Phot. cod. 279. pag. 1596. Plautus Mercat. IV. 1. 9. Steph. Byz. in ἄγυιᾷ, also Otto de Diis Via-

libus, et Zoëga De Obeliscis p. 210. The Agyieus often occurs on coins, instead of other emblems of Apollo, where numismatic writers have not recognised the symbol. See the coins of Apollonia in Epirus, Aptera in Crete, Megara, Byzantium, Oricus, Ambracia, where the statue is surrounded with fillets.

ⁿ Eurip. Ion. *ubi sup.*

^o *κνισσᾶν ἄγυιᾶς*, Demosth. *ubi sup.* and Stephens's Thesaurus, ed. Lond. vol. I. p. 1048.

while the phallic form, which always distinguished the Mercuries of Athens, shews that this god was considered to afford, by increasing the fruitfulness of the fields and cattle, and generally all the products of nature, a more external and physical assistance.

6. To these titles may perhaps be added the name of APOLLO himself. That we must search for its etymology in the Greek language alone, and that it could have been derived from no other source, is evident from the preceding investigations. In the first place, then, we cannot derive it from the sun, ΑΦΕΛΙΟΣ^p, since the digamma is never changed into Π. The derivation from ΟΑΩ we have already rejected, as being founded on a partial and occasional attribute of the god^q. On the other hand, we may observe that the ancient Doric Æolian form of the name was not Ἀπόλλων but Ἀπέλλων^r, which also obtained amongst the ancient Latins^s, and from which the Macedonian and Delphian month *Apellæus* evidently derived its name. Now if this is admitted to be the original form, Ἀπέλλων simply means the *avert* or *defender*^t, and be-

^p Ἀβελίος, the Cretans and Pamphylians, Hesych. in v. Comp. Hemsterhuis ad Hesych. in *θάβραον*, Koen ad Greg. Corinth. p. 354. ed. Schæfer. βέλαιος καὶ αὐγή, a Laconism according to Hesychius.

^q The jocular etymology of Plato from πολεῖν, and the absurd one from ἀπολύς, mentioned by Cicero de Nat. Deor. II. 27. Plutarch. de Ei. 9. pag. 228 (because Apollo was τὸ ἐν, De Iside 76. p. 207). cf. Ma-

crob. Sat. I. 17. and others in the Etymol. M., I may be excused from examining.

^r Maittaire p. 152, 264.

^s Festus in v. Comp. Schneider, Lat. Gram. vol. I. i. p. 12.

^t There appear to be two radical forms, having nearly the same meaning, from which the word ΑΠΕΛΛΩΝ might be derived. First φΕΛ or φΕΛΦ, VOLVO, "to roll," "to press together," and ΕΛ, "to push, strike, drive," &c. ἑλάσαι, ἐλαίνεω,

longs to the same class as Ἀλεξίκακος, Ἀποτροπαῖος, and other names mentioned above.

7. All these names, however, only indicate the attributes and actions of the deity; but the name PHÆBUS expresses more nearly his peculiar nature. From its original sense of "*bright*," "*clear*," its secondary sense of "*pure*," "*unstained*," is easily derived^u; and hence the term φοιβάζειν (which perhaps is connected with the Latin *februare*), "to ex-piate." Phœbus therefore is the clear and spotless god, frequently emphatically called, the "pure and holy" (ἅγνός θεός^x). This name is particularly applied to him when he returns purified from Tempe^y. The same meaning is implied in the epithet ξανθός, which also signifies "pure," and "clear^z;" hence the streams near the temples of Apollo in Troy and Lycia were called Xanthus^a, and amongst the Macedonians the expiatory festival of the army bore the title of *Xanthica*^b. In allusion to Apollo as a god of joy and gladness, Æschylus frequently forbids that he should be invoked in sorrow^c. Several other passages from poets and grammarians might be adduced to support this idea^d.

&c. are evidently derivatives of this EA; from which it is probable that ἀπέλλων or ἀπόλλων is derived, as Homer constantly uses *φέλω*, but *ελάσαι*, &c. as well as Ἀπόλλων, without the digamma.

^u See Apollon. Lex. Hom. p. 833. ed. Villoison. Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 301.

^x Æsch. Suppl. 222. Pindar Pyth. IX. 66. Plutarch. de Ei 20. p. 243. De Exilio 17. p. 386. *Apollo sanctus*, Cicero Tusc. Quæst. IV. 34. Mont-

faucon Inscript. vol. I. pl. 52. N^o. 10. The term φοιβονομῆσθαι was used of the Thessalian diviners, when they lived apart on the ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι, Plutarch. de Ei 20. p. 243.

^y Plutarch. de Def. Orac. 21.

^z Theophrast. de Lapid. 37.

^a Compare φοῖβον ὕδωρ in Apollon. Lex. in v. Lycophr. v. 1009.

^b Sturz *de Lingua Macedonica*.

^c Agamemn. 1084, 1088. cf. Eurip. Alcest. 22.

^d Æsch. Theb. 696, 865. Eu-

8. We now come to the most enigmatical of all the titles of Apollo; viz. "LYCEUS." It was shewn above, that Apollo Lycius was worshipped at Lycorea on mount Parnassus, in Lycia at the foot of mount Cragus, in Lycia under mount Ida, at Athens, Argos, Sparta, and Sicyon. This religion must have been of greater antiquity than the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, having been carried over thither at the time of their establishment. Homer was also acquainted with this title of Apollo.

In explanation of this epithet we every where find traditions concerning wolves. The descendants of Deucalion, who survived the deluge, following a wolf's roar, founded Lycorea on a ridge of mount Parnassus. Latona came as a she-wolf from the Hyperboreans to Delos: she was conducted by wolves to the river Xanthus. Wolves protected the treasures of Apollo; and near the great altar at Delphi there stood an iron wolf with ancient inscriptions^e. The attack of a wolf upon a herd of cattle occasioned the worship of Apollo Lyceus at Argos, where a brasen group of figures, commemorating the circumstance, was erected in the market-place^f. The Sicyonian tradition of Apollo "the destroyer of wolves" is certainly of less antiquity, as also the epithet *Λυκοκτόνος* (*Lu-*

rip. ap. Plutarch. de Ei 20. p. 246. *λοιβαὶ νεκίων φθιμένων ἀοιδαὶ ἅς ὁ χρυσοκόμος Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐδέχεται*, which Hermann has received in Eurip. Suppl. 999. Hesych. in *ἀκερσεκόμης*. Creuzer Meletem. vol. I. p. 31.

^e Paus. X. 14. 4. The names

of the chief priestesses were here registered, Plutarch Pericl. 21.

^f Plutarch. Pyrrh. 32. For Athens see above, p. 273. note¹. On the sanctity of the wolf there, Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 124.

percus), which occurs in Sophocles and other authors ^g.

Now in inquiring into the meaning of the symbol of the wolf in this signification, it may be first remarked that it is a beast of prey. In this point of view it cannot but appear a remarkable coincidence that Apollo should in the *Iliad* assume the form of a hawk ^h, and a species of falcon should be called his swift messenger ⁱ. Thus also the tragedians frequently represented Apollo, in his character of a destroyer, under the title of Lyceus ^k. We are not, however, to suppose that it was this character of Apollo as a destroying power which gave a name, not only to innumerable temples, but even to whole countries; such a supposition would, contrary to history and analogy, make the early state of this religion to have been one of the grossest barbarism and superstition. It is far more probable that the name Lyceus is connected with the ancient primitive word *lux* (whence λευκός). The Greek word λύκη is

^g Elect. 6. cf. Schol. ad l. et ad Æsch. Theb. 147. Plutarch. de Sol. Anim. 9. p. 155. Hesych. in λυκοκτόνος. Paus. II. 9. 7.

^h Il. XV. 239. cf. Antonin. Liber. c. 28. Ælian. H. A. X. 14. Aristoph. Av. 516. [The translators conceive that nothing more is meant in the passage of Homer than that Apollo flew swiftly as a hawk flies swiftly. It does not follow because there was a resemblance in one point that there was a resemblance in all.]

ⁱ Od. XV. 525. Apollo γυπαεὺς, "the god of vultures,"

was worshipped on the top of a hill near Ephesus, Conon Narr. c. 35. There was also a kind of wolf called κίρκος, Opiian. Cyneg. III. 304.

^k Æsch. Theb. 147. καὶ σὺ, Λύκει' ἀναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῶ δαίφ, where see Blomfield. Comp. Agam. 1266 and Soph. Œd. T. 203. Λύκει' ἀναξ τὰ σὰ βόλεια. In a milder sense in Æsch. Suppl. 694. Soph. Œd. T. 920. Elect. 656. in which last tragedy Apollo throughout appears as armed with his highest and noblest attributes. See particularly v. 1379.

preserved most distinctly in *λυκάβας*, i. e. *course of the light*¹; and by the epithet *Λυκηγένης*, applied to Apollo by Homer^m, and probably taken from some ancient hymns, we should (from the idiom of the Greek language) rather understand *one born of light*, than *the Lycian god*. That light and splendour are frequently employed, both in the symbols of worship and language of the poets, to express the attributes of Apollo, cannot be deniedⁿ; and we only remind the reader of the belief that the fire which burnt on the altar of Apollo Lyceus at Argos had originally fallen from heaven^o: and thus the epithet Lyceus would seem to belong to the same class as *Ægletes*, *Phœbus*, and *Xanthus*^p. It is not, however, to be supposed that the wolf was made use of as a symbol of Apollo merely from an accidental similarity of name, but it is not easy to discover what analogy even the lively imagination of the Greeks could have found between the wolf and light. At a later period it was attempted to explain this symbol by the circumstance that all wolves produced their young within twelve days in the year, the precise time during which Latona was wandering as a she-wolf from the Hyperboreans to Delos^q. This physical interpretation was, however, grounded on the fable, and not the fable on it. Perhaps the sharp

¹ See Voss on Virgil's *Georg.* p. 408. Creuzer *Comment. Herod.* vol. I. p. 417.

^m Il. IV. 101, 119. cf. Heyne.

ⁿ See Hom. *Hymn. ad Apoll. Pyth.* 266.

^o Schol. *Soph. Elect.* 6.

^p Perhaps the Apollo *ἔναυρος* in Hesych. in v. belongs to

this class of attributes. Also there were temples of Apollo on the promontories of *Leuca*, *Leucatas*.

^q Aristot. *H. A.* VI. 29. Otherwise *Ælian.* *H. A.* IV. 4. *Apostol.* XII. 18. comp. above, p. 298. note ².

sight of the wolf^r (if we can trust the accounts of the ancients), or even the bright colour of the animal, may afford a better explanation^s.

9. In the ancient Grecian worship, however, there is another example, and one in the highest degree remarkable, of the connexion between light and the wolf. On the lofty peak of Lycæum, a mountain of Arcadia, above the ancient Lycosura, there stood (as Pindar says) a lofty and splendid altar of Jupiter Lycæus, with which were in some way connected all the traditions concerning Lycaon, who sacrificed his child to Jupiter, and was in consequence transformed into a wolf. Now not only does the symbol of the wolf occur in this place^t, but there is also a reference to light. There stood here a sacred shrine or *adytum*, supposed to be inaccessible; and the popular belief was, that whoever entered it cast no shadow; and in order to escape being sacrificed, the aggressor was obliged to escape as a deer: hence the pursuing god naturally appeared to the imagination as a wolf^u. We perceive that light was supposed to dwell within the sanctuary. Thus in this very ancient worship of the Parrhasians, which in other respects has little in common with the Doric worship of Apollo, we discover the same combina-

^r Apostol. XII. 21.

^s Among the moderns see Payne Knight, *Symbol. Lang.* §. 124. Gail *Philologue* tom. I. p. 300. (comp. Boissonade in Millin's *Magasin Encyclopédique* tom. 118. p. 346.) where *Λοξίας* is brought into connexion with *Λυκεῖος*. It seems to me probable that the word *Λοξίας* first expressed the oblique position

of the archer, who always has *ὄμματα λοξά*.

^t Comp. Paus. VI. 8. 2.

^u Theopompus apud Polyb. XVI. 12. 7. Plutarch. *Quæst. Gr.* 39. p. 398. Paus. VIII. 38. 5. On the *ἄβατον* see Amphis ap. Hygin. *Poet. Astron.* II. 1. pag. 35. cf. IV. pag. 362. ed. Muncker.

tion of ideas and symbols that exists in the latter, and cannot but consider it a vestige of some very ancient symbolical idea peculiar and general among the Greeks.

10. Having proceeded so far, we shall endeavour to unite and harmonize the different facts already collected. Apollo, as he is represented by Homer, exhibits the character of a destroying and avenging, as well as a delivering and protecting power. But he is the avenger of impiety and arrogance, and the punisher of injustice and crime, and not the author of evil to mankind for evil's sake. He was therefore always considered as attended with certain beings whose nature was contrary to his own; his character could only be shewn in opposition with a system of hostile attributes and powers. As the *warring* and *victorious* god, he required enemies to combat and conquer: as the *pure* and *bright* god, he implies the existence of a dark and impure side of nature. In this manner the worship of Apollo resembled those religions, such as the ancient Persian, which were founded on the doctrine of *two principles*, one of good, the other of evil. At the same time he is no deified personification of the creative or generative powers of nature, nor of any natural object or phenomenon; and he has therefore nothing in common with the deities of the elementary religions.

These ideas, which seem to be expressed with tolerable distinctness, in the most ancient epithets and symbols connected with the worship of Apollo, as well as in the images and fictions of poets down to the time of Euripides, we will first examine with reference to the fabulous history and adventures of

Apollo, and secondly we shall endeavour to point out the influence which these notions exercised upon the worship itself.

CHAP. VII.

On the mythological history of Apollo. His birth, according to the Delian, his battle with the Python, according to the Delphian legend. Mimic representation of the latter story, and of the servitude of Apollo.

1. Our present investigation renders it necessary to ascend to a period in which the primitive religion of the Dorians exhibited a distinct and original character, before it had been combined with the worship of other deities. At that time this nation had only two male deities, Jupiter and Apollo: for the existence of the latter every where supposes that of the former, and both were intimately connected in Crete, Delphi, and elsewhere; though the Doric Jupiter did not receive great religious honours. In the temple of Delphi Jupiter and Apollo were represented as Moiragetæ, accompanied by two Fates^u. The supreme deity, however, when connected with Apollo, was neither born, nor visible on earth, and

^u Pausan. X. 24. 4. Comp. Pindar Pyth. IV. 4. Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς was worshipped at Delphi, Xenoph. Anab. V. 9. 22. and also Ζεὺς εὐνπιος, Hesych. in v. Perhaps, too, the god Ἐλωὺς, whom Hesychius (in v.) calls the Doric Vulcan, may be the real Jupiter; a conjecture which is confirmed by the circumstance that the temples of Ju-

piter at Dodona and in Laconia were called Ἑλλά, Hesych. in v. cf. in Ἑλα. That this Elous might have been originally derived from the El or Eloha of the people of Israel, I do not deny; but it is an etymology which leads to nothing but hopeless and uncertain conjectures.

perhaps never considered as having any immediate influence upon men. But Apollo, who is often emphatically called the son of Jupiter^x, acts as his intercessor, ambassador, and prophet with mankind^y. And whilst the father of the gods appears, indistinctly and at a distance, dwelling in ether, and enthroned in the highest heavens, Apollo is described as a divine hero, whose office is to ward off evils and dangers, establish rites of expiation, and announce the ordinances of Fate. It is our purpose to investigate these latter attributes, more especially in the mythology of Delos and Delphi.

2. The tradition of the birth of Apollo at Delos was indeed recognised by the Ionians and Athenians, but neither by the Delphians, Bœotians, nor Peloponnesians^z; as is plain from the indifference which they generally shewed for the temple in that island. We also know that the Bœotians represented Tegyra as the birthplace of Apollo.

Apollo, says Pindar, was born with Time^a;—alluding to the many obstacles and delays experienced at his birth. These had been occasioned by the influence of an hostile power, the same which produced Typhaon from the depths of Tartarus^b, called

^x Ἐκατοὺς Διὸς υἱὸς, Aleman ap. Hephæst. p. 66. ed. Gaisf.

^y Æsch. Eumen. 19. compare the *λέπειαι* in Macrobius Sat. V. 22. Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 791. Soph. El. 660.

^z Concerning the exception of the Messenians see above, pag. 156. note ¹: and for his birthplace at Tegyra above, ch. 2. §. 11. Apollo was also said to have been born at Amphigenia in Triphylia, Steph. Byz.

in v. and there was a temple of Latona, Strab. VIII. p. 349. Antimachus Fragm. 78. p. 111. ed. Schellenberg.

^a Ἐν χρόνῳ, i. e. "time" "was requisite for his birth;" "some time elapsed before" "Apollo could be born," Pindar ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 383. ed. Potter.

^b Homer. Hymn. Apoll. 305. comp. Hygin. Fab. 54.

by the poets Juno. This power refused its assistance at the birth of Apollo, and compelled Latona to wander in the pains of childbirth over earth and sea until she arrived at the rocky island of Delos.

3. Hence the island of Delos itself became one of the subjects of mythology. Pindar, in an ode to Delos, addresses it as "*the daughter of the sea, the unshaken prodigy of the earth, which mortals call Delos, but the gods in Olympus the far-famed star of the dark earth^c;*" and related how "*the island, driven about by the winds and waves, as soon as Latona had placed her foot on its shore, became fast bound to the roots of the earth by four columns^d.*" The fable of the floating island^e (which is, however, of a more recent date than the Homeric hymn to Apollo) indicated merely the restless condition which preceded the tranquillity and brightness introduced by the manifestation of the god. Henceforth Delos remained fixed and unshaken, immoveable, according to the belief of the Greeks, even by earthquakes; for which reason, the whole of Greece was alarmed when this phenomenon happened before the Persian war^f. By

^c Fragm. Prosod. I. p. 587. ed. Boeckh. χαίρ' ὦ θεοδμήατα . . . πόντου θύγατερ, χθονὸς εὐρείας ἀκίνητον τέρας, ἅν τε βροτοὶ Δᾶλλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τηλέφατον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον.

^d Pindar *ibid*.

^e Comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 36. 273.

^f Pindar Fragm. Prosod. 1. Boeckh. This ode must then have been written before the earthquake in Olymp. 72. 3.

see Herod. VI. 98. which confirms the assertion of Dissen that Isthm. I. 4. is not alluded to, since this poem, as the same critic shews, was written after Olymp. 80. 3. Herodotus, again, had no knowledge of the earthquake which took place at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. II. 8.), and Thucydides had never heard of the other, which occurred before his time, nor read the statement of Herodo-

“the words *the star of the dark earth*,” Pindar alludes to the idea that Delos (as the name shews) was considered as a pure and bright island, whose shores, too holy for pollution, were ever kept free from corpses, the sight of which is odious to the god. Hence also the tradition that Asteria, whose name is derived from ἀστὴρ, the offspring of the Titans, had cast herself into the sea, and been petrified on the shore.

4. The birth of Apollo, being an epoch in mythology, was without doubt celebrated in ancient hymns, whose simplicity presented a striking contrast to the higher polish of the Homeric poems. A hymn of this description, ascribed to Olen, was addressed to Eileithyia, the worship of which goddess, together with other religious ceremonies, was brought over (as has been above remarked ^g) from Cnosus to Delos, and from thence to Athens ^h. In calling Eileithyia the mother of the god of love ⁱ, Olen exceeded the regular bounds of tradition respecting Apollo, by confusing the worship of a strange god with that deity, and probably identified her with the ancient Venus (Ἀφροδίτη ἀρχαία), whose altar Theseus is said to have erected at Delos ^k. In either case, the establishment of this ancient Attic worship on the sacred island, and its connexion with the Delian rites, illustrate the mention of Cupid in the Delian hymn.

Nine days and nine nights Latona writhed in

tus. Comp. Mucian. apud Plin. H. N. IV. 12. Aristid. Orat. VI. p. 77, 78. Spanheim ad Callim. Del. 11. &c.

^g Above, ch. 2. §. 13.

^h Pausan. I. 18. 5. VIII. 21. 2. IX. 27. 2. Comp. Herod.

IV. 35. The confusion of Eileithyia and Fate, by Olen, is only a supposition of Pausanias.

ⁱ Pausan. IX. 27. 2.

^k Spanheim ad Callim. Del. 308.

hopeless pains of childbirth, surrounded by the benevolent Titanidæ, Dione, Rhea, Themis and Amphitrite, who finally (according to the hymn of Homer) *prevailed upon Eileithyia by the promise of a golden necklace. Then the pains seized Latona; she cast her arms around the palm-tree, and brought forth her divine son.* The explanations of the bribe, offered to Eileithyia, are all too far-fetched: probably pregnant women at Delos consecrated their necklaces to that goddess.

5. The exact spot where the birth of Apollo took place was shewn in Delos, since the least circumstance connected with so important an event could not fail to excite interest. It must be looked for in the place where the torrent Inopus flows from mount Cynthus¹. Here there was a circular pool (the λίμνη τροχέεσσα), the form of which is often carefully mentioned^m. By its side grew two sacred trees, the palm and the olive, which are not elsewhere reckoned among those sacred to Apollo; as in Greece Proper the first does not grow at all, and the second not without great care. The Delian temple alone could boast of the palm, the use of palm-branches at the games having also originated in Delosⁿ.

This island acquired so much sanctity by the birth of Apollo, that no living being was permitted

¹ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 16. 19. Callim. Del. 206. compare the map of the island in Choiseul, Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque*, tom. I. pl. 31.

^m See Æschyl. Eumen. 9. Theognis v. 7. Herod. II. 170. Eurip. Ion 169. Iphigen. Taur. 1105. Call. Apoll. 59. Del. 261.

ⁿ Pausan. VIII. 48. 2. conf. Hom. Odyss. VI. 167. Schol. ad Eurip. Ion. 932. Ælian. V. H. v. 4. Hygin. Fab. 53. 140. Catull. XXXIV. 8. For the palm as an emblem of Delos on Greek vases, see Tischbein I. 24. II. 12.

either to be born or die within its boundary^o. Every pregnant woman was obliged to go over to the neighbouring island of Rheneia, in order to be delivered. One of the ideas of the Greeks respecting religious purity (which may in general be traced to the worship of Apollo) was, that all intercourse with pregnant women polluted in the same manner as the touch of a corpse. The prohibition against keeping dogs had the same origin^p. On the whole, the Delian traditions are not to be considered as of very great antiquity or credit; they contain, indeed, hardly any original source of information respecting Apollo, being generally composed of descriptions of the sanctity of the island itself; several legends, as that of its having once floated on the ocean, &c., appear to have been the invention of the Ionians; this race, even in fiction, allowing itself far greater latitude than the Dorians.

6. Apollo, according to the Attic legend, passed to Delphi from Delos through Attica and Bœotia; the Homeric Hymn to Apollo makes him come from the northern districts, but likewise through Bœotia; according to other traditions he came from the Hyperboreans. According to another, Latona was carrying the two babes, Apollo and Diana, in her arms, when assailed by the Python^q, the mother seeking refuge on a sacred stone near the plane-tree at Delphi^r: in another, Apollo was a child at the time of

^o Strabo X. p. 486, &c.

crob. Sat. 1. 17.

^p A fabulous reason is given by Callimachus, Fragn. 9. Hygin. fab. 247.

^r Clearchus of Soli in Athen. XV. p. 701 C. Duris ap. Etymol. Mag. in 'Ιῆιε, where for ἡλιον read 'Απόλλωνα. comp. Bast ad Greg. Corinth. p. 834. This legend agrees with the

^q When four days old, according to Hygin. fab. 140. cf. Eurip. Iphig. Taur. 1252. Ma-

this event^s; and, accordingly, a Delphian boy, both whose parents were alive, represented the actions of the deity at the great festival. The destruction of the Python, however, always formed the chief event of the sacred fable. It was by this feat that Apollo gained possession of the oracular chasm, from which the goddess Earth had once spoken. It was not however without some resistance that she gave way to the claims of the youthful god; whom, according to Pindar, she even attempted to hurl down to Tartarus^t. The serpent Python is represented as the guardian of the ancient oracle of the Earth^u, and a son of the Earth itself, sprung from the warm clay that remained after the general deluge, and dwelling in a dark defile near a fountain, which was said to be supplied from the Styx^x. The serpent, as usual, represents an earthly being, by which is personified the rough and shapeless offspring of nature. It was supposed to be connected with the nature of water and the sea; and hence was called *Delphin*, or *Delphine*^y, like the fish of the same name, which was particularly sacred to Apollo, and in all probability was also conceived to have been

compositions on the Greek vase in Tischbein III. 4. The plane-tree occurs also in Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IV. 13. Plin. H. N. XVI. 44. and in a bas relief at the Villa Albani, Zoëga de Obeliscis p. 212.

^s Apoll. Rh. II. 707. comp. Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 10.

^t Schol. Æsch. Eumen. 2.

^u Comp. Hygin. fab. 140.

^x Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 17. The fountain there spoken of, and not that of Castalia, is

the one which the serpent was supposed to haunt. Comp. Hesych. in Τοξίου βούνος; a mound erected over the Python, in a ravine near Delphi, which is sometimes placed at Sicyon, Paus. II. 7. 7.

^y Apoll. Rhod. II. 706. Schol. (where also Δελφύνης is in the MS.) Dionys. Perieg. 441. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 208. An ἡμίθηρ κόρη, according to later writers, in Apollod. I. 6. 3.

subdued by him. After this, the serpent that watched the oracle remained, although conquered, as a memorial of the ancient struggle, and of the victory of the god, and was placed near the rocky chasm at the foot of the tripod, in the inner sanctuary^a.

7. The battle with the Python being finished^a, Apollo himself breaks the laurel, to weave a crown of victory^b. Here too he was said first to have sung the pæan, as a strain of triumph. In the dramatic exhibition, by which the Delphians represented the adventures of Apollo, the Pythian strain (*νόμος Πύθιος*) was here introduced. This air, which was originally nothing more than a simple melody, soon received all the embellishment of art; and being raised by Timosthenes to the dignity of a great musical composition^c, was (contrary to the ancient cus-

^a Lucian de Astrol. 23. The symbol of the goat is connected with the Python (since *Αἴξ* is called a child of the Python, Plutarch Quæst. Græc. 12.) also a river *Αἰγᾶς*, and the *πεδῖον Αἰγαῖον* at Delphi (Hesiod ap. Steph. Byz.), and the *ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος*, Hesych. in v. cf. Pausan. X. 11. 4. and Diod. XV. 26. The same animal was likewise sacred to Apollo at Elyrus in Crete (above, ch. 1. §. 5.) and Tylissus; in the coins of which town Apollo is represented with a goat's head in his hand. At Delos the altar *Κερατῶν*, or *Κεράτιος*, was made of goats' horns by Apollo while a boy, Plutarch Thes. 21. de Solert. Animal. 35. p. 201. Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 51. The same story was told

of the *Κεραιστῆς τόπος* at Miletus (Callim. ap. Etym. Mag. 584. 10.), where there was a strange story of a he-goat which gave milk. It cannot be doubted that the goat was originally one of the unclean animals of the worship of Apollo.

^b Apollo, according to Simonides (ap. Eustath. ad Il. p. 52. 39.), slew the monster with an hundred arrows (as an explanation of *ἐκατηβελέτης*). The battle is represented on the coins of Crotona; see Eckhel Num. Anecd. plate I. N^o. 13.

^c Callim. ap. Tertull. de Cor. 7.

^d See in particular Boeckh de Metr. Pind. III. 4. p. 182. Pollux IV. 10. 81. calls the

tom) performed with flutes, lyres, and trumpets, without the accompaniment of the voice. The accounts concerning this festival are indeed copious, but unluckily of too late a date to give us an idea of its ancient and genuine character. In Plutarch's time^d it was not a hollow serpent's den, but an imitation of a princely house (καλιὰς), that was erected in a court (ἄλως), at every octennial festival^e. Into this building the women of a Delphian family^f led the boy by a secret passage (δολωνεία) with lighted torches, and fled away through the door, overturning the table, and setting fire to the house.

8. Although the destruction of the Python is characterized as a triumph of the higher and divine power of the deity; yet the victorious god was considered as polluted by the blood of the monster, and obliged to undergo a series of afflictions and woes. Tradition represented him as going immediately after the battle by the sacred road to Tempe; which the boy, who personified Apollo, afterwards took as leader of the religious procession^g. The direction of this road has been accurately stated above. The chief circumstance in this wandering was the bondage (θήτευσις) of Apollo under Admetus the Phææan, to which the god subjected himself

performance ἄχορον αὐλημα Πύθιον.

^d Plutarch. Quæst. Gr. 12. p. 383. de Def. Or. 14. 21. Ephorus ap. Strab. IX. p. 422. also alludes to the burning of the καλιὰς, which he calls σκηνή.

^e Orchomenos p. 220.

^f In Plutarch de Def. Orat. 14. read ἔφοδος ἢ αἱ Ὀλεΐαι (also in Hesych. in αἰόδα) τὸν

ἀμφιβαλῇ κόρον ἡμμέναις δασὶν ἄγουσιν for ἔφοδος μὴ αἰόδα δὲ τὸν, the women having the same name as those of Orchomenus, Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 38. Compare Orchomenos pag. 166.

^g Above, ch. 1. §. 2; and on the different tradition of Tarha, ib. §. 5.

in order to expiate his crime. This too was represented by the boy; who probably imitated the manner in which the god, as a herdsman and slave, submitted to the most degrading services^b. Perhaps it was the piety of Admetus, celebrated in tradition, which entitled him to the privilege of possessing such a slave; yet it must be doubted, whether, conformably to the spirit of the ancient mythology, an ideal being, and not a mortal hero, was not originally intended to be represented under this name.

"Αδμητος is an usual name for the god of the infernal regions; to whom, according to the original idea, Apollo became enslaved. The worship of this deity is connected with that of Hecate, who was called θεὰ Φεραία, and the daughter of Admetusⁱ. Cannot we, in the rescuing of Alcestis from the infernal regions by Apollo^k and Hercules, find some clue which may lead us to suppose that the fable of Admetus refers to a worship of the infernal deities? An ancient dirge, called the song of Admetus, was chaunted in Greece, having, as was pretended, been first sung by Admetus at the death of his wife, originally perhaps addressed to Ἀΐδης ἄδμη-

^b In a verse of Sophocles, cited by Plutarch de Def. Orac. 14, Alcestis said of Apollo, οὐμὸς δ' ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν ἤγε πρὸς μύλην, "My husband led him to the mill." The name of the tragedy seems to have been "Αδμητος; see the words of Plutarch *ubi sup.* A tragedy, I say; for although Hermann (Præf. ad Eurip. Alcest. p. xv.) thinks that the line is from a satiric drama, the verses quoted in Schol. Pind. Pyth. IV.

221, which appear to be from the same play, are evidently of a tragic complexion. On the imitation of the servitude of Apollo, see also the words of Plutarch. *ib.* 15, αἶ τε πλάναι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ παιδὸς οἷ τε γιγνόμενοι περὶ τὰ Τέμπη καθαρμοί.

ⁱ Hesych. in Ἀδμήτου κόρη.

^k See particularly Æschyl. Eumen. 726. Eurip. Alcest. 10. Apollod. I. 9.

τος¹. How well does it suit the sublime character of the religious poetry in question, that the god, who had been polluted by the combat with the impure being, should be obliged, in order to complete his penance, to descend into the infernal regions. In confirmation of this, there have been preserved some obscure traditions, which represent Apollo as actually dying, i. e. descending into the infernal regions^m. However, after eight years, the appointed time of bondage, the god wanders to the ancient altar of Tempe, where, sprinkling with laurel-branches, and other expiatory rites, symbolically restore his purityⁿ. After this, the purified deity returns by the same road to Deipnias, near Larissa, and there breaks his long fast.

9. These Delphian traditions in very early times became the theme of epic poetry, in which however another cause was assigned for the slavery of Apollo; it was represented as a punishment inflicted by Jupiter for slaying the Cyclops, who forged the lightning with which Jupiter struck his son Æsculapius, because, not satisfied with recovering the sick, he even recalled the dead to life^o. Yet some of the

¹ See Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1231. (but the Scolion 'Αδμήτου λόγον, &c. has nothing to do with this point), and Zenob. Prov. 'Αδμήτου μέλος.

^m Euhemerus ap. Minut. Felic. c. 21. 2. Fulgent. Expos. Germ. Ant. p. 168. Porphy. Vit. Pyth. 16.

ⁿ Several coins appear to represent this lustration; e. g., one of Chalcedon, in Mionnet, N^o. 88; one of Perinthe, ibid. N^o. 329; see also those of

Alexandria Troas in Mionnet, N^{os}. 109, 115, 116.

^o Thus Pherecydes ap. Schol. Eur. Alcest. 2. (cf. ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. III. 96.) who drew his information from Hesiod. Hesiod related this tradition in the part of the 'Hoîai or catalogue which treated of the daughters of Leucippus, one of whom is said to have been the mother of Æsculapius, Tzetzes ad Hes. Theogon. 142. Compare Athenagoras Legat.

poets also state that Pheræ was the place of his servitude, alluding to the Pythian road, and mention a *great year* (μέγαν ἐνιαυτὸν) as the time of his bondage^p; by which they mean the Delphian period. We may perhaps find a trace of a more ancient tradition in the story of amber being a petrified tear, which Apollo shed during the time of his slavery in his ancient abode amongst the Hyperboreans, in the land of the Celts^q.

The combat with Tityus is nearly allied to that with the Python. This earthborn monster, dwelling at Panopea, a town situated on the sacred road, and hostile to the Delphians, laid hands upon Latona when passing through that place; but her children soon overcome the ravisher, and send him to the shades below; where a vulture incessantly preys upon his liver^r, the seat of inordinate desire.

10. The hostile part of nature now lying vanquished, and quiet having gained the victory over disturbance, Apollo begins to exercise the other of-

p. 134. and Schol. Eurip. ubi sup. Apollod. III. 10. 4. I. 9. 15. Diod. IV. 71. Excerpt. p. 546. ed. Wesseling. Orph. Argon. 176. also Eurip. Alcestis, and Asclepiades in the Scholia. The religious tradition is given by Anaxandridas the Delphian in Schol. Eurip. Alcest. 2. (περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, Vatic. Prov. I. 5.) and Plutarch, perhaps from the same authority. Those who in Iliad I. 399. wrote καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, attributed his banishment to a rebellion against Jupiter. See also Æschylus ap. Plutarch de Exilio 17.

^p Il. XXI. 443. θητεύσαμεν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν. Thus also Pherecydes and the others. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 323. μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, from an epic poet. Plutarch. Amator. 17. gives the whole verse; Ἀδμήτῳ πάρα θητεύσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν.

^q Schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV. 611; see the very confused account in Eratosth. Catast. 29. with Schaubach's note, p. 110.

^r Odys. XI. 580. Pausan. III. 18. 7. (on the Amyclæan throne) X. 11. 1. Pind. Pyth. IV. 90.

fice for which he was sent into the world. He mounts the tripod of the Delphian oracle, no longer to give utterance to the dark responses of the earth, but to proclaim the "unerring decree of Jupiter^s." For it is evident that, in the language of this religion, fate was considered as the will of Jupiter (Διὸς νόος, Διὸς αἴσα), who was at Delphi called Μοιραγέτης, "leader of fate;" whilst the epic poets, from their custom of making each god a separate individual, generally (though the glimmering of a more exalted idea may be sometimes traced) made Jupiter, like all other individuals, subject to fate. The prophetic powers of Apollo will be more fully treated of in the following chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

On the ritual worship of Apollo—The bloodless sacrifices—Rites of expiation and purification—Expiation for murder in Attica and elsewhere—Prophetic office of Apollo—Character of his sacred music—On some festivals of Apollo—Historical account of the statues of Apollo—Influence of his worship on the government and philosophy of Greece.

1. Our intention in this chapter is to shew that, besides the mythology, the ceremonies also of the worship of Apollo so agree and harmonize together, as to furnish a decisive proof of the regular and systematic developement of that religion; after which we will endeavour to point out this agreement, and elucidate its relative bearings; although an attempt of this kind must necessarily be very imperfect,

^s Διὸς νημερτέα βουλὴν, Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 132. comp. Hymn. Merc. 471, 533.

since the religion, which, in order to comprehend, we should regard with the ardour of devotion, is now merely the subject of cold and heartless speculation.

First, with regard to the sacrifices, it is remarkable, that in many of the principal temples a particular sanctity and importance was attributed to *bloodless* offerings. At Delphi cakes and frankincense were consecrated in holy baskets¹; at Patara, cakes in the form of bows, arrows, and lyres (emblems both of the wrath and placability of the deity²). At Delos, an altar, called the altar of the pious, stood behind the altar built of horns, on which were deposited only cakes of wheat and barley; this, according to tradition, was the only one on which Pythagoras sacrificed³. In this island also at festivals were offered mallows and ears of corn⁴; the simplest food of man, in remembrance of primitive simplicity and temperance. At Delphi the young women of Parnassus are said to have brought the first-fruits of the year to Apollo, immediately after the destruction of the Python⁵. The pious offerings of the Hyperboreans, as has been remarked above, were

¹ Ælian. V. H. XI. 5. Also sacrifices of cakes at Athens, Harpocration and Hesychius in *ἐνθρυντα*, Suidas in *ἐνθρυντος* Ἀπόλλων, comp. Hemsterhuis ad Lucian. vol. II. p. 411. ed. Bipont.

² See above, ch. 2. §. 2.

³ Aristot. in *Δηλίων πολιτεία* ap. Diog. Laert. VIII. 13. Timæus ap. Censorin. de die nat. 2. (Tim. fragm. 62. ed. Goeller). Compare Macrobius Sat. III. 6. Clem. Alex. Strom.

VII. p. 717. Porphyry. de Abstin. II. 28. (see Rhoer p. 153). Jamblichus Vit. Pythagor. 5. 7. Cyrillus in Julian. IX. p. 307 B. Concerning the horn altar, see above, p. 337. note ².

⁴ Plutarch Sept. Sapient. 14. The first-fruits of the year were also carried round at the Attic Thargelia, Hesychius in *Θαργήλια*.

⁵ Schol. Pindar. Argum. p. 298. ed. Boeckh.

the same as those last enumerated. And perhaps we may add to our list the custom, at the Attic autumnal festival, of the Pyanepsia, of hanging grapes, fruits, and small jars of honey and oil, to branches of olive or laurel bound with wool, and carrying them to the doors of a temple of Apollo^a; though perhaps this rite belonged rather to Bacchus, the Sun, and the Hours^b, who shared the honour of this festival with Apollo.

2. The above offerings doubtless express the existence of a pure and filial relation, like that in which the Hyperboreans stood to Apollo; it being quite sufficient for persons in so innocent a state to give a constant acknowledgment of the benevolence and power with which the god defends and preserves them. But as the pure deity was himself supposed to be stained with blood, so might the minds of his worshippers become tainted with sin, and lose their internal quiet. When in this state, being as it were under the influence of a fiendlike and corrupting power (^{Ἄτῃ}), the mind naturally wishes to put an end to its unhappy condition by some specific and definite act. This is effected by the solemn expiation and purification of the religion of Apollo. These rites were thus introduced into the regular system of worship, and formed a part of the ancient *jus sacrum*. It was soon however perceived that the usual routine of life sometimes needed the same ceremony, and hence expiatory *festivals* were connected with the public wor-

^a See particularly Crates ap. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 725. Suidas in *εἰρεσιώσῃ*. Menecles ap. Suid. in *διακόνιον*. cf. in *προηγοσία*. Plutarch, *Thes.* 22. A-

postol. *Prov.* XXI. 24.

^b Also the *χώρα ἀθάρης καὶ ἔρνος*, which was used at this festival, referred more to the gods of husbandry.

ship of the god; by which not only individuals, but whole cities were purified. These festivals were naturally celebrated in the spring, when the storms of winter disappear, and nature bursts into fresh life^c. But in these the pious gifts of individuals no longer sufficed, nor even the sacrifice of animals; and the troubled mind seemed to require for its purification a greater sacrifice. At Athens, during the Thargelia, two men (or a man and a woman), adorned with flowers and fruits, having been rubbed over with fragrant herbs, were led in the most solemn manner, like victims, before the gate, and thrown with imprecations from the rock; but were in all probability taken up below, and carried beyond the borders. The persons used for these expiations (*φαρμακοὶ*) were condemned criminals, whom the city provided for the purpose^d. This festival was common to all Ionians; it is particularly mentioned at Miletus^e and Paros^f; and the same rites were also retained in the Phocæan colony of Massalia^g. In Ionia the victims were beaten with branches of the fig-tree and with sea-onions; at the same time there was played on the flute a strain (called *κραδίσης*),

^c The ancient Greeks considered the winter as the season when the gods of the infernal regions were predominant, and a state of impurity existed; while they looked on spring and summer as a pure and sacred season.

^d Meursii *Græcia Feriata* in *Θαργήλια*. Compare *Orchomenos* p. 106. An historical tradition respecting the first *φαρμακός*, from a work of Istrus *περὶ τῶν Ἀπολλωνος ἐπιφανειῶν*, is pre-

served in Harpocration and Etymol. Magn. in v.

^e Parthen. *Erot.* 9. Hesychius in *Θαργήλια* ad fin. where the correction of Hemsterhuis is disapproved by Welcker on *Schwenck's Mythologische Andeutungen* p. 341.

^f Archilochus fragm. 46. ed. Gaisford.

^g Servius ad *Æn.* III. 57. from Petronius. Apollo Delphinus was worshipped there, Strabo IV. p. 179 B.

which, according to Hipponax, was reduced by Mimnermus into elegiac measure^b. At Athens also the victims were crowned with figs and fig-branches, being probably the symbol of utter worthlessness (thus *σύκινος ἀνὴρ*). The antiquity of this manner of purification has been shewn above, in our remarks upon the religious ceremonies of Leucadia.

3. The *peace-offerings* (*ίλασμοί*), by which Apollo was first appeased, and his wrath averted, should, as it appears, be distinguished from the *purifications* (*καθαρμοί*), by which he was supposed to restore the mind to purity and tranquillity. At Sicyon (where the religion of Apollo flourished at a very early period) it was related, that Apollo and Diana had, after the destruction of the Python, wished to be there purified, but that being driven away by a phantom (whence in after-times a certain spot in the town was called *φόβος*), they proceeded to some other place. Upon this the inhabitants were attacked by a pestilence; and the seers ordered them to appease the deities. Seven boys and the same number of girls were ordered to go to the river Sythas and bathe in its waters, then to carry the statues of the two deities into the temple of Peitho, or *Persuasion*, and from thence back to that of Apolloⁱ. The Attic festival of Delphinia (on the sixth of Munychion) had evidently the same meaning; in this seven boys and girls reverently conveyed the *ίκετηρία*, an olive-branch bound with white fillets of wool, into the

^b See the verses of Hipponax in Tzetzes Chil. V. 743. also in Athen. IX. p. 370 A. and his testimony in Plutarch de Musica 8. comp. Hesychius in *κραδίας*.

ⁱ Pausan. II. 7. 7. Perhaps there was a local tradition that the Python was killed in Sicyon; see above, pag. 336, note *.

Delphinium^k. This took place exactly one month before the Thargelia; and in all probability the peace-offerings and purifications (ἱλαρμοὶ and καθαρμοὶ) were celebrated at the same period throughout the whole of Greece.

4. By comparing and arranging the scattered fragments of information respecting the time of the festivals belonging to these two classes, we shall obtain the following clear and simple account^l.

In the commencement of the Apollinian year, in the first month of spring, called Bysius (i. e. Πύθιος) at Delphi, Munychion at Athens, Apollo was supposed to come through the defile of Parnassus to Delphi, and begin the battle with the Delphynè. He next assumes the character of the wrathful god, whom it was necessary to appease; and hence, on the sixth day of the month, the expiatory festival of Delphinia took place at Athens, and probably also at Miletus and Massalia; we may likewise suppose that it was the same month which in Ægina and Thera went under the name of Delphinium^m: on the seventh Apollo destroyed the Pythonⁿ. The pæan was now sung. This too was the day on

^k Plutarch Thes. 18. The number is evident from the context.

^l In order to shew the correspondence between the sacred seasons at Athens and Delphi, it should be remarked, that at the latter place the nine months of spring, summer, and autumn were sacred to Apollo, and during them the sacrifice was accompanied by the pæan; while the three winter months were sacred to

Bacchus, and hence in them the dithyramb was played at the sacrifices (Plutarch de Ei 9. p. 229.); and that in Athens also the festivals of Bacchus were celebrated between Poseideon and Elaphebolion, and those of Apollo during the other months.

^m See *Æginetica* p. 152. The *testamentum Epictetæ* belongs to Thera, as Boeckh will prove.

ⁿ Schol. Pind. Pyth. Argument.

which, according to immemorial custom, the oracle first broke silence; at a late period it was also esteemed at Delphi as the birthday of Apollo^o. Immediately after, the Delphian procession moved on to Tempe; and at the same time the tithes of men were once despatched to Apollo in Crete^p.

In the second month of spring, called by the Ionians Thargelion, Apollo was purified at the altar at Tempe, and probably on the seventh day of the month. For the great expiatory festival of both deities, Apollo and Diana, was at Athens celebrated on the sixth and seventh days; and Delos was at the same time purified; this ceremony was immediately followed by a feast of thanksgiving in honour of the god of light. According to Delian tradition, Diana and Apollo (*ἑβδομαγέρης*^q) were born on the sixth and seventh days of this month^r. On the same day however on which the Delphian boy broke the laurel and turned homewards, the purifying laurel-boughs (from which the festival of the Daphnephoria derived its name^s) were probably also

^o See particularly Callisthenes and Anaxandridas (the same person who is mentioned above) in Plutarch *Quæst. Græc.* 9. Thucydides V. 1. cf. 18, 24. also places the Pythian festival at the end of Elaphebolion. The first passage has been often misunderstood (e. g. by Manso, *History of Sparta*, vol. III. part II. p. 193.): its meaning is, "*The annual armistice remained suspended; there was again war, until the Pythian games.*"

^p This is plain from the fable

of Theseus, above, ch. 3. §. 14.

^q Plutarch. *Sympos.* VIII. 1. 2. p. 342. de Et 17. p. 238. Proclus ad Hesiod. *Op.* 767. Dionys. Hal. de Art. Rhet. 3. p. 243. ed. Reisk. comp. Valckenær de *Aristobulo Judæo* §. 37. p. 13.

^r Diog. Laert. III. 2. II. 24. Apollod. fragm. p. 413, 415. ed. Heyn. It is probably a fiction that Socrates was born on the former, Plato on the latter day.

^s The *κωπὴ* of the Daphnephoria (Proclus ap. Phot. pag. 987.) has some resemblance to

carried round in Bœotia, and throughout the rest of Greece¹. Soon after this, the setting of the Pleiades took place (the day before the ides of May, according to the statement of Eudoxus²); at which time Hesiod makes the harvest begin; then, as has been above remarked, on the testimony of Diodorus and ancient works of art³, Apollo, having been presented with the first ears of corn, leaves the Hyperboreans, and appears in a milder and more noble character at Delphi.

If it was wished that the setting of the Pleiades should occur at a regular interval from the preceding festival, this could have been effected only by cycles, by which the lunar and sidereal years were made to agree. Now it was not difficult to observe, that, after ninety-nine lunar months, the setting of the Pleiades coincided pretty exactly with the same phase of the moon. From this circumstance arose the period of *eight years*, called by the Greeks *ἐν-ναετηρίς*, in conformity with which the great festivals of Apollo at Delphi, Crete, and Thebes were from the earliest times arranged⁴.

the *εἰρεσιώνη*, or olive-branch, which was also carried round at the Thargelia (Suidas in v.), and is also called a *ἱετηρία*, Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 725.

¹ The Athenians, according to Proclus as above, honoured the seventh day as *Ἀπολλωνιακή, δαφνηφοροῦντες καὶ τὸ κανὸν ἀποστρέφοντες* (ἐπιστέφοντες Scalig.) καὶ ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεόν.

² Pontedera Antiq. p. 208. According to Scaliger Emend. Temp. vol. I. p. 54. this was anciently the beginning of the year; which is denied by Pe-

tavius Doctrin. Temp. I. 34. p. 42. compare Dodwell de Cyclis V. 12. p. 256.

³ Above, ch. 4. §. 2. It was then probably that the festival of the Theophania was celebrated, Herod. I. 51.

⁴ Concerning which see above, ch. 1. §. 2. ch. 2. §. 12, 14. ch. 3. §. 1. And for the ancient octennial Pythian games see Demetrius of Phalerum in Eustathius ad Od. γ'. p. 1466. ed. Rom. Schol. Med. ad Od. γ'. p. 267.

5. These data afford a sufficient proof of a remarkable and by no means fortuitous connexion between the expiatory festivals of Apollo; we may discover the vestiges of a sacred calendar, once, without doubt, preserved entire, but which, through the various combinations introduced into the Grecian worship, became disjointed and broken. This was particularly the case in the Attic festivals, where the same festival is frequently, as it were, doubled, and placed in different portions of the year. A remarkable instance, illustrative of the above remark, immediately occurs to us. As the months Munychion and Thargelion succeeded each other in the *second* half of the year, so did Boëdromion and Pyanepsion in the *first*. The sixth of Boëdromion was sacred to Diana; the seventh, without doubt, to Apollo Boëdromius, *the martial god*; who therefore corresponds with the Delphinian Apollo, and the festival with the Delphinia. The Pyanepsia, however, were very similar to the Thargelia; the laurel-boughs wrapt with wool, carried round at the celebration of both, remind us of the Daphnephoria^z; only, as was above remarked, the worship of Bacchus, which Theseus is said to have established at Naxos, after his return from the islands, was mixed up with it, and is to be recognised in the carrying of boughs (ὀσχοφορία), which was introduced into this festival. Thus these four seventh days (ἐβδομαί) correspond with each other as follows;

7th Munychion.	7th Boëdromion.
7th Thargelion.	7th Pyanepsion.

6. We turn from these expiatory festivals of uni-

* This too, as well as the olive-branch, was always borne by a παῖς ἀμφιθαλής, a boy who had both parents alive.

versal occurrence to the expiations which the religion of Apollo enjoined for each pollution of blood^a. We previously noticed some establishments of this nature connected with the temples at Tænarum, at Trœzen, and of Branchidæ: a similar one also existed at Delphi, as may be gathered from the fable of Orestes, related by Æschylus, in which Apollo appears at the same time as leader of the avenging Furies, and as purifier of the murderer. Immediately after this deed, the matricide takes an olive-branch, bound with woollen fillets (*ἰκετηρία*^b), and flies (to use the words of Æschylus), *like a frightened stag*^c, to Delphi, where Apollo himself purifies his blood-stained hands by the sacrifice of swine and ablutions^d; and by this means liberates him from the Furies, as a defence against whom he had (according to Stesichorus) also given him a bow and

^a See a verse from an epic poet quoted by Plutarch Præc. Reip. ger. 19. p. 178. "Ἰκομεν οἱ κτείναντες, ἀπότηρεπε λοιγὸν, Ἀπόλλων."

^b Æsch. Choeph. 1035. Eumen. 43. *στήμματα Δελφικά*. Suidas in *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς*.

^c Eumen. 326.

^d Ibid. 238, 280, 446, 581. This expiation is also represented on several vases; see Tischbein II. 16. and more completely in Millin *Vases* II. 68. *Monumens inédits* I. 29. where see the accurate explanation. Orestes sits, half kneeling, on the *ὄμφαλος*, covered with a net, exactly as Æschylus describes it: by his side are Minerva and the Furies; next the tripod is the sacred

laurel, with fillets, and votive tablets; and by it is Apollo, standing, with a laurel chaplet, and his mantle thrown back; the spirit of Clytemnestra and Pylades in the background. On a vase in the British Museum (N^o. 102), Orestes is represented as kneeling, with a sword in his hand, and a travelling cap thrown from his head, before an altar; woollen fillets, made in the form of a chain, fall from one arm; Apollo, with a branch of laurel and a Patera in one hand, stands by him; and in the other, as it appears, a pair of shears, with which he is going to cut off a lock of his hair. See also *Museo Pio Clementino* V. pl. 22.

arrows^e. After the purification of Orestes at Delphi, the Athenian poets affirm that he went to Athens, and, under the protection of the god, placed himself before the Areopagus, where Cephalus had also stood in a similar situation^f.

At Athens likewise, as was remarked above, the expiatory rites of the worship of Apollo were connected with the criminal courts of justice, the aristocratic ephetæ being intrusted both with the ceremony of purification and the duties of judges. These were fifty-one men, of noble birth^g, who in early times had jurisdiction in five courts of justice (amongst which the Areopagus was of course included) over every description of homicide^h. Solon

^e Ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 268. The purification of Orestes was likewise referred to the very ancient temple of Apollo at Trœzen; in front of which there was a building called the *tent of Orestes* (σκηνή Ὀρίστου); where he lived secluded from the world, until he was purified. And from the materials used in the purification (what Homer calls λύματα), which were buried close by, a laurel was said to have sprung, Pausan. II. 31. 11. comp. I. 22. 2. and above, ch. 2. §. 8. It was also supposed to have been performed at Rhegium; see the passages quoted above, p. 289, note ⁱ. The ἐναντισμός, or seclusion of Orestes, took place in Parrhasia, according to Schol. Eurip. Orest. 1678.

^f Hellanic. fragm. 98, ed. Sturz.

^g In later times the ephetæ decided cases of unpremeditated and justifiable homicide in the Palladium, Delphinium, Prytaneum, and Phreattys: while the Areopagus, the court for murder, was separate: but in early times these aristocratic judges appear to have sat in *all* the five courts, each armed with *full* jurisdiction. Demosth. in Macart. p. 1069. 7. They were ἀριστινδὴν αἰπεθέες, according to Pollux VIII. 125. Philochorus (ap. Maxim. Procem. ad S. Dionys. Areop. p. 19. fragm. ed. Siebel.) gives the same number for the Areopagites, i. e. as they were before the time of Solon.

^h Pollux *ubi sup.* This explains how the Areopagus might be of great antiquity (Aristot. Polit. II. 8. 2, &c.), and yet *never* have been men-

probably first separated the Areopagus from the other four courts; and, in order to make it a timocratic tribunal, with cognizance over cases of wilful murder, he gave it great political, though not religious power; the latter he was not able to bestow. The jurisdiction of the ephetæ was now confined to cases of unintentional or justifiable homicide, and some others of no importance; thus remaining a singular remnant of the ancient judicial forms, in the midst of an universal change. We shall now describe the ceremonies in use at the expiation of homicides. It is necessary, however, in the first place to distinguish the wilful murderer, who either left for ever his native land, losing all privileges and property therein, or who suffered the penalty of the laws, from the man who killed another without design, or with some good cause, which it was necessary should be approved by the sentence of the ephetæ. A person in the latter situation left his country by a particular road for a certain time; during which he also kept at a distance from places of public resort (*ἀπενιαντισμός*ⁱ). Afterwards, the reconciliation took place either with the kindred or certain chosen phratores; but only in case they were willing^k, and that it was only a homicide of the second description^l. The term used was *αἰδέσασθαι*,

tioned by Draco, who only spoke of the ephetæ, Plutarch Solon. 29.

ⁱ Suidas in *ἀπενιαντίσαι*. Hesychius in *ἀπενιαντισμός*. Schol. Eurip. Hippol. 35. and see Barnes's note. The term of banishment was always called *ἐνιαντός* (Apollod. II. 8. 3. cf. III. 4. 2.), and was generally

eight years (an *ἐνναετηρίς*) in ancient times (see below, ch. 11. §. 9.); but at Athens it was probably undetermined.

^k *Ἐὰν θέλωσι* Demosth. *ubi sup.*

^l *Ἐὰν γνῶσιν οἱ πενήκοντα καὶ εἰς ἄκοντα κτείνειν* ibid. cf. in Pantænet. p. 983. 15. in Nausimach. pag. 991. 3. where

because an offender of this kind was an unfortunate person, and therefore, according to the opinion of the ancient Greeks, worthy of respect. Afterwards, the perpetrator was purified from all guilt by sacrifices and expiatory rites. In early times the purification probably always took place abroad, frequently in the ancient settlements of the injured family. At Athens it was performed after the return of the criminal; and there the cases of atoneable murders were of course less frequent than in the heroic age; since, under a less regular government, and with closer family ties, there were more incitements and excuses for that crime. Hence at that time those institutions must have been of double importance, which checked the fearful consequences of an unlucky act, quieted the workings of an uneasy conscience, and moderated the too eager thirst for revenge^m.

From this ancient connexion of the religious ex-

Reiske's alteration is wrong. See also particularly the *θεσμοί* in the speech of Demosthenes against Aristocrates. Plato, too, would have expiation and purification only in the case of involuntary homicide, *de Leg.* IX. pag. 869. It was against every principle of law for the relations to compound for a wilful murder (see Pseudo-Demosth. in *Theocrin.* p. 1330. extr.); and thus, too, the case in *Il.* VI. 632. is mentioned as an exception. See, however, *Apollod.* II. 7. 6.

^m On this point more will be found below, in *ch.* 11. §. 9. In this place I only observe, with reference to the assertion

of Lobeck (*de Præc. Myst.* II. p. 6.), "that all expiations in the heroic mythology were invented by the historians," that, according to *Arctinus* (*Æthiopis* ap. *Procl. Chrestom. comp.* Tychsen *de Quinto Smyrnæo* pag. 61.), Achilles, after the murder of Thersites, fled to Lesbos, to be there expiated by Ulysses, after sacrifices to Apollo and Diana. It may indeed be shewn from the *Scholia* to *Il.* XXIV. 484. that the original reading in this passage was not *ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀφνειοῦ*, but *ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀγνίτῳ*, "in the house of the expiator, or purifier."

piations and criminal jurisdiction, we easily perceive why at Athens Apollo should have presided over all the courts of justice^a; and why he was also represented at Tenedos as armed with a double hatchet, the instrument used in that island for the execution of adulterers^o.

7. We shall now slightly touch upon a third class of purifications; I mean those of houses, towns, and districts, over which Apollo was equally supposed to preside^p; and accordingly they were performed by Tiresias the prophet of the Ismenium at Thebes^q; as also in later times by Epimenides, in his character of a Cretan worshipper of Apollo, at Athens (after Olymp. 46. 1.), and at Delos at a still earlier period^r. This is the first purification of Delos of which we have any account; the second is that instituted by Pisistratus (about the 60th Olympiad); the third, that set on foot by Athens (Olymp. 88. 3. 426 B. C.), when the island was entirely freed from the corpses so odious to Apollo^s.

In all these rites we find frequent use of the *laurel* (the δάφνη 'Απολλωνιάς^t), to which a power of warding off evil was ascribed, both when employed in sprinkling, and when merely carried round in procession^u. This tree also served several purposes in the delivery of oracles; a branch of it in ancient times distinguished the prophets^x, and even the god

^a Above, p. 273, note ⁱ.

^o Below, p. 377, note ^u.

^p Æschyl. Eum. 62.

^q Theocrit. Id. XXIV.

^r Plutarch. Conviv. Sept. Sapient. 14.

^s Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 150. Com-

pare also the fact mentioned in the first spurious Epistle of Æschines p. 658. ed. Reisk.

^t Hesych. in v.

^u See Casaubon ad Theophrast. Char. 16.

^x Hence Manto is also called Daphne; and one of the sons

himself as such^y; and hence his nurses were said by some to have been Κορυθαλεια^z, i. e. “the laurel itself;” and Ἀλήθεια, or “the fulfilment of oracles^a.” The reason why the laurel was supposed to have these powers is as obscure as the origin of the ancient symbolical language in general. Perhaps it was merely the appearance of the evergreen-tree, with its slender form and glittering leaves, that made it a symbol of Apollo. The laurel will bear a tolerably severe winter^b, and therefore flourished in the north of Greece; while the olive, the tree of Minerva, belongs to its more southern regions. But, be this as it may, the situation of Tempe, where this shrub still grows with great luxuriance, certainly added much to the sanctity of the symbol^c; and for this reason the amour of the god with Daphne is often placed on the banks of the Peneus^d. Indeed Apollo was supposed to love all

of Priam, a prophet, was named αἶσακος, i. e. a laurel-bough, Apollod. III. 12. 5. cf. Hesych. in v.

^y Tischbein I. 33. Millin Vases tom. I. pl. 6.

^z Plutarch Sympos. III. 9. 2. p. 148. ed. Hutten. Schol. Od. XIX. 86. διὰ τὸ κονροτρόφον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Compare Eustathius p. 683. 40. ed. Bas. Hesych. in κορυθαλία, where the olive-branch is so called. See also Creuzer's *Symbolik* vol. II. p. 161.

^a Ἀλήθεια is often used in oracles to signify the confirmation by events of the prediction; thus Antiphon wrote a treatise περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, i. e. on the fulfilment of oracles.

Apollo is called ἀληθής by Tryphiodorus v. 641. where see Wernicke's note. Diviners were called by the Spartans καταλαθισταί, Hemsterhuis ad Tim. p. 113.

^b See particularly Plin. jun. Epist. V. 6.

^c Above, p. 231, note K.

^d Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Hyginus fab. 203. where see Muncker's note. It is also related to have taken place at Amyclæ, at Claros, and also on the banks of the Ladon; the latter on account of Apollo Oncaus. In several coins of Metapontum, e. g., on two in the Paris cabinet, Apollo is represented as placing or planting a laurel on a low altar;

groves, particularly of forest-trees, laurels, wild-olives, &c. The freshening coolness and holy silence of such places were thought to be proper preparatives for entering the sanctuary^e.

8. It has appeared incomprehensible to many, why Apollo should be a god of prophecy, and how this office can be reconciled with his other attributes. Many have been satisfied with supposing an accidental association of music, prophecy, and archery, without being able to discover any principle of union. In the following pages we shall endeavour to account for the combination in the same deity of attributes apparently so unconnected.

Prophecy, according to the ideas of the ancients, is the announcement of fate (of *μοῖρα, αἶσα*). Now fate was considered to be the right order of things, the established physical and moral harmony of the world, in which each thing occupies the place fitted for its capacities and function. Fate therefore coincides with the supreme Justice (*Θέμις*); which notion Hesiod expressed by saying that Jupiter married Themis, who produced to him the Fates. The pious, religious mind could not separate Jupiter and Destiny: Fate was the will and thought of the highest of the gods. A man whose actions agreed with this established harmony, and who followed the appointed course of things, acted *justly* (*κατ' αἶσαν, ἐναίσχημα*); the violent and arrogant man endeavoured at least to break through the laws of Fate. Now it was this right order of events which the ancient oracles were supposed to proclaim; and hence they were called *θέ-*

and he is frequently drawn fillets.

with a laurel in his hand,
sometimes bound with woollen

^e See Od. IX. 200. XX. 278.
Pausan. I. 21. 9.

μίστης, ordinances or laws of *justice*^f. They were not imagined to be derived from a foreknowledge of futurity; but merely to declare that which, according to the necessary course of events, must come to pass. It cannot indeed fail to surprise us that the oracle was delivered by a woman in a state of ecstasy, and not as the result of serious reflection. But do we not find in the earlier period of Grecian philosophy (especially in the Ionic school) every new and profound discovery appearing as the work of sudden illumination and ecstasy, and indeed often accompanied with miraculous circumstances? And would not the mind in that age have naturally been raised to such an excited and rapturous state, when, endeavouring to escape from the narrow bounds of daily life, it recognised in the general course of events the influence of the gods? The means adopted to promote this inspiration, the vapour of the chasm, the chewing of the laurel-leaves, the drinking of the water of the well, are of the most innocent description. We do not however mean to deny that these ceremonies soon became an unmeaning form, the oracle being made subservient to political purposes.

The custom of a woman giving utterance to the decrees of the god originated partly from the peculiar estimation in which women were held by the Dorians, and partly from the natural tendency of the female sex (so often remarked by the ancients)

^f See particularly Od. XVI. 403. and Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 394. compare Ælian V. H. III. 43, 44. Diod. V. 67. Harpocratio in *θεμωρεῖν*, &c. Themis was worshipped, together with Apollo, at Delphi (which also seems to be stated in the corrupt gloss of Hesychius in *θεμω*), and in the Didymæum, Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 67.

to fits of ecstasy. Prophetesses were elsewhere also frequently connected with temples of Apollo; as, for instance, Manto, during the fabulous age, with the Ismenian and Clarian temples, and Cassandra with that of Thymbra, whose nature was nearly allied to that of the sibyls, who likewise were always connected with temples of the same god. As to the manner in which the responses of the Pythian priestess were delivered, Heracleitus of Ephesus says, that "*the god, whose oracle is at Delphi, neither utters nor conceals any thing, but gives signs*;" which at least serves to contradict the common idea of the designed ambiguity of this oracle.

This temple must however have lost much of its dignity, when it condescended, for the sake of rich offerings from the Lydian monarch, to answer enigmatically the insidious questions which Cræsus put to the Grecian oracles. In earlier times a Greek would not have dared, without the greatest faith in its responses, to approach the temple, which had regulated almost the whole political state of Greece, conducted its colonies, instituted the sacred armistices, and established by its authority the legislation of Lycurgus. For in general the god had not to declare what *would*, but what *should* take place; and he frequently declared events not as to happen independently of his injunction, but as the consequence and result of his answers. All Dorians were in a certain state of dependence on the Pythian

§ Ap. Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. 21. pag. 282. (pag. 333. ed. Schleiermacher.) Herod. VII. 111. also appears to a certain

degree to praise the simplicity of the Delphic oracles, as also Philostratus Vit. Apollon. VI. 11.

temple; and as long as that race possessed the ascendancy in Greece, the hearth in the centre of the earth (μεσόμφαλος ἑστία), with its eternal fire, at Pytho^b, was in fact considered as the Prytaneum and religious centre of the whole of Greeceⁱ.

9. In ancient Greece, however, prophecy was by no means derived altogether from Apollo, but merely that species of it which proceeded from a rapturous and entranced state of the soul. Nevertheless, the enthusiastic and imaginative frame of mind, in which cool grottos, with their flowing waters and hollow echoes, seemed to transport the votary into a former world, was derived from the Nymphs: and the Bacidæ, who were considered as under the influence of the Nymphs (νυμφόπληκτοι), have no more to do with Apollo than the σεληνιακοί, among whom Musæus is reckoned.

Of the various modes of divination from omens^k, only two or three were referred to this god, and that rather accidentally than in accordance with any fixed principle^l: e. g. divination from lightning^m, from birdsⁿ, from sacrifices^o, and from the drawing of lots, which, however, was either disdained by him, as below his dignity, or transferred to Mercury^p.

^b Hom. Hymn. 24. Æsch. Choëph. 1037. Eurip. Ion 474. Plutarch. Num. 9.

ⁱ See Plato de Rep. IV. pag. 179. 7. Leg. VI. pag. 428. 12. ed. Bekker.

^k The divination from dreams is also opposed by Euripides (Iphig. Taur. 1264). to the prophecies of Apollo; and he also refers to it the combat between the goddess Paia and Phœbus.

^l All regular divination was

of an early date, according to Pausan. I. 43. 3.

^m Above, ch. 2. §. 14.

ⁿ Hymn. Hom. III. 213, 544. Sophocl. Œd. T. 965. Alexander's Δελφικά ap. Steph. Byz. in Πάρνασσος, Paus. X. 6. 1. comp. Plin. H. N. VII. 57.

^o Μάντεις Πυθικοί at the sacrifice, Eurip. Androm. 1107, 1116. see above, ch. 2. §. 12. ch. 3. §. 2.

^p Hom. Hymn. III. 552. Cal-

Connecting the idea of Apollo, which we have now acquired, with our preceding inquiries, we find the whole combine in an easy and natural manner. Apollo, as a divine hero, overcomes every obstacle to the order and laws of heaven; and those are heavenly regulations and laws which he proclaims as the prophet of Jupiter. By these, also, tranquillity, brightness, and harmony, are every where established, and every thing destructive of them is removed. The belief in a fixed system of laws, of which Apollo was the executor, formed the foundation of all prophecy in his worship.

10. We have next to consider for what reason and to what extent *music* was included among the solemnities (τιμαὶ) in honour of Apollo. On this point, however, we must guard against inferring too much from the poets. By the ancients he was represented as playing on the lyre (φόρμιγξ), frequently in the midst of a chorus of Muses, singing and dancing⁹; whose place in the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo is filled by ten goddesses, among whom "*Mars and Mercury vault and spring*" (perhaps like Cretan tumblers or κυβιστηγῆρες), "*whilst Apollo, in a beautifully woven garment, plays, and at the same time dances, with quick motion of the feet:*" for Apollo was not considered as merely a god of music; thus Pindar addresses him as the god of

lim. Hymn. Apoll. 45. and Schol. Etym. Magn. pag. 455. 51. Anecd. Bekk. p. 265. Zenobius V. 75. Steph. Byz. in Ἑρία. compare Hesychius in the obscure gloss Ἑριῶ, and the vase in Millingen's *Diverses Peintures* 29. Κλήροι at Delphi

are also mentioned by Plutarch de Et 16.

⁹ Il. I. 602. Hesiod. Scut. 200; and see Heinrich's note. So also on the chest of Cypselus, with the verses in Paus. V. 18. 1, and Pindar Nem. V. 24.

dance^r. But we are not warranted from this *poetical* fiction to infer a *religious* union of the Muses and Apollo, nor can such a connexion be any where traced; indeed the worship of these goddesses was, both in origin and locality^s, entirely different from that of Apollo. Besides, amongst the early writers, Apollo is never considered as the patron of poets, or invoked, as the Muses are, to grant poetical inspiration: players on the harp (κithάρα) alone were under his protection. The harp was his attribute, both in many ancient statues^t and also on the coins of Delphi; it is his ancient and appropriate instrument; the deeper-toned lyre, with its arched sounding-board, Apollo received from Mercury^u: the instances in which he is represented as bearing it are very rare.

11. But for what reason is Apollo described as playing upon the harp? for no other, assuredly, than that the music of the harp was from times of remote antiquity connected with his worship; and that, because it appears best fitted to express a tranquil and simple harmony; the worship of Apollo, as we have frequently remarked, always endeavouring to produce a solemn quiet and stillness of the

^r Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 200. Pindar Fragm. 115. ed. Boeckh. Apollo himself, as a boy, is represented dancing on a tripod in a coin of Cos (Mionnet tom. III. p. 401).

^s Orchomenos p. 381.

^t See, e. g. Athen. XIV. p. 636 E. Hence the κίθαρος was a fish sacred to Apollo, Apollod. Fragm. p. 395. ed. Heyn.

^u See the Homeric Hymn to Mercury. But even there the

lyre is frequently confounded with the cithara or lute (the *seven-stringed* lute in v. 51, which proves that this hymn is later than the time of Terpan-der). Comp. Apollod. III. 10. 2, where Apollo is said to receive the pipe (σύριγξ) also from Mercury, and Eratosth. Catast. 24. The Æolian lyric poets made frequent mention of this fable, and hence it frequently occurs in Horace.

soul. Pindar beautifully says of this god that he "*invented the harp, and bestows the muse on whom he wills, in order to introduce peaceful law into the heart* ^x." To this also refer the golden *κηληδόνες*, which, according to the account of the same poet ^y, were suspended from the roof of the brasen temple at Delphi; and they were, without doubt, intended as emblems of the mild and soothing influence of the god. This was naturally the chief object of music when used in purifications, and as an incantation (*ἐπωδή*); when passions were to be overcome, and pain soothed; and in ancient times this was one of its most important applications ^z. Chrysothemis, an ancient Pythian minstrel of mythology, was hence called the son of Carmanor, the expiatory priest of Tarrha ^a; as also Thaletas, the Cretan poet, purified Sparta by music, when attacked with the plague ^b. The Pythagoreans, who paid an especial honour to Apollo, went still further, and employed music as a charm (*ἐπωδή*) to soothe the passions, attune the spirit to harmony, and cure both body and mind. Hence they much preferred the harp to the flute ^c, as, according to Grecian ideas, there was something in the sound of the flute wild, and at the same time gloomy: this, too, is the reason why Apollo disliked the music of that instrument ^d. This also explains his contest with Mar-

^x Pyth. V. 63.

^y Fragm. Pæan. 2. ed. Boeckh.

^z The frequent use of music in medicine in the most ancient times is certainly not a fiction; thus Apollo, when a player on the harp and an *ιατρόμαντις*, has offices nearly allied to one another, Æsch.

Suppl. 261. Eumén. 62.

^a Paus. X. 7. 2. According to Schol. Pind. Pyth. Argum. 3. he was himself the *καθαρίης*.

^b Plutarch de Music. 42.

^c Diog. Laert. VIII. 24. Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. 26, &c.

^d Hence no flute-player was allowed to enter the temple of

syas, the Phrygian Silenus and flute-player, whose tough skin, having been stript off by the conqueror, always moved (according to the report of the inhabitants of Celænæ), with joy, as was believed, at the sound of flutes^e.

The flute was not an instrument of much antiquity among the Greeks; Homer only mentions it as used by the Trojans^f. In the time of Hesiod it had been introduced into the irregular and crowded processions after banquets (κῶμος^g). But the harp alone for a long time kept its place as the instrument for the chorus: even in the time of Alcman flute-players came mostly from Asia Minor; and their names (Sambas, Adon, Telos^h) frequently had, from this circumstance, a barbarous sound. This kind of music was principally adopted in places where Bacchus was worshipped; for instance, in Bœotia. It was of course also much used in the rites of the Phrygian Magna Mater, and of the Phrygian Panⁱ; hence Pindar, who inherited the character of a flute-player from his father, dedicated a shrine to the mother of the gods, and to Pan^k. When, however, it had become common throughout

Tennes the son of Apollo, Diod. V. 83.

^e This fable, and the various representations of it in ancient art, are well known. See Bœttiger in Wieland's *Attisches Museum* vol. I. p. 285. Visconti *Museo Pio-Clementino* V. 4. Millin *Vases* vol. I. pl. 6. The accompaniments in the plate given by Tischbein IV. 6. shew that Phrygia, those in I. 33. and Millingen pl. 6. that Delphi is meant.

^f Il. X. 13. The passage XVIII. 495. cannot be considered as equally ancient, see Eustathius and the Venetian Scholiast.

^g Hesiod. Scut. 281.

^h Athen. XIV. pag. 624 B. Welcker ad Alcman. pag. 6. Fragm. 86.

ⁱ See Marm. Par. Ep. 10. and the commentators.

^k Boeckh ad Pindar. Fragm. p. 292.

Greece, it could not be excluded from a place so celebrated for music as Delphi, and Apollo's ear became less fastidious. Alcman and Corinna, indeed, were too partial to that art (the former as being a Lydian, the latter a Bœotian), when they represented Apollo himself playing on the flute¹. This instrument, however, had at that time been adopted even in the sacred exhibition of the Delphian worship: a dirge on the death of the Python^m (nominally the production of Olympus a Phrygian musician, contemporary with Terpander) was played on the flute in the Lydian strain, and probably formed a part of that dramatic representation. Moreover, this instrument was used to accompany Prosodia (songs which were sung on the way to a temple) in the procession to Tempe, and in the Pentathlôn at the gymnastic contestsⁿ. A peculiar species of flute, from being used in pæans, obtained the name of the *Pythian*^o: yet the music of the flute, combined with singing (*ἀνλᾶδία*), in lyric and elegiac measures, was excluded from the Pythian games, after it had once been heard, as making too gloomy an impression^p: for all sadness, and therefore all plaintive strains, were every where excluded from the worship of Apollo; and the music in his temples was always intended to have an enlivening and tranquillizing effect upon the mind.

12. From this view of the subject we may ex-

¹ Alcman. Fragm. 38. ed. Welcker. Plutarch de Mus. 14.

^m Aristoxenus ap. Plutarch. de Mus. 15. The same musician also composed the νόμος Πολυκέφαλος in honour of Apollo, Plut. ib. 7. Boeckh ad Pind. Pyth. XII. p. 345.

ⁿ Plutarch de Mus. 14. Paus. V. 7. 4. V. 14. 4. τὸ Πύθιον, Athen. XII. p. 538 F.

^o Or *perfect* (τέλειοι αὐτοὶ), Aristides de Music. 2. p. 101. ed. Meibom.

^p Paus. II. 22. 9. X. 9. 3.

plain the singular story of the contest of Apollo with Linus, and of the defeat and consequent death of the latter^q. For this purpose it will be necessary to state shortly my ideas respecting the real character of Linus. Linus then, the subject of the song called by his name, was originally a god of an elementary religion (in which there were numerous symbols to signify the death of all animated life): he was nearly connected with Narcissus (i. e. *the Torpid*), whose tomb was shewn at Thebes and Argos, at which last place matrons and maidens bewailed him in the month Arneius, as a boy brought up among lambs and torn in pieces by dogs^r. The song of lamentation for the untimely death of Linus, the much-loved boy^s, was sung to the harp in a low and subdued voice, and listened to with pleasure in the times of Homer and Hesiod^t, although then, perhaps, the air was not always very melancholy. But in after-times this was its predominant character, as is proved by the names Αἶλιος and Οἶτό-

^q Paus. IX. 29. 3. Philochorus ap. Eustath. ad II. p. 1163. 57. ed. Rom.

^r Conon Narr. c. 19. Paus. II. 19, 1 (his tomb was in the temple of Apollo). comp. Propertius II. 10. 8. Α θρήνος Ἀργείος is mentioned by Aristides Eleus. p. 259. Apollo is only his poetical father (Apollod. I. 3. 2. Theocritus, Eustathius); but his mother Psamathe and his brother Psamathus must have some meaning. With the ceremony mentioned in the text was connected a festival called *Arnis* or *Cynophontis*, at which a number of dogs were

publicly slaughtered. Ælian. N. A. XII. 34. Statius Theb. VI. 65. Conon *ubi sup.* Athen. III. p. 99 F. The dog, as was frequently the case in ancient mythology, evidently represents Sirius, and generally the scorching heat of summer, so fatal to all vegetation. It appears, therefore, that they destroyed the emblem of that power by which the death of Narcissus was occasioned.

^s Hesiod ap. Eustath. *ubi sup.*

^t Hom. II. XVIII. 569. Hesiod *ubi sup.* Euripides ap. Athen. XIV. p. 619 C.

λινος^u. It was a great favourite with the husbandmen^x, who were generally aboriginal inhabitants. In this point there was a resemblance between the usages of ancient Greece and Asia Minor, where religious dirges of this description, different, indeed, in different districts, but having every where the same mournful tune, were customary^y. Such were, for instance, the lament of the tribe of Doliones^z; the Hylas, sung at fountains in the country of the Mysians and Bithynians^a (probably the same as the Mysian song^b); the song of the beautiful Bormis, whose watery death was deplored by the husbandmen of Mariandyne on the flute in the middle of summer^c; of Lityerses, whom the Phrygians bewailed yearly during the time of harvest at Celænæ, the native place of Marsyas^d; and which, with the melancholy Carian strain, was played to the Phrygian flute^e. Besides these there were the Gingras, or song of Adonis, and the Maneros, the rustic song of Pelusium in Egypt, which Herodotus compares with the Linus^f. And even at Cyprus the contest of the two opposite kinds of music was in some measure renewed; there being a tradition that Cinyras, the priest of Venus, and composer of the mournful strains in honour of Adonis, had, like

^u See Stanley ad Æsch. Agam. 123. The proper name was perhaps οἶτος Λίνου, and the first words αἶ Λίνε.

^x Pollux I. 1. 38. cf. II. *ubi sup.*

^y Barbarian Αἰλινοί in Eurip. Orest. 1402.

^z Schol. Apoll. I. 1135.

^a Orchomenos p. 293.

^b Æsch. Pers. 1059 (where it is a melancholy tune to the

lamentations of the chorus) and Schol. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 791.

^c Æsch. Pers. 941. and Schol. Eustath. *ubi sup.* Pollux IV. 7. 54.

^d Schol. Theocrit. X. 41. Apostol. XII. 7. Hesychius in Μαριανδυνῶν θρήνος.

^e Pollux IV. 10. 76.

^f II. 79. comp. Clearchus ap. Hesych. Pollux *ubi sup.*

Marsyas and Linus, been overcome and put to death by Apollo^g.

Thus we behold Apollo the representative of the severe, even, and simple music of the Greeks, in contest with that impassioned spirit, alternating between the extremes of fury and apathy, which the professors of an elementary religion sought to represent even in their music; and consequently this fable also harmonizes with the fundamental principles of the religion of Apollo.

13. Having now ascertained the general character of the music employed in the worship of Apollo, we shall endeavour to obtain a more accurate knowledge of its varieties.

One of the most ancient species of composition (in which Chrysothemis the Cretan and Philammon were said to have contended at Delphi) was a hymn to Apollo^h; which we must suppose to have been composed in the ancient Doric dialect, and sung simply to the harp. In reference to the musical part, this song was also called νόμοςⁱ, the invention of which was ascribed to Apollo himself^k. At Delos also hymns of this kind (νόμοι) were sung at the cyclic dances, and were supposed to be derived from Olen, another representative of the ancient poetry of hymns^l. The general character of these was

^g Eustath. ad Il. A. 20. The name Cinyras was changed so as to resemble Κινυρός. The love which Apollo bore him (Pind. Pyth. II. 16. cf. Schol. Theocrit. I. 109) merely signifies that he was fond of music.

^h Paus. X. 7. 2. Concerning the antiquity of the musical contests at Delphi see Plutarch Sympos. II. 4. 1. p. 83. Deme-

trius Phalereus quoted above, p. 349, note γ. Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. Tyan. VI. 10.

ⁱ Proclus ap. Phot. Χρυσόθεμις ὁ Κρήσις πρῶτος στολῇ χρησάμενος ἐκπρεπεῖ καὶ κιθάραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς μίμησιν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μόνος ᾗσε νόμον.

^k Suidas in νόμος κιθαρωδός.

^l Callim. Hymn. Del. 304. comp. Apoll. Rhod. I. 537.

composure and regularity^m; the measure was anciently (as we know from certain testimony) only hexameterⁿ: which agrees well with the fact that the origin of the hexameter was derived from Pytho^o. In the account that Philammon, the ancient composer of hymns, had placed choruses of young women round the altar, who sang the birth of Latona and her children in lyric measures (*ἐν μέλεσι^p*), the nomes of Philammon^q, as improved by Terpander the ancient lyric poet, appear to be confounded with the original ones; since these, after the fashion of the most ancient composers, contained only hexameters^r. The ancient religious poets mentioned in these accounts, Chrysothemis, Philammon, and Olen, may be looked on as Dorians with the same certainty as the founders of the temples of Tarrha, Delphi, and Patara, to which they particularly belonged^s. The language also of the poems ascribed to them must have been Doric; though indeed the fact of a poetical use of this dialect before the his-

^m Proclus *ubi sup.*

ⁿ Plutarch de Music. 4. from Timotheus.

^o See the passages quoted by Fabricius vol. I. p. 207, 210. ed. Harl. There was also a *versus Deliacus*, if the reading in Atilius Fortunatus p. 2690. ed. Putsch. is correct. At *Miletus* also there were ancient hexameter hymns, probably by Branchus, to Apollo and Jupiter, Terent. de Metris 5. 165. comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 647.

^p Heraclid. Pont. ap. Plutarch de Music. 3. comp. Schol.

Od. XVI. 432. Syncellus Chronogr. p. 162. Fabricius vol. I. p. 214. ed. Harles.

^q Plutarch de Music. 5.

^r The hymns of Terpander were, like the most ancient songs, partly in hexameter metre, *ἑπη* (Plutarch Symp. III. 4. Proclus *ubi sup.*): yet Terpander was the first to introduce a great variety of metre.

^s The reason of *Thamiris* the Thracian being called the son of Philammon (Paus. IV. 33). is probably the near neighbourhood of the Delphians and Thracians of Parnassus

toric times will not agree with the predominant, though perhaps not well-grounded notions respecting the progress of poetry in Greece.

14. That the pæan was a song of thanksgiving for deliverance has been mentioned above. With respect however to the manner in which it was performed, we learn from Homer that it was sung after the sacrificial feast^t, when the goblets were carried round after the sacred libation; and this was also the case at Sparta and Athens^u. It was generally sung in a sitting posture, although in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo that god is represented as accompanying the Cretans who sing in a measured step^x. At Sparta also it was danced in choruses^y. On the whole it required a regular and sedate measure^z, even when it assumed a more lively air, as at the νόμος, and at the holy σπονδειακόν, sung at libations^a.

But the most lively dance which accompanied the songs used in the worship of Apollo, was that termed the *hyporchema*^b. In this, besides the chorus of singers who usually danced around the blazing altar, several persons were appointed to accompany

^t Il. I. 473. cf. XXII. 391.

^u Plat. Symp. 4. Philochorus ap. Athen. XIV. p. 630 sq. cf. IV. p. 179. XI. p. 503 E. from Antiphanes, Xenoph. Symp. 2. 1. Hence τελεσίερος, Hesych. in v.

^x Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 514 sqq. In Delos also pæans were sung round the altars, Eurip. Herc. Fur. 690.

^y Xenoph. Ages. 2. 17. The passage of Athenæus XIV. p. 631 C. if properly written, does not refer to that point. There

was always a person named ἐξάρχων who accompanied the song on an instrument. Thus Archilochus Fragm. 50. ed. Gaisford. αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Διόσβιον παίοντα (after the time of Terpander), Vit. Sophocl. μετὰ λύρας τοῖς παιανίζουσιν ἐξήρχε. Compare the verses on the chest of Cypselus quoted above, p. 361. note ^q.

^z Plutarch de Et. 16.

^a Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 25.

^b See Menander de Encom. p. 27. ed. Heeren.

the action of the poem with an appropriate pantomimic display (*ὑπορχεῖσθαι*). Homer himself bears witness to the Cretan origin of this custom, since the Cnosian dance, represented by Vulcan on the shield of Achilles, appears from the description to have been a kind of Hyporcheme^c, and hence all dances of this description were called Cretan^d. From that island they passed at an early period over to Delos, where, even in Lucian's time, the wanderings of Latona and her island, with their final repose, were represented in the above manner^e. At the same time also probably took place the custom mentioned in the hymn to the Delian Apollo as characterizing the songs of the young women of that island; viz. that they represented the voices and gestures of every nation^f: perhaps they introduced the peculiar dances of the various countries which Latona visited in her wanderings. The ludicrous, and at the same time complicated dance (*γέρανος*) which Theseus is said first to have danced with his crew round the altar at Delos^g, was probably of the same description. All that can be clearly ascer-

^c Il. XVIII. 590. cf. Od. IV. 18.

^d Sosibius ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127. and Simonides ap. Athen. V. pag. 181 B. Plutarch Sympos. IX. 15. explained by Boeckh ad Pind. Fragm. p. 597.

^e Lucian. de Saltat. 16.

^f Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 162. πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὴν μιμεῖσθαι ἴσασιν. Κρεμβαλιαστὴς means extravagant gestures, such as clapping of hands, striking of castanets, &c.

^g See Plut. Thes. 21. Callim. Hymn. Del. 317. with Spanheim's note. The leader of the dance was called γερανουλκός (Hesych. in v.) Blows also were given, and hence the expression Δῆλον κακὸς βωμὸς (Hesych. in v.); and there were also various turnings and windings, παραλλάξεις and ἀνελίξεις (Dicæarchus apud Plut. *ubi sup.*): when at rest, the chorus stood in a semicircle, with leaders at the two wings, Pollux IV. 4. 101.

tained respecting the rhythm of these compositions is, that the hexameter was altogether unfitted to their playful and joyous character^h. But both the hyporcheme and pæan were first indebted for their systematic improvement to the Doric musicians, Xenodamus of Sparta, and Thaletas of Elyrus in Crete (about 620 B. C.ⁱ), who first brought the Cretic or Pæonian metre (*metrum Creticum sive Pæonicum*) into general use; which names point out beyond doubt its Cretan origin, and its use in pæans^k. Cretics form a quick and lively, though a pleasing and by no means inharmonious^l rhythm, being particularly adapted to rapid motion. Thus a joyous and agreeable harmony was added, at the festivals of Apollo, to the serious and solemn music, although the softness and insipidity of several Ionian and Asiatic tunes were, without doubt, always rejected.

Thus, if we except the purifying and propitiatory rites, the festivals of Apollo bore the character of a serene and joyful mind, every other attribute of the deity being lost in those of victory and mercy. Hence in his statues at Delphi^m and Delosⁿ he was

^h Athen. XIV. p. 630. Compare the extant fragments of the pæans of Pindar.

ⁱ Plutarch de Music. 9, 10. Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127. That the hyporcheme was native in Sparta may be seen from Pindar Fragm. 8. pag. 603. ed. Boeckh.

^k Plutarch de Music. 10. where for ΜΑΡΩΝΑ καὶ Κρητικὸν ῥυθμὸν should probably be written ΠΑΙΩΝΑ. A fragment of a pæan in pæans in Aristot. Rh. III. 7. 6.

^l It is called ἀβρόν τι μέλος by Bacchylides.

^m Pind. Olymp. XIV. 12. and the Schol.

ⁿ There was at Delos an ancient statue, according to Plutarch de Music. 14. which Tectæus and Angelion appear to have imitated (Pausan. IX. 35. 1.); whose work is perhaps copied in the Gem in Millin's *Galerie Mythologique* p. 33. N^o. 474. Comp. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. The Graces had a flute, a lyre, and a pipe in their hands.

represented as bearing in his hand the Graces, who gave additional splendour and elegance to his festivals by the dance, music, and banquet^o.

15. We have as yet omitted the mention of two great national festivals celebrated at Amyclæ by the Spartans in honour of the chief deity of their race^p, viz. the *Hyacinthia* and the *Carnea*, from a belief that they do not properly belong to Apollo. That the worship of the Carnean Apollo, in which both were included, was derived from Thebes, from whence it was brought over by the Ægidæ to Amyclæ, has been proved in a former work^q: our present object is to shew, from the symbols and rites of this worship, that it was originally derived more from the ancient religion of Ceres than from that of Apollo. The youth Hyacinthus, whom the Carnean Apollo accidentally struck with a quoit^r, evidently took his name from the flower (a dark-coloured species of iris), which in the ancient symbolical language was an emblem of death; and the fable of his death is clearly a relic of an ancient elementary religion. Now the hyacinth most frequently occurs, in this sense, in the worship of Ceres; thus, for example, it was under the name Κοσμοσάνδαλος sacred

There was another ancient statue (ξόανον) at Delos, which was referred to Erysichthon, Plutarch. Fragg. 10. pag. 291. ed. Hutten.

^o *Orchomenos* p. 182. and see Panyasis Fragg. I. 14. 18. ed. Brunck.

^p Also the *Hyacinthia* in the Amyclæum, Strab. VI. p. 278. Hyacinthus was the son of Amyclas and of Diomedes the daughter of Lapithas (so named

from the Lapithæum in the neighbourhood), according to Apollod. III. 10. 2. Amyclas is mentioned, instead of Hyacinthus, by Simmias περί μηνών, ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἀμύκλα.

^q *Orchomenos* pag. 327. The month Hyacinthus was also introduced into Sicily by the Ægidæ, Castelli Prol. XII. p. 74.

^r Hyacinthus is himself called καρναίος in Coluthus Rapt. Hel. 237.

to Ceres Chthonia at Hermione^{*}. We find further proof of this in the ancient sculptures with which the grave, and at the same time the altar of Hyacinthus, was adorned: the artists indeed appear to have completely comprehended the spirit of the worship. We find Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and the Cadmean Bacchus, with Ino and Semele, and Hyacinthus himself, together with a sister named Polybœa[†]. Polybœa is hardly, if at all, distinct from Proserpine[‡], whom Lasus of Hermione called Melibœa. To this may be added the sacrifices to the dead, and lamentations customary on the first day[§] (which were forbidden at all other festivals of Apollo); nightly processions[¶], and several other detached traces of the symbols of Ceres and Bacchus[‡], which, by an attentive observer, may be easily distinguished from those of Apollo. The time of the festival was also different: it took place on the longest day of the Spartan month Hecatombeus, which corresponds to the Attic Hecatombæon[‡], at the time when Hylas was invoked on the mountains of Bithynia, and the tender productions of nature droop their languid heads.

The Carnean festival took place, as it appears, in the following month to the Hyacinthian, equally in

^{*} Paus. II. 35. 4.

[†] Paus. III. 19. cf. IV. 33. 5.

[‡] Hesychius in Πολύβοια; and see below, ch. 10. §. 3.

[§] A worship of the dead was also offered to the πάρθενοι Ὑακινθίδες of Athea.

[¶] Eurip. Hel. 1490.

[‡] Crowns of ivy were given at the Hyacinthia according to Aristot. ap. Macrob. Sat. I. 18.

Hence perhaps the Κισσεὺς Ἀπώλων of Æschylus ap. Macrob. ibid. with Lobeck's correction ad Soph. Aj. 814. See Classical Journal XIX. p. 111.

[‡] Manso, History of Sparta, vol. III. part II. p. 201. has properly followed Dodwell on this point, whose arguments also convince me.

honour of Apollo of Amyclæ. But the Doric religion seems here to have preponderated, and to have supplanted the elementary symbols so evident in the Hyacinthia. The Carneæ were, as far as we know, altogether a warlike festival, similar to the Attic Boëdromia. It lasted nine days, during which time nine tents were pitched near the city, in each of which nine men lived, for the time of the festival, in the manner of a military camp. There is no reference to an elementary religion except some obscure ceremonies of the priest Agetes and the Carneatæ^b. This leads us to suppose that at the union of the Amyclæan worship, introduced by the Ægidæ, with the Doric worship of Apollo at Sparta, the Hyacinthia preserved more of the peculiarities of the former, the Carneæ of the latter, although the sacred rites of both were completely united. At the same time we do not deny the difficulty of inquiring into the origin and primitive form of ceremonies the history of which is so complicated; and this alone must excuse the shortness of our account respecting these two festivals.

16. Finally, the manner in which Apollo is represented in sculpture, particularly by the ancient artists, may assist our investigation into the ideas and sentiments on which his worship was founded. Apollo was a subject peculiarly adapted for sculpture. Since his connexion with elementary religion was slight, and there was nothing mystic in his character, the sculptors were soon able to fix upon a regular cast of features, to distinguish him from

^b Hesych. Σταφυλοδρόμοι τινὲς τῶν Καρνεατῶν παρορμῶντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τρύγῃ. is given in Bekker's Anecd. p. 205. A different account

other deities: for Apollo, not only in poetry, but in the fables most nearly connected with his worship, is generally represented as a human god, and in all his actions and sufferings more nearly connected with the heroes than any other divinity. But before this perfection and conventional uniformity of the art, the early sculptors were much assisted in characterizing the statues of Apollo by his numerous and significant symbols, such as the bow, the lyre, the laurel, &c.: and thus they were able, in some measure, to give an idea of the power and properties of Apollo, though merely in stiff and rude images of wood and stone.

17. The simple Cippus of Apollo Agyieus did not represent any particular attribute, but was merely intended as a memorial of the presence of the protecting god^c. In endeavouring more fully to express his character, the symbols of power would naturally come next. His attributes of vengeance doubtless preceded those of mercy, although both, in fact, harmonized together: it must, however, have been long, before the surpassing beauty of the god (celebrated even in the Theogony of Hesiod) could be the subject of sculpture. The attribute, then, of strength, as also that of omniscience, the ancient Lacedæmonians wished to represent by the Apollo with four hands and four ears at Amyclæ^d. But the chief statue on the above spot was an image,

^c Clemens of Alexand. (Str. I. pag. 349.) infers from two verses of the ancient poem Europa that Apollo was also represented at Delphi as a *κίων ἐψηλός*; but they prove nothing; for the high column, on

which arms and trophies were hung, was certainly not the god himself.

^d Called *Κουρίδιος*, Hesych. in v. Sosibius ap. Zenob. Prov. I. 54. Apostol. II. 54.

which, besides the bow, bore a helmet and lance: of the same nature was also the statue on mount Thornax, the face of which had been gilded by the Lacedæmonians^e. The Megarians also consecrated at Delphi a statue of Apollo bearing a lance^f; and at Tenedos he was armed with the double hatchet^g, like the Jupiter Labrandenius of the Carians^h. In a very ancient bas-relief, discovered by Dodwell on the mouth of a well at Corinth, and which we shall hereafter examine further, Apollo holds the harp in his handⁱ; his whole form too, as in all the ancient sculptures, is stouter and more manly than usual.

On inquiring concerning the artists of the most ancient symbolical statues of Apollo, we find that the Cretans were the first sculptors, as well as musicians, of that worship. From Crete, an ancient wooden statue of Apollo, of the rudest style of

^e Paus. III. 11. Perhaps this was the regular form of the Carnean Apollo, Paus. III. 26. 5.

^f Above, p. 201. note ^b.

^g Aristides ap. Steph. Byz. comp. Plutarch Pyth. Orac. 12. pag. 266. Apostol. XVIII. 28. and the coins of Tenedos (Mionnet tom. II. p. 671.); those of Pitana (tom. II. p. 627. N°. 722.), of Tasos (tom. III. pag. 352.), and particularly those of Thyateira (Buonarotti *Medaglie Antiche* IX. 9.), in which the symbol of the axe is variously combined with Apollo.

^h The latter god was called by the title of *Χρυσάορις* (Strab. XIV. pag. 660.); and consequently the epithet *χρυσάωρ*, as applied to Apollo, originally

(e. g. in II. V. 509. see Heyne's note and ad Apollod. p. 274.) signified his golden armour, although Pindar (Pyth. V. 104.) uses it for the golden ornaments of his harp; but in an oracle of Bacis it is again applied to Diana, i. e. to the armed goddess (Herod. VIII. 77. compare Mitscherlich and Ilgen ad Hom. Hymn. Cer. 4. Boeckh Explic. Pind. p. 293.)

ⁱ *Travels in Greece* vol. II. p. 200. pl. 7. *Alcuni bassi-relievi della Grecia*, Roma 1812. The Apollo upon the Capitoline Puteal appears to be a copy, but a far more modern copy, of the same original. The same shape of Apollo may be also observed in the reliefs with the carrying off of the tripod.

workmanship, was brought to Delphi^k: from hence, too (about Olymp. 50, 580 B. C.), there came Dipœnus and Scyllis the Dædalidæ, who made for the Sicyonians statues of Apollo, Diana, Hercules, and Minerva, of which we will speak hereafter. The Pythian oracle greatly interested itself in the labours of these artists; for when the envy of the native artists had driven them from Sicyon, it compelled the inhabitants to recall them. The managers of the temple of Delphi appear indeed to have been, from very early times, great patrons of the art of sculpture, particularly in brass. The subterraneous temple at Pytho (the existence of which has been doubted, but, in my opinion, without sufficient grounds) was covered with brass, as were several treasuries of the ancient princes of Greece. The temples and courts were fitted with numerous tripods; caldrons, goblets, and arms of brass were there arranged promiscuously, from periods of the highest antiquity. There was also a knife used in sacrifice called the *Delphian knife* (Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα^l); nor do the singing golden Κηληρόνες, which Pindar represents as suspended from the roof of the brasen temple, seem to be a mere poetical fiction.

But the Cretan school of sculpture produced Tec-tæus and Angelion, who erected the celebrated, and probably colossal statue of Apollo at Delos, which

^k Pind. Pyth. V. 42. There was also shewn at Tegea a gilt Apollo by Cheirisophus a Cretan, see Thiersch *Ueber die Kunstepochen* vol. II. p. 25.

^l Tryphiodor. 643. and see book IV. ch. 1. §. 3. Concerning the Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα see A-

ristotle Polit. I. 1. 5. and Hesychius in v. Compare Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 535. At Tarsos also they used a sacred μάχαιρα, tempered in the water of Cydnus, Plutarch de Defect. Orac. 41. p. 368.

(as was before mentioned) held the Graces in one hand and a bow in the other. With the same school also, though in a more distant degree, was connected Canachus of Sicyon, who, about the seventy-third Olympiad, made a famous bronze statue for the Didymæum^m, and one of wood for the Ismenium. From the accounts and various imitations of this work of art we are enabled to form some idea of its character. The god was represented with a manly form, his breast broad and prominent, the trunk square, the legs almost like pillars, and in a firm position, the left leg being a little advanced. The hair, encircled with a fillet, lay in slender twisted curls over the forehead; over each shoulder were three platted tresses, and behind the hair fell in a broad cluster down the back. The countenance nearly resembled those in the marbles of Ægina. In the right hand, which was stretched straight forward, was a fawn (an obscure symbol which we shall not here attempt to explain); the left, not quite so much elevated, grasped a bow. The whole must have had an awful and imposing appearance, conveying the idea of sublimity and dignity far more than of grace or lovelinessⁿ. We cannot suppose the style of the colossal statue of Apollo to have been very different which, several Olympiads later, was modelled in brass by Calamis for Apol-

^m In this temple also there was a wooden statue of Apollo, *θεῖος* (probably *θεῖνος*) *Ἀπόλλων*, Hesychius.

ⁿ For this account see a paper *Ueber den Apollon des Kanachos*, in the *Kunstblatt* for 1821, N^o. 16. This also serves to confirm the conjecture of Visconti that

the bas-relief of the Museo Pio-Clementino V. 23. represents Menelaus dedicating the arms of Euphorbus to the Didymæan Apollo; for the god upon the pillar has nearly the form in question. To the copies of this Apollo many might now be added.

lonia on the Pontus, and which was afterwards brought to Rome by Lucullus^o; nor that of Apollo Alexicacus, erected at Athens by the same artist at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war^p. The Apollo which Onates of Ægina, the cotemporary of Calamis, executed for the inhabitants of Pergamus, was a colossal statue displaying great beauty of form, and, as it appears, of a more youthful appearance than was common for statues of Apollo at that time^q. In this Apollo was represented as καλλιτέκνης, as the beautiful son of Latona; under which name he was worshipped at Pergamus^r. It is not improbable that the union of strength and beauty so conspicuously exhibited in the ideal forms of the two children of Latona was suggested by the peculiar character of the Doric education; and that the artist represented the god as an Ephebus whose skill in the chorus and on the field of battle was exactly equal.

18. But the figure which we are accustomed to consider as properly belonging to Apollo did not originate even in the school of Polycletus and Myron^s, but was the creation of a later period; since both

^o Strab. VII. p. 319 B. comp. Pliny N. H. IV. 27. XXXIV. 18.

^p Pausan. I. 4. 3. The reader should guard against supposing with Visconti (Museo Pio-Clementino tav. I. p. 26. tav. 7. p. 93.) that these statues of Apollo in temples had the elegant proportions and light character of the later works of art.

^q *Æginetica* p. 106. Concerning the ancient statues of A-

pollo see also Winchelmann's *Kunstgeschichte* vol. I. p. 191. note. vol. III. p. 548.

^r This important statement is given in Aristides Fragm. ap. Mai. Vet. Script. Nov. Syll. I. 3. pag. 41. It has first explained fully the epigram of Antipater to the Apollo of Onatas, Brunck *Analect.* vol. II. p. 14. N^o. 30.

^s A statue of Apollo by Myron is mentioned by Cicero in *Verr.* II. 4. 43.

the coins of a date prior to the time of Alexander^t, and single heads which must be referred to the same period^u, do not indeed preserve the features ascribed to the work of Canachus, but still are quite different from the most celebrated of the statues now extant, having broader cheeks, a shorter and thicker nose; in a word, the outlines are what the ancients termed *quadrate*, or square. It was not till the times of Scopas, Leochares, Praxiteles, and Timarchides, that the Apollo appeared whom we may call the twin-brother of Venus, so similar are the forms of both deities. The expression of inspiration and ecstasy, which several of the best statues exhibit, may also be shown to have first originated in the school of Scopas, since the earlier artists aimed rather at producing the appearance of tranquillity and composure than of transient excitement; and the exquisite taste with which these sculptors were able to express inspiration without extravagance, deserves the highest praise. Without detailing the particular productions of these and later artists, we shall only shew how they may be best classified. The Apollo Callinicus of Belvedere stands by itself, swelling with the pride of victory^x: next comes the Apollo resting from the fight, with the right arm bent over the head, the left leaning on a pillar, holding the bow, which has evidently been used, or a

^t E. g. those of Mytilene, Crotona, and also those of Philip the First.

^u E. g. the head in the Louvre, N°. 133. Catalogue de Clarac.

^x A bronze found at Argos, of the same character, is men-

tioned by Pouqueville, Voyage en Grèce, tom. IV. pag. 161. Heads having a great resemblance to the Belvedere Apollo occur in many collections, some of which have even more heroic forms.

lyre: being evidently a statue of the *resting Apollo* (Ἀπόλλων ἀναπαυόμενος); but from the circumstance that a statue of this kind stood in the Lyceum at Athens^y it is usually called the "*Apollo of the Lyceum*:" then follows the Apollo Citharædus (playing on the harp), either naked, in different positions, or covered with the Pythian stola, and in an attitude almost theatrical^z. It would be foreign to our subject to enter into details respecting this class of statues, and those derived from them, as the Sauroctonus, Nomius, &c.

19. Finally, we would endeavour to trace the influence of the worship of Apollo on the policy and philosophy of Greece, if the question did not embrace so wide a field, lying, as it does in great measure, beyond the confines of history. We may, however, select, from what has been already said, as proofs of the influence of this worship on political concerns, the armistice connected with the festivals

^y Lucian. Anachars. c. 7. In a coin of Thessalonica the Pythian Apollo is represented in this position, with the laurel in his right hand, the cithara beside him, and the bow at his feet (Mionnet N^o. 396.); similar to those of Germe, Apollonia in Mysiæ, Chalcedon, and Cos.

^z The statue of this class in the Museo Pio-Clementino I. tav. 13. is, according to Visconti's conjecture, a copy of the Palatine Apollo of Scopas, Plin. N. H. XXXVI. 4. 7. This form of the Apollo Musagetes was most in vogue in the time of Nero. There is a remarkable statue of this god de-

scribed and figured by Raffei in his *Ricerche sopra un Apolline della villa Albani*. He is represented as sitting, half-clothed, on a tripod covered with a skin, with his right hand on his knees (to be kissed, as was the custom in temples); in his left hand is a serpent; and his feet rest upon a *cortina*, also covered with a skin: by the side of this is a lion's skin; the hair is interwoven with laurel leaves, and falls in a broad cluster over the back. The style is neither very ancient nor good, but the symbols and position are singular in many respects.

of Apollo, the truce observed in the sacred places and roads, the soothing influence of the purifications for murder, together with the idea of the punishing and avenging god, and the great influence of the oracles in the regulation of public affairs^a. It has, moreover, been frequently remarked how by its sanctity, by the dignified and severe character of its music, by all its symbols and rites, this worship endeavoured to lull the minds of individuals into a state of composure and security, consistently, however, with an occasional elevation to a state of ecstatic delight.

20. Lastly, the worship of Apollo was so nearly connected with a branch of Grecian philosophy that the one frequently established and explained scientifically that which the other left merely to the feeling; I mean the *Pythagorean system*. Pythagoras possessed hereditary rites of Apollo; he dwelt at Crotona, where that god received such various honours^b; he lived mostly among Dorians, who were every where partial to that worship; and a Delphian priestess, by name Aristocleia, is mentioned among his followers^c. Thus it is not without reason that the Pythagorean philosophy has in modern times been considered as Doric: in its political doctrines it followed Doric principles, and with the Doric religion it was united both externally and internally: besides which, the attempt to realize and dissemi-

^a See Ephorus ap. Strab. IX. p. 423. and Julian (ap. Cyrill. p. 153.) on this subject.

^b Above, ch. 3. §. 7. and book III. ch. 9. §. 16.

^c Porph. Vit. Pythag. 41. According to Aristoxenus apud

Diog. Laert. VIII. 21. he received the fundamental doctrines of his philosophy from Themistocleia, a Pythian priestess. See Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. I. p. 881. ed. Harles. and Apostol. Prov. XVII. 86.

nate national ideas and opinions may perhaps illustrate the rapid growth of the power of the Pythagorean league. The recondite principle of this philosophy always is, that the essence of things lies in their due measure and proportion, their system and regularity; that every thing exists by harmony and symmetry alone; and that the world itself is an union of all these proportions (*κόσμος*, or order). The same abstraction from materiality also belonged to the religion of Apollo; for this too suggests the idea of order, harmony, and regularity, and in these it makes the nature and actions of the Deity to consist. Hence, too, music was one chief ingredient of the Pythagorean philosophy, as well as a necessary element of the worship of Apollo, as best expressing the harmony on which both were founded. In both the soothing and appeasing of the passions was aimed at and effected, that the mind might be quieted and strengthened at the same time^d. But we must leave the full investigation of this subject to those who are better acquainted with the philosophy of Pythagoras.

^d One of the important parts of the Pythagorean worship was the *pæan*, which was sung to the lyre, in spring time, by a person sitting in the midst of a circle of listeners: this was called the *κάθαρσις*, or purification. See Schol. Ven. II. XXII. 391. Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 25. Porphy. Vit. Pythag.

32. This is evidently an application of ancient rites of the worship of Apollo. The Pythian oracle likewise commanded the Greeks of Lower Italy to sing pæans in the spring as a means of atonement. Aristoxenus p. 93. ed. Mahn. apud Apollon. Hist. Mir. 40.

CHAP. IX.

On the worship of Diana in the Doric and other states.

1. We now proceed to consider the worship of Diana; a subject which need not be so fully examined as that of Apollo, as it does not, like the worship of that god, every where present the same fundamental notions, and therefore cannot, in all its first beginnings, be derived from the religion of the Dorians. But as in general the Grecian mythology adopted the most various and inconsistent religious views and ideas, so in the name of the single goddess Diana were united almost opposite branches of ancient worship, which we must attempt to separate. Lest, however, it should be supposed that we are unable to trace the association of ideas, which saw a simple character in the "various forms of "that great goddess, who, having her origin in the "interior of Asia, passed from thence into Greece, "and was worshipped as the moon, the goddess of "the woods, the huntress, the nurse of children, and "a nurse of the universe, as well by the choruses of "the virgins of Caryæ, as in the dances of the temples;" we will endeavour to ascertain some historical criterion, which may distinguish the worship of Diana from that of any other deity, and which must not be one of the ideas or symbols of the worship itself, since it is concerning the possibility or impossibility of their connexion that we are to inquire.

2. For this purpose it may be assumed, that the Diana connected with Apollo belongs alone to the

* See Creuzer's *Symbolik*.

same system of religious notions; and, consequently, the Diana of Ephesus, Diana Orthia, and Diana Tauropolis, are of a different nature, as Apollo is never represented as their brother: of this, however, more hereafter. Here we will first shew, that in all the chief temples of Apollo, Diana was worshipped as his sister, as the partner of his nature and of his actions, and, as it were, a part of the same deity. Thus both were children of Latona, and were equally the rulers of the temple of Delphi^f; the victory over the Python, the flight, and the expiation, concern both^g; both were honoured at the Pythian games of Sicyon, together with Latona^h; as also in Creteⁱ, Delos, Lesbos^k, at Carthæa^l, in the Didymæum^m, on the citadel of Troyⁿ, in the worship of Lycia^o, as well as in that of Metapontum^p. The worship both of Apollo and Diana is said to have been derived from the Hyperboreans^q; and the names of

^f Pindar. Nem. VI. 42. IX. 4. Compare Hymn. Homer. XXVII. 14. and the ἀρὰ Ἀμφικτυόνων in Æschin. Ctesiph. p. 70. 36. Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τῆς Λατῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀρτάμυ[τος] in the great Delphian inscription in Boeckh N^o. 1688. The whole family was also in the temple at Cirrha, Pausan. X. 36. 7.

^g See above, ch. 7. §. 6.

^h Pindar. Nem. IX. 4. At Sparta also Apollo Pythæus was joined with Latona and Diana, Pausan. III. 11.

ⁱ Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. p. 133. The Diana Cnagia at Sparta came from Crete, according to Pausan. III. 18. 3. Amnisian nymphs of Diana, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 15. See

above, ch. 1. §. 5.

^k Above. p. 354, note ^m.

^l Antonin. Liberal. c. 1.

^m Inscription in Walpole's Travels p. 578. ἱεροφόρος Ἀρτέμιδος Πυθίης.

ⁿ Above, ch. 2. §. 3.

^o Σαρπηδονία in Cilicia, Strab. XIV. p. 676.

^p Hyginus fab. 186. Whether the Diana of Rhegium (Thuc. VI. 44.) came from Delphi (above, ch. 3. §. 5.) or from Eubœa (where she was worshipped under the name of Προσηῶα at Artemisium, of Amarynthia, near Eretria, on mount Cotylæum, and all along the Euripus, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 188.) is uncertain.

^q Herod. IV. 33. where the

the Hyperborean priestesses, who brought the rites to Delos, *Arge* and *Opis*, according to others *He-caerge* and *Loxo*, are only epithets of Diana. *Arge* probably means "the rapid;" *Opis*^r (Ὀπίς, *Ionice* Ὀπίς, the same as Ὀπίς) well characterizes the spirit of this religion, as it signifies the constant watch and care of the goddess over human actions^s, while at the same time she inspires fear and veneration of herself^t. She was known also by the same name among the Dorians of Sparta^u, and celebrated as such in sacred chaunts^x: thus almost all the attributes and actions of Apollo are referred also to Diana. She is also the goddess of sudden death^y; which she sometimes inflicts in wrath, but sometimes without anger^z; and hence she is represented as armed,

worship of the Hyperborean Diana is also ascribed to the Thracian and Pæonian women. Compare Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 936. The Hymn of Olen, Pausan. V. 7. 4. represented Ceres Ἀχαια as coming from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos; but the Achæan Ceres cannot be meant; and therefore I would write ΑΦΑΙΑ, as Diana was called in Ægina. The ἀποδημία of Diana in the Argive legend (Menander de Encom. 4. p. 38. ed. Heeren) perhaps referred to this.

^r See Callim. Hymn. Del. 292. Melanopus of Cume ap. Pausan. ubi sup. cf. I. 43. 4. Etymol. Mag. p. 641. 56. Concerning Ὀπίς, see the English edition of Stephens' Thesaurus, vol. I. part 4. p. 551.

^s Thus Apollo was called Ἐπὶόσιος, Hesychius.

^t Thus Nemesis was also

called Ὀπίς, as in the inscription of Herodes Atticus.

^u Palæphat. 52. Apostolius VI. 44.

^x Sung among the Træze-nians, by whom Lyceia was worshipped, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 972.

^y Od. XI. 171. Compare II. VI. 428. Od. XX. 60. The reason why she kills Ariadne (Od. XI. 324.) is explained by Pherecydes in the Scholia. Λέων γυναιξί (II. XXI. 483.) probably only as a goddess of death, and not as Pausanias IV. 30. 3. and Eustathius explain it. Ἄ γυναικῶν μέγ' ἔχει κράτος in the Attic Scolion is ambiguous.

^z Diana in Homer is, in the first place, the complete image of her brother, as armed with a bow (λοχέαιρα, χρυσήλατος, τοξοφόρος II. XX. 39. 71. XXI. 483. Od. IV. 122. VI. 102,

not only with bow and arrows, but in the Doric states with a complete panoply^a. In ancient poets she is not only the destroyer of wild beasts, but also, like her brother, of sacrilegious men^b. Thus, with Apollo, she killed Tityus, and, by herself, the Aloidæ^c, and Orion, who dared to violate Opis when bringing the ears of corn to Delos^d. Hence she was to be appeased by expiatory rites; and had an equal share in Thargelia, and similar festivals^e. And for the same reason the laurel was likewise sacred to Diana^f. She was honoured with the song of the pæan^g. She is at the same time the destroyer and the preserver (λυκεία^h and οὐλίαⁱ). And even her

&c.); as a beautiful and strong maiden (Od. IV. 122. VI. 151. XVII. 37. XIX. 54.); as killing women suddenly and without sickness (Il. VI. 428. XIX. 59. Od. XI. 171, 323. XV. 476. XX. 61, 80.), sometimes mildly (Od. XV. 409. XVIII. 201.), at another time in anger (Il. VI. 205.); as punishing with death the children of Niobe (Il. XXIV. 606.) and Orion (Od. V. 123.); as *κουροτρόφος*, and therefore giving height to virgins (Od. XX. 71. cf. VI. 107.); as occasionally healing (Il. V. 447.); as honoured by choruses of singers, and herself leading the chorus (Il. XVI. 183. cf. Hymn. XXVII. 18.). Now, besides this, there is also the Arcadian notion of Diana, the wood-nymph; her chorus plays in the woods (Od. VI. 106.); she rejoices in wild-boars and stags (VI. 104.); and thus, being armed with a bow, becomes a *huntress* (Il. V. 51.

XXI. 485.). The Ætolian Diana, who requires *θαλύσια* (Il. IX. 533.) is again of a different kind.

^a Pausan. IV. 13. 1.

^b Callim. Hymn. Dian. 124.

^c Apollod. I. 7. 4.

^d Pausan. I. 4. 5. Euphorion ap. Schol. Od. V. 120. Fragm. 108. ed. Meineke, &c.

^e Etym. Mag. p. 443. 20. At Melite in Phthia Diana was, in some particular worship, called *Ἀσπαλις*, *Ἀμειλήτη*, *Ἑκαέργη*, Antonin. Liberal. 13.

^f She was worshipped under the title of *Δαφναία* at Las, Pausan. III. 24. 6. and of *Δαφνία* at Olympia, Strab. VIII. p. 343.

^g Etymol. M. p. 657. 6. Sophocl. Trach. 210. according to Seidler's punctuation, above, p. 320, note ^h.

^h At Træzen, Pausan. II. 31. 6.

ⁱ Above, ch. 6. §. 3. Also *προθυραία* and *προτυλαία*, Spanheim ad Callim. Dian. 38.

name *Ἀρτεμις*^k clearly corresponds with that of the protecting Apollo, since it signifies the "healthy," the "uninjured^l." Whether the art of music belonged to Apollo alone is not certain; at least the Lacedæmonians celebrated to Diana a musical contest called *καλαφοιδία*^m; and her singing is represented in the *Iliad* as delighting both gods and menⁿ. On reliefs which represent the victors in musical contests, Apollo is always accompanied by his mother and sister^o. Diana had also a claim to the gift of prophecy, at least if we can attribute any antiquity to the tradition of her being a sibyl^p. Like Apollo, she is always represented as unmarried; and therefore not as the deity of an elementary religion, and originally not as goddess of the moon, although it cannot be denied that the worship of the moon was very nearly connected with other branches of the worship of Diana.

But, it may be asked, if this Diana always has the same characteristics as Apollo, and has none that are peculiar to herself, why should there be two deities to express one idea? Wherefore both a male and female, if neither have any relation to sex? It is difficult to give a satisfactory answer to these questions.

^k Etym. Mag. p. 356. 10. Gudian. pag. 17. 23. Compare above, pag. 386, note ⁱ. Alcman used the form *Ἀπρέμιος*, Eustath. p. 1618. 29. A month *Ἀπραμίτιος* in Crete, Chishull's *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 126; and in Sicily, see Castelli *Proleg. ad Inscript. Sic.* p. 69. *Ἀπραμίτιος* in Corcyra, according to inscriptions; *Ἀρτεμυρία* in Cy-

rene, Thirge *Hist. Cyren.* p. 218.

^l See Plato de *Rep.* p. 406. Strab. XIV. p. 635.

^m Hesychius in *Καλαοιδία*.

ⁿ Il. XVI. 183.

^o Welcker ap. Dissen. *Explic. Pind.* p. 453.

^p See the verses in Clem. Alexand. *Strom.* I. p. 523. cf. Pausan. X. 12. 1.

This consideration may however in some measure assist; namely, that as soon as Apollo was once supposed to be as an earthly god, as the ideal of all human strength, it was necessary to add also a female being. And the near approximation of the male to the female deity may be accounted for by the condition of the Doric women, who were much more considered as independent beings, and possessed a capability for all those other things which adorn the other sex.

3. But the most difficult part of our problem still remains unsolved; viz. to ascertain what was the worship of Diana, which had not the same origin and nature with that of Apollo. First of all we should mention the Arcadian. That goddess has nowhere so many temples as in Arcadia; she was there the national deity, and had been long revered, under the title of "*Hymnia*," by all the races of that people¹. She was also introduced under the name of Callisto into the national genealogies, and called the daughter of Lycaon^r (i. e. of the Lycæan Jupiter), and mother of Arcas (i. e. of the Arcadian people). For that Callisto is only another form of the name of Diana Calliste, which is a common epithet of Diana, is plain from the fact that the tomb of that heroine was shewn in the temple of the goddess^s, and that Callisto was said to be

¹ Pausan. VIII. 5. 8. cf. 13. 1. 4. The temple was on the confines of Mantinea and Orchomenos 12. 3. It may be also seen from Polyæn. VIII. 34. that the Tegeates sent sacred processions to Diana of Pheneus.

^r Eumelus ap. Apollod. III.

8. 2. Asius and Pherecydes give a different account.

^s Pausan. VIII. 35. 7. Compare Sappho in Pausan. I. 29. 2. *Æginetica* p. 31. Diana was called κατ' ἐξοχήν, *the beautiful*, ἁ καλὰ, Feder ad Æsch. Agam. p. 9.

changed into a bear, which was the symbol of the Arcadian Diana¹. Afterwards, indeed, the fable was much altered; and it was related that Diana changed Callisto into a bear merely from anger². But that this ancient Arcadian deity was not the Doric Diana is proved by the abovementioned criterion; viz. that she has no connexion with Apollo.

Another circumstance, however, speaks even still plainer. Apollo and his sister seldom received any particular surnames from places where they were worshipped³; whereas the other Diana has almost innumerable names from the mountains, hills, fountains, and waters of Arcadia, and the other regions of the Peloponnese. Hence Alcman remarks that the goddess bears the names of thousands of hills, cities, and rivers⁴. There must have been therefore

¹ Callisto was called even by Hesiod the constellation of the Bear, Hygin. Poët. Astron. I. p. 356. Lactant. 6.

² It is easy to conceive, that as Apollo Lyceus was at Delphi represented in the form of a wolf, so likewise the bear was made the symbol of Diana by the Arcadians.

³ The exceptions are few; for instance, perhaps, Apollo Cereatas in Ægyptis, Pausan. VIII. 34. 3.

⁴ Ap. Menand. de Encom. 3. p. 33. frag. 33. ed. Welcker. She was called *Λυκοῦταις* on mount Mænalum, Paus. VIII. 36. 5. *Κνακῆταις* near Tegea, ib. 53. 5; *Κεδρεῦταις* at Orchomenos, ib. 13. 2. (so named from a cedar on which the statue stood); *Στυμφαλία* at Stymphalus, ib. 22. 5. comp.

Eustath. ad Il. II. p. 228. ed. Basil; *Σκιαδίταις* at Scia, near Megalopolis, Paus. VIII. 35. 5; *Κνακαλησσία* and *Κονδυλαῖταις* at Caphyæ, ib. 23. 3; *Νεμυβία* at Teuthæa, Strabo VIII. pag. 342; in Laconia *Δερρεῖταις*, Paus. III. 20. 7. Steph. Byz. in *Δέρρα*. The hymn to Diana Derrhiatis, or *Δερρεῖταις*, was called *Κάλαβις*; there was also an indecent dance, Eupolis ap. Athen. XIV. pag. 619. Hesychius. Paus. III. 10. 8. Hesychius in *Καρύαι*. *Ἰσσωρία* near Pitana, Paus. III. 14. 2. Ptolymen. II. 1. 14. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 172. Plutarch Ages. 32. and Hesychius (according to Pausanias the Diana Issoria or Limnæa was not properly a Diana, but Britomartis); *Οἰνωῖταις* near Argos, Steph. Byz. in *Οἶνη*, Hesychius in *Οἰνωῖταις*.

something in the attributes of this Arcadian Diana which produced such a number of local names; she must always have been considered as united and connected with the country in which she was worshipped. This leads to the notion of an elementary goddess, of a similar, though more universal nature than nymphs of the mountains, rivers, and brooks. Accordingly we find that this ancient Peloponnesian Diana was nearly connected with lakes, fountains, and rivers. She was worshipped in several places under the titles of Limnatis and Heleia^z. There were frequently also fountains in the temples of Diana; viz. at Corinth, Marius, Mothone^a, and near the district of Derrhiatis in Laconia^b. She likewise received great honours at the Clitorian fountain of Lusi^c. Among rivers, those she was most connected

Σαρωνίς near Træzen, Paus. II. 30. 7. Achæus tragicus ap. Hesych. in *Σαρωνίς*; *Κορυφαία* at Epidaurus, Paus. II. 28. 2. Steph. Byz. in *Κορυφαίων* (Clarke Travels vol. II. part II. p. 603. found, by means of an inscription, what are probably the ruins of the temple upon mount Coryphæum); *Ἀλφειαία* at Letrini, Paus. VII. 22. 5; *Κοκκόκα* at Olympia, ib. V. 15. 4; *Τρικλάρια* at Patræ, ib. VII. 19. 1. (an united temple of three ancient *κῶμαι*); *Ἀκραία* at Pellene, Plutarch. Arat. 32.

^z As *Λιμνᾶτις* at Tegea, Paus. VIII. 53. 5; at *Epidaurus Limera*, ib. III. 23. 6; at *Pitana*, near Sparta, ib. 14. 2; at *Λιμναία* at Corinth, ib. II. 7. 6; and particularly in the celebrated *λιμναίων*, on the frontier

of *Laconia* and *Messenia*, Paus. IV. 4. 31. Tacit. Ann. IV. 43. Hence, according to Strabo p. 362. the *Limnæum* in Laconia was derived. At *Træzen* she was *δέσποινα λίμνης* and of the hippodrome, Eurip. Hippol. 230. As *Ἑλεία* in *Messene*, Hesych. in *ἐλεία*, probably *ἐλεία*; and at *Alorium*, on the borders of Arcadia, Strabo VIII. p. 350. where for *Ἑλείας* should probably be written *Ἑλείας*.

^a Paus. II. 3. 5. III. 22. 6. IV. 35. 6.

^b Paus. III. 29. 7.

^c Under the title of *ἡμερησία*, Paus. VIII. 18. 8. Pherecydes p. 132. ed. Sturz. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 235. Polyæn. IX. 34. 6. Concerning this fountain, see Callim. fragm. 75. Aristot. Mir. Auscult. p. 1102 B.

with are the Cladeus and the Alpheus^d. The moist and watery district, through which this latter stream flows into the sea, was filled with temples of the nymphs of Venus and Diana, among which the sanctuary of the Alphean Diana^e is most remarkable. There were in that temple paintings of Cleanthus and Aregon of Corinth, which were chiefly on subjects relating to religion; as, for instance, that of Neptune presenting a thunny-fish to Jupiter while in the act of producing Minerva^f. All this naturally suggests the idea of a goddess who produced a flourishing and vigorous life from the element of water; and hence we would not entirely reject the popular faith of the Phigaleans, that Eurynome, the goddess of fish, and herself represented as half a fish, was a Diana^g.

4. The mention of the river Alpheus reminds us of Sicily, whither, in order to catch the fountain Arethusa, which was swallowed up in the land of Elis, he is said to have followed her under the sea, and to have first reached her in the island of Ortygia, near Syracuse^h. This singular fable may per-

^d Paus. V. 15. 4. At Byzantium also there was *in piscina templum Dianæ Luciferae et Veneris Placidæ*, Dionys. de Thrac. Bosphoro. In Samos also there was Diana Χησιὰς and Ἰμθρασίη, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 228. Catullus calls her *amniū domina*, XXX. 12; Horace, *latam foliis et nemorum coma*, Carm. I. 21. 5. Apollonius Rhodius also calls her *νηοσόος*, I. 569; Callimachus, *Λυμένεσσιν ἐπίσκοπος*, Hymn. Dian. 39.

^e Strab. VIII. p. 343. Paus. VI. 22. 5. Herodorus ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. V. 10. Dissen ad Nem. I. p. 350. Another temple of Diana in this region is mentioned in Polybius IV. 73. 4.

^f As is shewn by Strabo *ubi sup.* Comp. Demetrius Scep-sius ap. Athen. VIII. p. 376 B.

^g Paus. VIII. 41. 4.

^h Strab. VI. p. 270. Creuzer's *Meletemata*, vol. I. p. 78, &c.

haps be explained by the following considerations. Syracuse was founded in the 5th Olympiad by Corinthians, with whom were some settlers from the district of Olympia, and particularly some members of the family of the Iamidæ, who held a sacred office at the altar of the Olympian Jupiterⁱ. These joint colonists (συννοικιστῆρες, according to the expression of Pindar) appear to have had sufficient weight in the new city to introduce their own religion and mythology. For, as we have seen above, Diana was worshipped at Olympia as the goddess of the Alpheus, being generally considered in that country as presiding over lakes and rivers. She had in the grove of Altis an altar, together with Alpheus^k; and there was there a popular legend, that Alpheus had once loved Diana. Now the settlers that went from this district to Syracuse, in their first expedition confined themselves to the island of Ortygia. Here they built a temple to the river-goddess Diana (ποταμία); a sanctuary of so great fame, that Pindar calls the whole island "the seat of Diana, the river-goddess^l." There was, however, no river in Ortygia, and therefore Diana was supposed to regret her beloved Alpheus. Hence arose the belief that Arethusa, a fountain near the temple, contained the sacred water of the Alpheus^m; a belief which was

ⁱ Pind. Olymp. VI. 5, 6. See Boeckh Exp. Pind. p. 152. sq.

^k Paus. V. 14. 5. Schol. Pind. Nem. I. 3. Olymp. V. 10.

^l Paus. VI. 22. 5.

^m Pind. Pyth. II. 7. comp. Boeckh Exp. p. 244. Concern-

ing the temple at Ortygia, see D'Orville's Siculis p. 196. and Boeckh ibid. pag. 243. The beautiful female heads on the tetradrachms of Syracuse, with the hair entwined with reeds, surrounded by four fishes, probably represent the river-Diana.

strengthened by the circumstance that large fish were found in the springⁿ; and from this belief arose the fable that Alpheus had followed the goddess to Sicily. But Diana was supposed to fly from the pursuit of Alpheus. This at least was the fiction followed by Telesilla, a poetess who lived in the 64th Olympiad^p; and the same fable was perhaps adopted by Pindar^q. Afterwards, however, the precise meaning and origin of this fable were forgotten; and the fountain-nymph Arethusa took the place of Diana, and became the object of the pursuit of the river-god^r. Such appears to have been the origin of the elegant fable of Alpheus and Arethusa.

We now return to the Peloponnesian Diana, and will mention some of her other symbols and attributes. Her statue stood next to that of Ceres, at Megalopolis, dressed in the skin of a deer, with a quiver on her back, holding a torch in one hand, and two serpents in the other, with a dog by her side^s. The connexion which existed between her and the Arcadian Ceres is probably more ancient than this statue; and indeed the symbol of the deer seems to have been common in Arcadia to both Diana and Proserpine, called in Arcadia *despæna*^t.

ⁿ Ibycus ap. Schol. Theocrit. I. 117.

^p Diod. V. 3. Schol. Pind. Nem. I. 2.

^q Ap. Hesych. p. 36. 18.

^r Pindar Nem. I. 1. calls Ortygia the resting-place of the Alpheus; and he, too, perhaps considers Diana as the object of pursuit.

^s See the excellent note of

Dissen ad Pind. Nem. I. pag. 350.

^t Paus. VIII. 37. 2.

^u See Paus. VIII. 10. 4. Callim. Hym. Dian. 107. She had the name of *Ἐλαφία* in Elis, Paus. VI. 225. Hence the *Ἐλαφιβόλια* (Anecd. Bekk. p. 249.), a festival widely extended (e. g. Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 267.) The symbol of

She was also worshipped with Bacchus^u; and, like him, had Phallic festivals^x. From her connexion with fountains and rivers, and other rural objects, it was natural that this Diana should be considered as the patron of wild animals. Thus Æschylus calls her "the protectress of young lions, and the whelps of other wild beasts^y." In like manner she was supposed to preside over the breeding of horses^z, and generally over the nurture of infants and children^a; it was therefore by a perversion of the original idea that she took the character of a huntress, the enemy and destructress of wild animals. An analogous inconsistency to that before pointed out in the attri-

the deer, however, appears to have been common to all the different branches of the worship of Diana; thus there is in Mr. Payne Knight's collection a coin in which Diana is represented bearing a stag's horns, which he ascribes to Delos.

^u Concerning human sacrifices to Diana on the river Ameilichus, which were abolished by the worship of Bacchus Æsymnetes, at Patræ, see the description in Paus. V. 19. 1. Human sacrifices were also offered to the same goddess near Megalopolis, Tatian adv. Græcos I. p. 165 A. Compare Knight on the Symbolical Language of Mythology §. 143.

^x Λόμβαι, αἱ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θυσιῶν ἄρχουσαι ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν παιδιάν σκευῆς, οἱ γὰρ φάλγες οὕτω καλοῦνται. Hesychius.

^y Agam. 144.

^z Εὐρίππα at Pheneus, Paus. VIII. 14. 4. ἵπποσόα, Pind. Olymp. III. 27. comp. Boeckh

Expl. Pyth. II. 8. pag. 244. Hence Diana (χρυσήνιος) is frequently represented on vases in a chariot with horses; in Callimach. Hymn. Dian. 110. and in the bas reliefs of Phigaleia, she is attended by goats.

^a Under the title of κορυθαλία at the Tiassa, near Sparta, near the Cleta, Athen. IV. p. 139; also κουροτρόφος, φιλομήραξ, Diod. V. 73. (and see Wesseling's note). Paus. IV. 34. Hymn. Orph. XXXVI. 8. comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Dian. 6. These names may however be referred to the worship of Apollo; above, ch. 8. §. 7. She was worshipped under the general epithet of σώτειρα at Pegæ (Paus. I. 44. 7.), Megara (I. 40. 2.), Boæ (III. 22. 9.), Pellene (VII. 27. 1.), Phigaleia (VIII. 39. 3.), and at Syracuse, as we know from its coins. Comp. Derville's *Sicula* p. 327. sq.

butes of the *Doric* Apollo and Diana, who were represented as both protecting and destroying^b.

5. By the mythological symbol of Diana Callisto, the bear, we are reminded of some ceremonies at Athens, where young girls, between the ages of five and ten years (who were consecrated to the Munychian and Brauronian Diana), were called *bears*^c; and the goddess herself, in some singular traditions, is represented as a bear calling for human blood^d. When the Ionians went from Athens to Asia, they carried the worship of the Munychian goddess to Miletus and Cyzicus^e; and to the former city the kindred worship of Diana Chitone, as the goddess presiding over birth, whose wooden statues were made of fructiferous wood^f.

6. The consideration of the Attic festival of Diana leads again to another variety of the worship of Diana; viz. to that of Diana Orthosia, Orthia, or Iphigenia. We will first give the traditions and facts as we find them. Iphigenia, coming from Tauria to Attica, was supposed to have landed at Brauron, and at the neighbouring Halæ Araphenides, and left behind her the ancient wooden image

^b Above, ch. 6. §. 2, 3. ch. 9. §. 2.

^c Eurip. *Hypsipyl.* and Aristoph. *Lemn.* ap. Harpocrat. in ἀρκεῦσαι. See *Orchomenos* p. 309.

^d Apostolius VIII. 19.

^e Boeckh not. Crit. ad Pind. *Olymp.* XIII. 109. There was also at Miletus a festival of Diana called Νηληϊς, Plutarch *Mul. Virt.* p. 287. ed. Hutten. There was also a temple of Diana at Pygela, near Ephe-

sus, which was said to have been built by Agamemnon, Strab. XIV. p. 639. Also on coins of Miletus, Mionnet Description, &c. tom. III. p. 186.

^f Callim. *Hymn. Dian.* 225. Schol. ad Callim. *Hymn. Jov.* 77. Χιτώνη Ἀρτεμῖς, Steph. Byz. in v.; among the Ionians κισθονία (probably κισθονή) Ἀρτεμῖς, Hesych. in v. Also Diana Χιτώνεια at Syracuse, Athen. XIV. p. 629 E.

of Diana^ε. Here she was immediately interwoven with the heroic genealogy, and called the daughter of Theseus^h. In Sparta there was a temple of Diana Orthia in a damp part of the city, called Limnæum, where was also shewn a wooden statue, which had come from Tauriaⁱ. As to the introduction of the worship, it is said that Astrabacus and Alopecus (the ass and fox), the sons of Irbus, descendants of Agis in the fourth generation (about 900 B. C.), had found the image in a bush, and had been struck mad by the sight of it; that the Limnataë, and other villages of Sparta, had upon this offered sacrifices to them, when a quarrel arose, and murder ensued. A number of men were killed at the altar; and accordingly the goddess called for victims to atone for the pollution; instead of which, in later times, the scourging of boys was instituted, over the severity of which the priestess presided^k. It is remarkable that this was immediately followed by a *πομπὴ Λυδῶν*, a Lydian procession^l. From this narration it follows that the scourging was considered as a substitute for human sacrifice; and fur-

^ε Paus. I. 23. 9. I. 33. 1. cf. III. 17. 6. Eurip. *Troad*. 1462. sqq. Callim. *Hymn. Dian.* 173. Euphorion also placed the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Brauron, fragm. 81. ed. Meineke.

^h The Argives, Stesichorus, and Euphorion, according to Paus. II. 22. 7. Antonin. *Liber*. 27. Tzetzes ad *Lycophr.* 183.

ⁱ Paus. III. 16. 6. Hygin. *fab.* 261. Comp. Creuzer's *Comment.* Herod. pag. 244. From this temple Helen was

carried away, according to Plutarch *Thes.* 31. cf. Hygin. *fab.* 79; whose name reminds us of the *Ἑλενηφοροῦντες* of Diana of Brauron.

^k The *διαραστήγισις* was preceded by the *Φούαξις*, ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας σωμασκία τῶν μελλόντων μαστιγῶσθαι, Hesychius. Comp. Hemsterhuis and Valcknær ad *Adonias*. p. 277. There were also other games at this festival, Boeckh. *Inscript.* N°. 1416. ἐπὶ Ἀλκίππου νικᾶσας τὸ παιδικὸν κελῆτι Ἀρτίμετι Ὀρθίᾳ.

^l Plutarch. *Arist.* 17.

ther, that the worship was looked upon as of a foreign origin: notwithstanding this, it was completely interwoven into the Lacedæmonian mythology. For it can be shewn that the pretended daughter of Agamemnon, Iphigenia, is no other than the Taurian goddess, who was actually worshipped in several cities of Greece under the name of *Ἰφργένεια*. Considered as a heroine, indeed, she became first, instead of the goddess thirsting for human sacrifice, the virgin sacrificed to her; and, secondly, her sacrificing priestess^m. According to the Cyprian poems (for Homer knew nothing of her) Iphigenia was sacrificed to Diana; but was by her brought to Tauria, and made immortal; a deer (or, according to others, a bear, and also a bull) having been left in her placeⁿ; Hesiod also represented her as immortal, viz. as Hecate^o. The sacrifice was supposed to have taken place at Aulis, because there was a temple (probably of the Orthosian Diana) near the port, to whom sacrifices were made at the passage^p.

This worship probably came to Laconia from Lemnos^q, one of its principal seats. I have observed in a former work, that in early tradition Lemnos was probably identical with Tauria^r, and that the latter country derived its poetical name from the symbol of the bull, in the same manner as

^m Procl. Chrestomath. ap. Hephæst. Gaisford.

ⁿ Ap. Etym. Mag. in *Ταυρόπολον*.

^o Paus. I. 43. 1.

^p Theognis Paræn. 11. Di-cæarch. Anagr. 88. Plutarch. Ages. 6. Etymol. Magn. pag.

747. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 183. Siebelis ad Phanod. pp. 6, 9.

^q See the confused account in Plutarch. Mulier. Virt. 7. Quæst. Græc. 21. Polyæn. VII. 49.

^r *Orchomenos* p. 311.

Lycia in later times took its name from the symbol of the wolf. In Lemnos also a great goddess was anciently worshipped with sacrifices of virgins; to which place the wooden image is said to have been brought from Brauron. This opinion becomes more evident by a comparison with the worship of Chryse. Agamemnon is said to have been the father of Chryse as well as of Iphigenia^s, and also, according to others, of a son Chryses, who went to Tauria with Orestes^t. Now it is certain that Chryse was a goddess, who had from early times been worshipped both at Lemnos and Samothrace. The Argonauts under Hercules and Jason were said to have sacrificed to her; and her ancient wooden image, raised over an hearth of unhewn stones, is often represented on ancient vases^u. Philoctetes is said to have been bitten by the viper^x when he discovered this altar^y. This goddess Chryse, who is also called Athena, was probably only a different form of her sister Iphigenia.

The worship of both these goddesses spread to other places, to the north of the Ægean sea. Thus on the coast of Byzantium there was an altar of Diana Orthosia^z; and opposite to it, at Chrysopolis, was the tomb of Chryses, the son of Agamemnon, who, in his search after Iphigenia, was said to have died there^a. It is evident that this system of

^s Etym. Magn. p. 815. sq.

^t Hygin. fab. 121. on the two Chryses.

^u Uhden, Berlin Transactions for 1815, p. 63. Millingen Diverses Peintures, planche 51. Welcker ap. Dissen. Expl. Pind. p. 512. Compare Buttmann ad Sophocl. Philoct. ad

Argum. Metr. p. 57.

^x The subject of a picture mentioned by Philostrat. Icon. 17. Dio Chrysost. Or. LIX. p. 577. 21.

^y Millingen ibid. planche 50.

^z Herod. IV. 87.

^a Etym. Magn. ubi sup.

religious names was arbitrarily transferred to the genealogy of the Lacedæmonian kings, and most curiously interwoven with the Trojan mythology. The Greeks first became acquainted with Tauria by their voyages to Miletus; and they gave it a name already celebrated in their mythology. They found there some sanguinary rites of a goddess, which, by partly softening the name, they called *Oreiloche*^b; they also found human sacrifices, which they supposed to be offered to Iphigenia^c; their own worship of that deity bore so many marks of ancient barbarism, that they were willing to consider the northern barbarians as its authors. Yet it is certain that the Tauric Diana was no more derived from the Taurians, than the Æthopian Diana from the Æthiopians^d, &c. In Asia Minor^e also there were modes of worship, which the Greeks compared with the rites of the Orthosian Diana, of the similarity of which we shall presently treat.

7. Hitherto we have merely collected the fabulous narrations of the ancients, and attempted to shew their connexion; we shall next speak of the cere-

Dionysius de Bosporo Thracio p. 22. ed. Hudson. Hesychius Milesius de Constantinopoli.

^b Ammianus XXII. 8. Antonin. Liberal. 27. Perizonius ad Ælian. V. H. II. 25. Hemsterhuis ad Poll. IX. 12. pag. 982.

^c Herod. IV. 103. Comp. Scymnus Chius v. 88. Strab. VII. pag. 508. XII. pag. 535. Mannert's *Geographie* vol. IV. p. 279. (ed. 1820).

^d See Callim. (fr. 417.) and Eratosthenes ap. Steph. Byz.

in *Althonia*, Hesychius in *Althion-paída*.

^e A temple of Diana Orthosia at Teuthrania on the Caius, Plutarch. de Fluv.; of the Tauric Diana at Tmolia on the Pactolus, *ibid.*; of Diana Orthia in Cappadocia, Paus. III. 16. 6; and of Iphigenia at Comana, Dion Cassius XXXV. 11. Comp. Steph. Byz. in *Ἀρᾶνον*, Plutarch de Fluv.; and particularly Strab. XII. p. 537. concerning Diana Perasia at Castabala.

monies which attended the worship of this goddess or goddesses.

In the first place we will treat of the meaning and character of this truly mystical worship^f. We have a goddess adored with frantic and enthusiastic orgies, certain signs of an elementary religion, as well as with human sacrifices, which the character of the Greeks endeavoured only to moderate and to ennoble; it appears to have originally resembled the Arcadian worship of Callisto; but that it acquired at Lemnos, from the proximity of the Asiatic religion, a wilder and more extravagant form, which it retained after its return to Attica and Laconia. It cannot be a matter of doubt that Diana Tauropolus is nearly identical with the Taurian goddess; this name of the goddess was established in Samos (where cakes of sesamy and honey were offered to her on solemn festivals^g), in the neighbouring island of Icarus^h, and at Amphipolisⁱ. The ceremonies were undoubtedly enthusiastic, as the goddess herself was considered as striking the mind with madness^k; and bloody, because the worship at Aricia was considered like it^l.

^f Æschylus had divulged something relating to the mysteries in the Iphigenia, Eustratus ad Aristot. Eth. Nic. III. 1. See above, §. 4.

^g Herod. III. 48. Steph. Byz. in *Ταυροπόλιον*. She was also there called *Καπροφάγος*, Hesychius in v. Compare Panoška *Res Samiorum* p. 63.

^h Strab. XIV. p. 639. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 187. The Tauropolium in the island of Icaria in the Persian bay

(where Apollo Tauropolus was also worshipped) was probably not established till after the time of Alexander, Ælian. N. A. II. 9. Dionys. Perieg. 611.

ⁱ Liv. XLIV. 44. and coins. Also in the neighbourhood of Magnesia on the Sipylus, Marm. Oxon. XXVI. 1. 60.

^k Sophocl. Aj. 174.

^l See particularly Strab. V. pag. 239. She is represented on coins sitting on an ox run-

8. We are now to consider those temples of Diana which had a purely Asiatic, and not a Grecian origin, and are wholly distinct, not only from the Doric, but also from the Arcadian worship of Diana.

The Ephesian Diana was doubtless found by the Ionians, when they settled on that coast, as already an object of worship, in her temple^m, situated in a marshy valley of the Caysterⁿ. From some real or accidental resemblance in the attributes of the Munychian and Ephesian goddesses, they called the latter "Diana;" yet, wherever her worship spread, she was always distinguished by the additional title of "Ephesian^o." Every thing that is related of the worship of this deity is singular and foreign to the Greeks. Her constant symbol is the bee, which is not otherwise attributed to Diana; the other attributes, which adorned her statues in later times, are too far-fetched to admit of any conclusion being drawn from them. The bee, however, appears originally to have been the symbol of nourishment^p; the chief priest himself was called ἐσσην,

ning, which Apollodorus explained of the periodic course of the goddess, with reference to the moon, pag. 402. ed. Heyne. Comp. Etymol. M. in *Ταυροπόλον*. Apostolius XVIII. 23. See also Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Dian. 174. 187.

^m Concerning the situation of which see Locella ad Xenoph. Ephes. p. 87. Compare Caylus Mém. de l'Acad. tom. XX. pp. 428—441. Choiseul Gouffier Voyage pittoresque tom. I. p. 191.

ⁿ Herod. II. 10. Diana vi-

sited the son of the Cayster according to Callimachus fragm. 102. ed. Bentl.

^o At Corinth, Paus. II. 2. 5. Alea, id. VIII. 23. 1. An Ephesium at Massilia, Strabo IV. pp. 179, 184. at the founding of which there was a priestess named Aristarche (compare the Ἀριστάρχηον of Diana at Elis, Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 47).

^p Of a peculiar character also were the sacrifices of parsley and salt at Dætis in Ephesus, Etym. Mag. in *Δαιτίς*.

or the king-bee: some of the other sacerdotal names are of barbarous, and not Greek derivation^q. The gods, by whom this great goddess^r was surrounded, must also have been of a peculiar description. It is not probable that Latona was *originally* called her mother^s, as Apollo is never joined with her^t. Her nurse appears to have been called *Ammas*^u. Hercules is said to have proclaimed her birth from mount Ceryceum^x. This Hercules may perhaps be some native demigod, possibly one of the Idæan dactyli, whose names were, according to some, contained in Ephesian incantations, which were inscribed at the foot of her statues^y.

9. Thus much concerns the character of this worship, which appears, like an isolated point, projecting from a religious system, otherwise confined to the western parts of Greece.

As to its origin, it is the unanimous tradition of antiquity that it was founded by the Amazons. This legend had probably been mentioned in some of the

^q The Megabyzi, so called as early as the time of Xenophon. Also Μύξος was a priest's name, Apostol. V. 44. The servants of the goddess were, according to their different grades, called μελλιεῖς, ἱερεῖς, and παριεῖς, according to Plutarch An Seni sit ger. Resp. 24. p. 130. ed. Hutten.

^r πρωτοθρονή, Paus. X. 38. 3.

^s Latona is said to have given birth to her at Corissus in the Ephesia, Steph. Byz. in Κόρισσος.

^t The union of Apollo of Colophon, of the Ephesian

Diana, and of the Nemesis of Smyrna on coins of these cities in the time of the emperors is only a mutual compliment. In the speech of the Ephesians in Tacitus Annal. III. 61. there is evidently much inaccuracy. The Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνιος in Paus. III. 25. 2. is a singular curiosity.

^u Ἀμμάς, ἡ τροφὸς Ἀρτέμιδος. καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ Ῥέα καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ, Hesychius.

^x Etymol. Mag. p. 511. 56. Gudian. p. 320. 26.

^y See Lobeck *de Idæis Dactylis*.

ancient epic poems before it was alluded to by Pindar²; and that it was also preserved on the spot appears from the celebrated contest of Phidias, Polycleitus, and other artists, to make statues of Amazons for the Ephesian temple: lately also a sarcophagus was found near Ephesus representing the battle of the Amazons^a. The traditions respecting the foundation of the cities of Smyrna, Cume, Myrlea, Myrina, Æolis, Priene, Mytilene, and Pitane also make mention of the Amazons^b. With respect to the meaning of Amazons, it has rightly (in my opinion) been supposed that the idea of them was suggested by the sight of the innumerable female slaves (ἱεροδούλοι) which were employed about the temples of Asia Minor^c. According to Callimachus also the Amazons danced to the sound of the pipe round the statue which had been newly raised on the trunk of an elm-tree. It is also stated as an historical fact, that, even in the times of the Ionians, women of the Amazon race dwelt round the temple^d; although virgins only were permitted to

² Ap. Paus. VII. 2. 4. Fragm. Incert. 56. ed. Boeckh. See Callim. Hymn. Dian. 240. sqq. Paus. IV. 31. 6. Steph. Byz. in Ἐφεσος. cf. in Σίσυρβα, Κίρνα, Etym. Mag. in Ἐφεσος. Plutarch Quæst. Græc. 56. p. 407. ed. Hutten. Hyginus fab. 223, 225. The contrary is stated in Eusebius Chron. n. 870. Ἀμαζόνες τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἱερὸν ἐνέπρησαν.

^a Moses' Vases, plate 133.

^b Hecateus ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἀμαζ. According to Heraclides Ponticus 33. their set-

tlements reached from Mycale to Pitane, Diod. III. 55. from Dionysius of Samos, Ephorus ap. Strab. XII. pag. 550. cf. XIII. p. 623, &c. See Steph. Byz. in Ἀναία of a place called Anæa opposite Samos, where an Amazon of that name was buried. The inhabitants were called Ἀναίται. Perhaps a Diana Anaitis was here worshipped.

^c Proposed by Tölken, *Ueber das Bas-relief*, &c. p. 210. and approved by Boeckh in Hirt *Ueber die Hierodulen* p. 55.

^d Paus. VII. 2. 5.

enter the sanctuary itself^e. It appears therefore that the goddess upon whom these Amazons attended, being represented as a beneficent and nourishing deity, was likewise supposed to have the attributes of war and destruction; a double and opposite character, which we have traced in other branches of the worship of Diana. As to the native country of the Amazons, who were supposed to have founded this worship, it does not seem to have been Phrygia, as they are stated in the *Iliad* to have come from the east of the Sangarius, and to have fought with the Phrygians^f. The Syrians, however, bordered on that people: and Pindar, who says that the Amazons led the Syrian army^g, fully coincides with those who fix their origin on the banks of the Thermodon, Chadesius and Lycastus along the coast of Themiscyra^h. The striking agreement of several authors in this statement, and its singular precision, render it of double importance. And what country could have been more probably the native place of the Ephesian Diana, as well as of the warlike Hierodulæ, than Cappadocia; where there were, in the historical age, large numbers of sacred slaves, both male and female; where also there was an elementary religion, with frantic rites,

^e Achill. Tat. Clitoph. VII. p. 431.

^f Il. III. 185.

^g Ap. Strab. XII. p. 819 C. fragm. incert. 57. p. 645. ed. Boeckh.

^h Æschyl. Prometh. 723. Pherecydes ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 370. Herod. IV. 110. Arrian Peripl. pag. 16. Seymnus Chius v. 229. Creu-

zer Vet. Histor. Græc. p. 80. According to Schol. Apoll. *ubi sup.* (cf. 990.) there were in the *πεδίων Δοιάρρος* in Phrygia (in the neighbourhood of Thermodon) three cities of the Amazons; not far off was Alconia (Acmonia Steph. Byz.), where Harmonia produced the Amazons to Mars.

and the principal divinity was at the same time a *Bellona* and a *Magna Mater*?

This same oriental worship had also been in other places adopted by the Greeks of Asia Minor. Among these are Diana *Leucophryne*, who was worshipped in Phrygia, near a warm springⁱ, and thence particularly honoured along the banks of the Mæander in Magnesia; and therefore also by Themistocles^k. She was represented in the same form as the Ephesian goddess^l. Her sacred animal was the buffalo^m. The Diana of *Sipylos* was worshipped with wanton games, from which she was also called at Olympia (according to Pausanias) *Cor-daca*ⁿ. The *Pergæan* Diana, known all over Greece by her itinerant priests^o, and of the same form as the Diana *Leucophryne*^p; with many others^q. It was in the true spirit of this worship that the mu-

ⁱ Xenoph. Hell. III. 2. 19.

^k Marm. Oxon. XXVI. l. 84. Paus. I. 26. 4. III. 18. 6.

^l Heyne *Antiquarische Aufsätze* vol. I. p. 109. Compare Paciandi Monum. Pelop. vol. II. p. 13.

^m See the coins in Mionnet tom. III. p. 137.

ⁿ VI. 22. 1. The Sicilian Greeks also celebrated to Diana the effeminate Ionian dance, Pollux IV. 14. 104.

^o Scylax p. 39. Strab. XIV. p. 667. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 187. Cicero in Verr. I. 20. III. 21. Hesychius, Suidas, Photius, &c. in *Περυαία θεός*. Apostolius IX. 91. where for *παρυαία* read *περυαία*. At Perge also the Syrian Adonis was worshipped under the name of

Aboba, Hesychius in *Ἀβωβα*.

^p Represented on coins as a *signum informe*.

^q For example, Diana *Κυρδύας* of Bargylæ, Polyb. XVI. 12. 3; Diana *Ἑορῶς* of Iassus, ibid. ΑΣΤΙΑΣ Inscript. Chandler. p. 19. n. 57; the goddess of *ἱερὰ κόμη* at Thyateira, called *Ἵοπεῖρος*, Polyb. XXXII. 25. 11. Inscript. in Walpole's Travels pag. 575; the Mysian Diana, Paus. III. 20. 8. cf. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 116; the Astyrene Diana under mount Ida, Strab. XIII. p. 606, 613; the Boritine Diana of Lydia, Eckhel Doct. Num. vol. III. pag. 121; Diana *Adrasteia* in Lesser Phrygia, Harpocration in *Ἀδράστεια*, &c.

sician Timotheus called Diana "the raging and "foaming, like a Bacchanalian¹;" and the tragic poet Diogenes in a beautiful though not a very accurate passage of his *Semele* speaks of the Lydian and Bactrian virgins, who with soft strains worshipped the Tmolian Diana on the banks of the Halys².

I have now endeavoured to give the reader a general view of the different branches and forms of the worship of Diana; in which some difficult and doubtful questions have of necessity been passed over: but I have preferred rather to reckon on the acquiescence of the reader in some uncertain propositions than to weary his patience by a detailed examination of all the debatable points.

CHAP. X.

On the worship of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Ceres, Neptune, Bacchus, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Æsculapius, Cupid, the Graces, and the Dioscuri among the Dorians.

1. Having now considered the worship of those deities which either wholly or partially owed their origin to the Dorians, it now becomes necessary, in order to complete our account of the religion of that race, also to point out those various worships which they adopted from other nations.

This inquiry will be of value in two other respects than the plain and immediate result to which it leads; viz. from the light it throws on the history of the Doric colonies, and likewise on the Doric cha-

¹ Θυάδα, φοιβάδα, μανάδα, λυσσάδα, Plut. de Superst. 9. p. 75.

² Athen. XIV. p. 636 A.

racter, upon which the mode of worship had a most powerful influence.

But since the subject embraced in its full extent would be almost endless (there being no part of ancient history on which there are such ample accounts as on the local worships), we must give up all attempt at completeness, and rest satisfied with a narrower view.

To begin then with JUPITER. It is remarkable that there was no great establishment of the worship of this god (except the Phrygian in Crete) in any Doric country, but wherever it occurred was connected with and subordinate to that of some other deity. The worship at Olympia¹ appears to have been established by the Achæans, who in other places (e. g. at Ægium) consecrated temples to Jupiter alone: the worship of Jupiter Hellanius at Ægina was introduced by the Hellenes of Thessaly. But the whole of Argolis and also Corinth were, from early times, under the protection of JUNO, the character of whose worship resembled that of Jupiter's, although it was more pronounced. The chief temple was twelve stadia from Mycenæ, and forty from Argos, beyond the district of Prosymna²; its service was performed by the most distinguished

¹ From this temple was derived the Olympieum at Syracuse (see above, book I. ch. 6. §. 7.), the priest of which, called 'Ἀμφίπολος, was the highest annual officer, Thucyd. VII. 65, 70. Diod. XVI. 70. Exc. Virt. et Vit. p. 558. Cic. Verr. II. 51.

² Creuzer *Symbolik* vol. II. p. 575. "Ἦρας Προσυμναίας ἱερὸν,

Pseudo-Plutarch de Fluv. Strab. p. 573. is probably not correct in distinguishing the temple of Juno at Prosymna from the celebrated one. The names *Prosymna* and *Prosymnus* also occur at Lerna and at Gortyna in Arcadia. Inscription of Gortyna in Fourmont's Collection, ἡ πατρα των προσυμναιων νικομαχην αριστοθεμιτος θαδουχησασαν.

priestesses, and celebrated by the first festivals and games, being also one of the earliest nurseries of the art of sculpture. It appears that Argos was the original seat of the worship of Juno, and that there it first received its peculiar form and character: for the worship of the Samian Juno, as well as that at Sparta^x, was supposed to have been derived from Argos, which statement is confirmed by the resemblance in the ceremonies; and the same is true of the worship of the same goddess at Epidaurus^y, Ægina, and Byzantium. In the early mythology of Argos her name constantly occurs; and the traditions concerning Io, so far as they were native, are only fabulous expressions for the ideas and feelings excited by this religion. Thus also the Corinthian fables of Medea refer to the indigenous worship of Juno Acræa^z. Hence the Corinthians introduced into their colony of Corcyra, together with the religion of Juno^a, the mythology and worship of Medea^b. The peculiarities of the worship of Juno must partly be looked for in the symbolical traditions respecting Io and Medea, and other mytho-

^x Pausanias III. 13. Sturz Pherecydes p. 79. See particularly Heyne ad II. Δ. 52. Eurydice the daughter of Acrisius was said to have built the temple. To the statement of Pausanias III. 15. 7. *μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίοις καθέστηκεν Ἦραν ἐπινομάζειν αἰγοφάγον καὶ αἶγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν* (compare Hesych. in *Αἰγοφάγος* *Χήρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ* with Welcker on Schwenck's *Etymologische Andeutungen* pag. 294.), it may be objected that the same custom prevailed in

Corinth; see Photius Lex. in *ἡ αἶξ τὴν μάχαιραν*. Zenob. Proverb. I. 27. Diogen. Prov. I. 52.

^y Thucyd. V. 75.

^z See *Orchomenos* p. 267.

^a The chief temple at Corcyra was that of Juno, Thucyd. I. 24. III. 75, 79. Also at Syracuse, Ælian. V. H. VI. 11, &c.

^b *Orchomenos* pag. 297. The divinity of Medea there asserted is completely proved by the testimony of Athenagoras Legat. p. 14. that Hesiod and Alcman called her *goddess*.

logical personages of the same description, and partly in the various rites of the Samian festival. It was doubtless founded on some elementary religion, as may be plainly seen from the tradition that Jupiter had on mount Thornax in southern Argolis misled Juno in the shape of a cuckoo (whose song was considered in Greece as the prognostic of fertile rains in the spring.) The marriage with Jupiter (called *ἱερὸς γάμος*) is always a prominent feature in the worship of Juno; she was represented veiled, like a bride; and was carried, like a bride, on a car, with other similar allusions^c. At Samos it was related that the statue of the goddess had been once entirely covered with branches; and this, as it appears, was also represented at festivals^d. The Argive festival of *Λέχερνα*, i. e. of the "bed of twigs," had the same meaning^e.

2. In Argolis also the worship of MINERVA was of great antiquity, and enjoyed almost equal honours with that of Juno; her temple was on the height of Larissa: and doubtless she had the same character and origin as the Minerva Chalcicæus of Sparta^f. Their names were in both places nearly the same, as at Sparta she was called *Ὀπτιλέτις*^g, and in Argolis *Ὀξυδέρκης*, the *quick-sighted*^h; and though in both places the names were explained from historical events, it seems more accurate to compare

^c She was worshipped under the titles of *Εὐλήθνια* and *Γαμηλή*, Hesychius in *Εὐλήθνια*, Eustath. ad Hom. p. 1156.

^d Athen. XV. p. 672.

^e Hesychius in v. See also Creuzer's *Symbolik*, whose chapter upon Juno contains much in the spirit of the ancient reli-

gion, and Welcker on Schwenck p. 268.

^f At Sparta there was also the Arcadian worship of Minerva Alea, Xenoph. Hell. VI. 5. 27.

^g Pausan. III. 18. 1. Plutarch Lycurg. II.

^h Pausan. II. 24.

them with the title of Minerva at Athens and Sigeum, Γλαυκῶπις, and others of the same kind. At Argos a large part of the heroic mythology is associated with the worship of Minerva: for Acrisius was fabled to have been buried in her temple on the citadelⁱ; and since Ἀκρία was a title of the goddess herself^k, it appears to me that the name Ἀκρίσιος may be satisfactorily explained in this manner: especially as it is plain from an analysis of the mythology of Acrisius, Perseus, and the Gorgons, that it is entirely founded on symbols of Minerva. Corinth also had a part in these fables, as is clearly shewn by the figures of Pegasus, of the head of Medusa and Minerva herself upon the coins of this state and of its colonies Leucadia, Anactorium, and Amphilochian Argos^l.

There is also another branch of the worship of Minerva in the Doric states, viz. that which extended from Lindus in Rhodes to Gela in Sicily, and from thence to Agrigentum and Camarina^m. In all these places Minerva was the protectress of the citadel and the town, and was associated with Jupiter Polieus (also with Jupiter Atabyriusⁿ). As

ⁱ Clem. Alexand. Protrept. p. 29. ed. Sylburg.

^k Ἀκρία Ἀθηναῖ ἐν Ἀργεῖ. Also Juno, Diana, and Venus, see Hesych. in Ἀκρία.

^l But with a particular reference to Bellerophon. From Pegasus was derived the goddess Hippiā, Pind. Olymp. XIII. 97, whose altar was chiefly remarkable for the rite of incubation. Ἐλλωτία is, as we also learn from the Scholiast of Pindar, like Ἀλία, the goddess

of light. There was also the worship of Minerva at Syracuse, Diod. de Virt. et Vit. p. 549. ed. Wesseling.

^m Boeckh Explic. ad Pind. Olymp. II. 1. p. 123. V. 9. p. 148, and particularly Polyb. IX. 27. 7. with Timæus in Steph. Byz. in Ἀτάβυρον. The Minerva Polias of Træzen was introduced by the Ionians, as the other worships of that city shew.

ⁿ She was always called "the

to the ceremonies with which she was honoured, we only know from Pindar that at Rhodes they offered fireless sacrifices to her, and that the ancient sculpture of Rhodes was connected with her worship. That of Hierapytna in Crete (the coins of which city have the Athenian symbols of Minerva) more resembled the Rhodian worship, if what the envoys from Præsus stated at Rhodes was correct, viz. that at Hierapytna the Corybantes were called the offspring of the sun and of Minerva^o.

3. Although the worship of these deities, and of Juno in particular, had probably been more prevalent before than after the Doric invasion, the religion of CERES was still more depressed. This worship was nearly extirpated by the Dorians, a fact which we know from Herodotus, who, in speaking of some rites of Ceres Thesmophoria which were supposed to have been founded by the daughters of Danaus, states that when the Peloponnesians were driven out by the Dorians, these rites were discontinued, and that they were only kept up by those Peloponnesians who remained behind, and by the Arcadians^p. Consequently we meet with few traces of the worship of Ceres in the chief cities of the Doric name^q. Thus it appears that in Argos the ceremonies in honour of this goddess were on one side driven into the marshes of Lerna, and on the other to the eastern extremity of the peninsula, inhabited by the Dryopes. In the former of these

"Lindian" even in the city of Rhodes, Meurs. Rhod. I. 6. Compare Apostolius XVII. 17.

^o Strabo X. pag. 472. ὡς εἰπὲν Κορύβαντες δαίμονες τινες, Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἑλλήνων παῖδες. This is the pro-

perway of pointing these words.

^p II. 171.

^q The Messenians alone made Ceres of Andania the chief goddess of the state; see book I. ch. 5. §. 16.

two places some mystical rites were long performed, and in the latter the chief worship was that of the deities of the earth and the infernal regions (*χθόνιοι θεοί*). Some inscriptions found at Hermione which besides Ceres and Proserpine mention the name of Clymenus^r, an epithet of Pluto, agree well with the beginning of the hymn which Lasus the Hermionean addressed to the deities of his native city: "I sing
" of Ceres and the Melibœan Proserpine, the wife
" of Clymenus, sounding the deep-toned Æolic har-
" mony of hymns^s." And that the Hermioneans considered the temple of the earthly Ceres (which was connected with the entrance of the infernal regions supposed to be at Hermione) as the first in the city, is also evident from the fact that the Asinæans, expelled from Argolis and resident in Messenia, sent sacrifices and sacred missions from thence to their national goddess at Hermione^t.

In ancient times also a worship was prevalent at Argos which we will designate by the name of the Triopian Ceres^u. All the fables concerning Triopas and his son Erysichthon (from *ἐρευείρη*, *robigo*) belong to an agricultural religion, which at the same time refers to the infernal regions. The places where this religion existed in ancient times are the Thesalian plains of Dotium, Argos, and likewise Attica^x;

^r Boeckh Corp. Inscript. N°. 1197, 1198, 1199. Comp. Paus. II. 35. 3. Perhaps the name of Hermione also refers to the worship of the *χθόνιοι θεοί*, see Hesych. in *Ἑρμῶν*.

^s Athen. XIV. pag. 624 E. Compare the hymn of Philicus of Corcyra, Hephæst. pag. 53. ed. Gaisford. and the verses of

Aristocles ap. Ælian. de N. A. XI. 4.

^t Boeckh Inscript. N°. 1193.

^u Pausan. II. 22. 2. *Δήμητρος ἔστιν ἱερὸν ἐπικλησιν Πελασγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυσαμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Τριόπα.*

^x Hellanicus ap. Athen. X. p. 416 A. et Steph. Byz. in *ν. Τριόπιον*. Callimachus Hymn.

and from the first mentioned place it was transmitted to the south-western coast of Asia Minor by an early national connexion which is indicated in the account of an ancient Pelasgic colony from Dotium to Cnidos, Rhodes, and Syme^y; and here it formed the basis of the Triopian worship, on which were afterwards founded the federative festivals of the six Doric cities. In front of Triopium is the small island of Telos, whence a single family joined the Lindian colony that founded Gela in Sicily, and carried with it the *sacra Triopia*. A member of this family named Telines advanced this private worship of the infernal gods so greatly that it was incorporated in the national religion, and he was appointed to administer it as Hierophant; it was from this person that Hiero the king of Syracuse was descended^z.

4. By this history of the colonial connexions, well attested from without, and having great internal probability, we have ascertained the origin of one of the branches of the worship of Ceres in Sicily. Another was probably introduced by the clan of the Emmenidæ^a, which being originally of Theban origin came into Sicily with the colony of Gela: for it was probably owing to the traditions of this family alone that Agrigentum, as well as ancient Thebes, was called "a gift from Jupiter" to Proserpine at their nuptial festival^b.

Cer. 24. Inscript. Herod. Attici; and compare the excellent explanation of Boeckh ad Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 27. pag. 315.

^y See *Orchomenos* p. 195.

^z Herod. VII. 153. Schol.

Pind. *ubi sup.*

^a *Orchomenos* p. 337.

^b Ibid. pag. 257. afterwards extended over the whole of Sicily. Boeckh Explic. Pind. Olymp. II. p. 123. Κόρης παρὰ Σικελιώταις Θεογάμμα καὶ Ἀνθεσ-

But from neither of these two sources can the celebrated worship of Ceres at Syracuse and its colony Enna (which in the eyes both of the inhabitants and of the Romans had made Sicily the native country of Ceres) be derived, since it differed in certain respects from both the above-named worships^c. From its importance we may infer that it was one of the most ancient religions of Syracuse, and established at the first foundation of that town; and since of these some came from Olympia^d, but the larger part from Corinth, and there is no reason for supposing that it was derived from the former place, it must have been brought over from the parent state. Now it is true that there was at Corinth a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, the priestesses of which also prophesied by means of dreams^e; but the worship of those goddesses was there of far less importance than in Sicily, where its preponderance may perhaps be accounted for by the fertility of the soil, which enabled it to produce wheat, while the Greeks had in their own country been accustomed to eat barley, and therefore stimulated the colonists to be especially thankful to the goddess of corn. When, however, it is remembered that Megara also had a large share in the colonising of Sy-

φόρια, Pollux I. 37. The *Θεογάμια* were probably connected with the festival *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* (Schol. rec. ad Olymp. VI. 160), and this festival was derived from Thebes. Cyzicus also, founded by Tyrrhenian Pelasgi (from Bœotia), was considered as an *ἐμπροίκιον* of Jupiter for Proserpine, Appian. Bell. Mithridat. 75. comp. Steph. Byz. in v. Βέσβικος.

^c A festival *Θεσμοφόρια* at Syracuse (Athen. XIV. p. 647 A. *Θεσμοφόριον ἱερὸν*, Plutarch Dio 56. a month Thesmophorius, see Castelli), *Κούρεια* Plutarch *ubi sup.* comp. Diod. V. 4. sqq.

^d See book I. ch. 6. §. 7. and above, §. 1.

^e Plut. Timoleon 8. Diod. XVI. 66. Ceres *ἐποικιδίη* in Corinth according to Hesychius.

racuse, it will hardly be doubted that this state was the real source from which the worship in question originated, since Ceres was there an ancient national deity, and was not disturbed in her sanctuary on the citadel of Caria even by the Doric invaders^f.

In Laconia also the worship of Ceres had been preserved from ancient times, although it could not have been much respected by the Dorians in Sparta. For the Eleusinia of that country were chiefly celebrated by the inhabitants of the ancient town of Helos, who on certain days carried a wooden statue of Proserpine to the Eleusinium on the heights of Taygetus^g. The Lacedæmonians had also adopted the worship of Ceres under the title of *χθονία*, or earthly, from the Hermioneans, some of whose kinsmen had settled in Messenia^h.

5. NEPTUNE was not originally a god of the Doric race, but was suited rather to the character of the Ionians, who, from dwelling near the sea, had acquired a love for foreign communication and a great spirit of enterprise. We therefore find it only in a few places, e. g. at Tænarumⁱ (whence it was carried to Tarentum), at Cyrene^k, in Ægina^l,

^f Pausan. The mystical worship of *Damia* and *Auxesia* at Epidaurus and Træzen was also connected with that of Ceres, as the manuscript Scholiast ap. Mitscherlich ad Hymn. in Cerer. 122. declares. But Δημήτηρ Ἀζησία (Sophocl. ap. Hesych. in v. comp. Valcken. Adonias. p. 292.) and Δημήτηρ Ἀμαία (Suidas in v.) must not be confounded with those goddesses.

^g Pausan. III. 20. 5, 6. compare Hesychius, Ἑλευσίνια ἁγῶν

θυμελικὸς ἀγόμενος Δῆμητρι παρὰ Λάκωσι.

^h III. 14. 5. Compare Hesychius in Ἐπιπολλὰ and Ἐπικρῆναι.

ⁱ The priests were probably called *Ταυναρισταί*, see Hesych. in v. *Ταυναρίας*.

^k Ἀμφιβαιός, i. e. Ἀμφι—αἶος, Boeckh Explic. Pind. Pyth. IV. p. 268. also Πελλάνιος according to Hesychius.

^l *Æginetica* p. 148. and see Plat. Sympos. IX. 6. p. 410.

and particularly on the Corinthian isthmus; also at Trœzen and Calauria, which places (as has been already shewn) were among the ancient settlements of the Ionians on the Saronic gulf^m, to which the legends concerning Theseus chiefly referⁿ. From Trœzen the worship of Neptune was transmitted to Posidonia in Magna Græcia, and also to Halicarnassus, chiefly by the family of the Antheadæ.

6. The worship of BACCHUS did not enjoy equal honours among all the Dorians. It had indeed penetrated as far as Sparta, where it had driven even the Lacedæmonian women to phrensy^o; and the Delphic oracle itself had ordered the institution of a race of Bacchanalian virgins^p. But nothing is known of any sumptuous or regular ceremonies in honour of Bacchus; and we might indeed have supposed *a priori* that the austere and rigid notions of the Spartans would have been very averse to that deity. The same is probably true of Argos, which had for a long time wholly abstained from the worship of Bacchus, but afterwards dedicated to him a festival called τὺρβη (*turba*^q). The conduct of Corinth and Sicyon was in this respect altogether different. The former city had received from Phlius^r

^m Hence also the sacred month Geræstius at Trœzen (Athen. XIV. p. 639), which points to Eubœa.

ⁿ See above, ch. 3. §. 2. on the ancient difference between the Isthmian and Olympic games.

^o Ælian V. H. III. 42. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 963. Pac. 1071.

^p Pausan. III. 13. 4. Here, too, as well as at Athens, there

was Διώνυσος ἐν Λίμναις, Strab. VIII. p. 363. See above, ch. 9. §. 3. concerning the Dymænæ.

^q Pausan. II. 23, 24, 37. Compare Hesychius in Ὑαργίδες.

^r See above, book I. ch. 5. §. 3. Phlius, on account of this worship, was the birthplace of the σαρυρικοί ποιηταὶ Aristeas and Pratinas.

the worship of this god under the title of βακχεῖος, i. e. "*exciting to phrensy*;" and also under that of λύσιος, the "*appeasing*" or "*soothing*," from Thebes, whence it was said to have come at the time of the Doric invasion^s, and where it was celebrated with festivals, on which we have very ample accounts^t. In early times some rude beginnings of tragedy had been formed from the dithyrambic choruses^u there performed, as the tradition of Epigenes informs us; though these were not regular dramas: there were likewise the tragic choruses transferred from Bacchus to some of the heroes, and Adrastus had been made the subject of these songs before the tyranny of Cleisthenes^x. The worship of this god had also produced a native kind of comic and ludicrous entertainment, the Phallophori^y. In the neighbouring city of Corinth, the same worship, with its musical and poetical accompaniments, prevailed^z; and it was in this town that, according to Pindar^a, the dithyramb was first established, although indeed under the direction of a foreigner (Arion). In the Doric colonies of Magna Græcia this worship preserved the same character of irregularity and excess;

^s Pausan. II. 7. 6. Also Διόνυσος Χοιροφάλης in that town, Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 25.

^t Concerning the crown *λάκχα* see Athen. XV. p. 678. Compare Hesychius in *θιάχῃ* and *λάκχα*.

^u The celebration of which appears to be referred to in the ancient epigram in Athen. XIV. p. 629 A.

^x Herod. V. 67. The word *ἀπέδωκε* proves that the tragic choruses were originally cele-

brated to Bacchus. Perhaps the Adrastea were engrafted upon the Dionysia.

^y Athen. XIV. p. 621, 622. It is to these that the Epigr. Onestæ 2. refers. Comp. Hermann ad Aristot. Poet. 3. pag. 104.

^z Worshipped under the titles of Βακχεῖος and Λύσιος in that town, Pausan. II. 2. 5.

^a Olymp. XIII. 18. and see Boeckh's Explic.

the whole town of Tarentum was (as Plato says) drunk at the festival of Bacchus. The painted vases give a perfect representation of the antics and masques of this ancient carnival.

7. In Corinth, however, and Sicyon, the worship of VENUS as well as of Bacchus was established. It seems probable that the worship of that deity had indeed a native origin in Greece, but that it had been extended and modified by Phœnician settlers in some of the maritime towns. The institution of the "hospitable damsels^b," whom the goddess their mistress herself ordered to be at the disposal of strangers^c, was undoubtedly of Asiatic origin, and unknown to the ancient Greeks^d. Sicyon, however, appears to have derived the worship of these two deities from Corinth: the coins of which city generally have a dove^e, and frequently also a head of Venus of ancient workmanship; and the native poetess Praxilla (452 B. C.) addressed Venus as the mother of Bacchus^f, and sang of the joys and woes of the Phœnician Adonis^g. While again the Dorians of these maritime cities had a certain susceptibility, flexibility, and softness of character, the very contrary of all these qualities distinguished the

^b πολύξενοι νεάνιδες, Pindar Scol. Fragn. 1.

^c σὺν δ' ἀνάγκῃ πᾶν καλόν, Pindar ibid. Concerning the ἱερόδουλοι see Hirt *Ueber die Hierodulen* and others. I only add that some of them were called κατάκλειστοι, i. e. shut up in single cells (Hesychius in v.); but the reason of this name is not evident.

^d Venus Εὐδωσώ (Hesych. in

v.) and Venus Βαιώτις (ibid.) at Syracuse came from Corinth; see Clem. Alex. p. 25.

^e That is, on those which are falsely ascribed to the Siphnians and Seriphians (ΣΕ or ΣΙ), but are found in great numbers in the district of Sicyon.

^f Hesychius in Βάκχου Διῶνις.

^g Zenob. Prov. IV. 21. Diogen. V. 21.

Spartans. For although that state came into connexion with a Phœnician establishment of the worship of Venus in the island of Cythera, they transformed it while they adopted it, and had their own armed Venus, and the chained and veiled goddess of marriage^b. From the same island also they received the god Adonis under the name of Cirisⁱ. Venus, however, enjoyed greater honours in the Spartan colony of Cnidos, whence she went to Haliarnassus under the title of Acræa, and from thence to the mother-city Trœzen^k. The worship of Venus at Selinus in the west of Sicily^l was doubtless derived from the neighbouring town of Eryx, and was consequently also Phœnician; and the temple was probably one of the wealthiest of that once flourishing city^m.

The worship of MERCURY does not appear to have prevailed in any Doric state; in one respect he was superseded by Apollo Agyieus. The same may nearly be said of VULCAN and MARS, the latter of whom was worshipped by the Spartans under the names of Theritas and Enyalius. Of the worship of ÆSCULAPIUS it has been alreadyⁿ mentioned that it was derived to Cos, Cnidos, and

^b Pausan. III. 15. 8. III. 23. 1. Plutarch Instit. Lac. p. 253. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 449. She was, however, also represented armed at Corinth, Pausan. II. 4. 7.

ⁱ Hesychius in v. According to the great etymologist Kippis is merely Cyprian. compare Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. I. 3.

^k Pausan. II. 32. 6. and concerning the Trœzenian worship of Venus see Valckenaer ad Eu-

ripid. Hippolyt. 32. Concerning the sacrifices of a sow to Venus in Argos at the ὑστέρια see Athen. III. p. 96 A. Callimach. Fragm. 102 ed. Bentl. Venus was worshipped there with the title Περύβαρις, Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 24. ed. Sylburg.

^l See Timæus apud Zenob. Prov. I. 31.

^m Thuc. VI. 20.

ⁿ Book I. ch. 6. §. 1.

Rhodes, from Epidaurus, which state again had in ancient times received it through the Phlegyans from Tricca^o. From Epidaurus, according to Pausanias^p, also came the worship of Sicyon, and the Cyrenæan at Balagræ^q, with which, as at Cos, an ancient school of physicians was connected^r.

8. We will just notice the worship of the GRACES established in Crete and Sparta; first, as a fresh proof of the early religious connexion between those two countries^s, and as a sign of that hilarity and gladness which was the most beautiful feature of the religion of the Greeks. These goddesses were at Sparta called Cleta and Phaëmma; their temple was on the road from the city to Amyclæ, on the river Tiasa^t. Allied to this was the worship of CUPID, as practised by the Cretans and Spartans, with whom, before every battle, the most beautiful men assembled and sacrificed to that god^u: not as the great uniter of heaven and earth, but as awaking mutual esteem and affection, which produce that fear of the disapprobation of friends which is the noblest source of valour^x.

The most obscure, perhaps, of all the branches of religion whose origin we have to investigate is the worship of the DIOSCURI, or the sons of Jupiter. It appears probable that it had a double source, viz. the heroic honours of the human Tyndaridæ, and

^o *Orchomenos* p. 199.

^p Pausan. II. 10. 3.

^q Paus. II. 26. 7. Tacit. *Annal.* XIV. 18. comp. Callimach. *Epigr.* 58.

^r Compare the somewhat different opinion of Boeckh *Expl. Pind.* p. 288.

^s See Heyne ad *Apollod.* III.

^t 15. 7.

^u Paus. III. 18. 4. *ib.* 9. 35.

^x Athen. XIII. p. 361.

^y In an inscription found at Sparta Eleutheria, Poseidæa, and Erotidæa occur as festivals, *Corp. Inscript.* 1430. and see Boeckh's note.

the ancient Peloponnesian worship of the great gods or Cabiri; and in process of time the attributes of the latter seem by poetry and tradition to have been transferred to the former, viz. the name of the sons of Jupiter, the birth from an egg, and the egg-shaped caps, the alternation of life and death, the dominion over the winds and the waves. As belonging to their worship at Sparta I may mention the ancient images called *δόκανα*, two upright beams with two others laid across them transversely^y; the custom in military expeditions of taking either one or both of the statues of the Dioscuri according as one or both kings went with the army^z; which places the Tyndaridæ in the light of gods of war; and the belief that they often appeared as assistants in time of need, or even merely as friendly guests^a, which distinguishes them from most other heroes. Upon the whole we know that the Dorians found the worship and mythology of the Tyndaridæ established at Amyclæ, Therapne, Pephnos, and other places; and they adopted it, without caring to preserve its original form and meaning; rather, indeed, attempting to give to the worship of the sons of Tyndareus a *military* and *political* reference.

^y Plutarch de Amore Pat. I. pag. 36. comp. Zoëga de Obeliscis pag. 225. above, pag. 108. note ^m. In Argos there were ancient figures of the Διοσκούροι by Dipœnus and Scyllis, Paus. Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 31 A.

^z As ἐπὶ ἀλγοῖς in Herod. V. 35. so likewise the Lacedæmonians probably sent the statues of the Tyndaridæ (οἱ ἐπὶ Σάγγα) to the assistance of the Dorians, as the Æginetans sent the

Æacidæ to Salamis, Æginetica p. 163. The Κάστωρ Μεγαρχαίρας of the Argives (Plutarch Quest. Gr. 23. p. 393.) is very obscure.

^a So among the Spartans Phormion, Paus. III. 16. 3. at the house of an Azanian of Pagupolis, Herod. VI. 127. Hence also the Θεοξένια of the Διοσκούροι at Agrigentum, Boeckh Expl. Pind. Olymp. III. p. 135.

9. Before we proceed to consider the heroic mythology of the Dorians, which is chiefly confined to Hercules, we will first attempt to sketch the principal features of the religious character of the Dorians, as seen in the several worships already enumerated. Both in the developement of modes of religion peculiar to that race, and in the adoption and alteration of those of other nations, an ideal tendency may be perceived, which considered the deity not so much in reference to the works or objects of nature, as of the actions and thoughts of men. Consequently their religion had little of mysticism, which belongs rather to elementary worships; but the gods assume a more human and heroic form, although not so much as in the epic poetry. Hence the piety of the Doric race had a peculiarly energetic character, as their notions of the gods were clear, distinct, and personal; and it was probably connected with a degree of cheerfulness and confidence, equally removed from the exuberance of enthusiasm and the gloominess of superstition. Funeral ceremonies and festivals with violent lamentations, as well as enthusiastic orgies, were not suited to the character of the Dorians; although their reverence for antiquity often induced them to adopt such rites when already established. On the other hand, we see displayed in their festivals and religious usages a brightness and hilarity, which made them think that the most pleasing sacrifice which they could offer to their gods was to rejoice in their sight, and use the various methods which the arts afforded them of expressing their joy. With all this, their worship bears the stamp of the greatest simplicity, and at the same time of warmth of heart. The

Spartans prayed the gods "to give them what was "honourable and good^b;" and although they did not lead out any splendid processions, and were even accused of offering scanty sacrifices, still Jupiter Ammon declared that the "calm solemnity of the "prayers of the Spartans was dearer to him than "all the sacrifices of the Greeks^c." They likewise shewed the most faithful adherence to the usages handed down to them from their ancestors, and hence they were little inclined to the adoption of foreign ceremonies^d; although in commercial towns, as, for instance, at Corinth, such rites were willingly admitted, from a regard for strangers of other races and nations^e.

CHAP. XI.

On the Doric Hercules, and his adventures in Thessaly, Ætolia, Epirus, and Doris. Introduction of the mythology of Hercules into Bæotia and Attica.

1. In the following attempt to unravel the complicated mythology of Hercules, we will begin with those fables in which this hero appears evidently as the progenitor of the Doric Heraclidæ^f, as representative of the heroes of the Hyllean tribe, the highest

^b Pseudo-Plat. Alcib. II. p. 148. Plutarch. Inst. Lac. pag. 253.

^c Plat. ubi sup. cf. Plutarch. Lycurg. 19. Compare the corresponding expression of the Delphian oracle, Porphy. de Abstin. II. 15.

^d The worship of Ammon makes an exception, which

was brought into repute in Sparta by Lysander, *Orchomenos* p. 359.

^e Hence the Thracian Cottyto, Eupolis ap. Hesych. Suid. in *Θιασώτης, Κόρυς*.

^f *Ἡρακλῆς γενάρχας* in a Spartan inscription, Boeckh, N°. 1446.

order in the Doric nation. We will first direct our attention to the locality described in the beginning of the first book, the ancient country of the Dorians in the most mountainous part of Thessaly, where this nation was continually at enmity with its immediate neighbours, the Lapithæ. In this war Hercules appears as the hero of the Hyllean tribe, according to the epic poem *Ægimius*, and gained for them a third part of the conquered territory. With this contest is, as it appears, also connected the celebrated conquest of *Æchalia*, the subject of an epic poem called *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις*, which was ascribed to Homer or Creophylus^g. In this poem it was related how Eurytus of *Æchalia*, the skilful archer, who was said to have surpassed Hercules himself in this mode of fighting, and who dared to engage with Apollo^h, promised his daughter Iole as a prize to the person who should excel himself and his sons in archery; but Hercules having accepted the challenge, Eurytus refused to perform his engagement: upon which Hercules collected an army, conquered *Æchalia*, killed Eurytus and his sons, carried away Iole prisoner, and gave her in marriage to his son Hyllusⁱ.

^g See Bentley *Epistol.* ad Mill. p. 503. Jacobs *Animadv.* ad *Anthol. Gr.* vol. I. 2. pag. 286. Weichert *Ueber Apollonios* p. 246. The poem is called a *Ἡρακλεία* in Paus. IV. 2. 2.

^h *Od.* VIII. 228. Theocrit. XXIV. 105. *Apollod.* II. 4. 9. cf. II. 4. 11.

ⁱ The subject of the poem, the misfortunes of Iole, is given in general by Callimachus *Epig.* (Strab. XIV. pag.

638). The detail is given by *Apollodorus* II. 6. 1. II. 7. 7, who agrees with *Herodorus* ap. Schol. Eurip. *Hipp.* 550. where likewise the *Θηβαίων παράδοξα* of Lysimachus are cited, *Soph. Trach.* 205. Schol. ad v. 358, which follow *Pherecydes* and *Menecrates*, *Diod.* IV. 31, 37. Schol. II. V. 392. where for *Βουωρίας* write *Εὐβοίας*. comp. *Scythinus* ap. *Athen.* XI. pag. 461 F. *Hyginus Fab.* 29, 35.

The situation of this "well-fortified"^k Œchalia is an ancient subject of controversy. There were three places of this name; one on the banks of the Peneus in Thessaly, in the ancient country of the Lapithæ, between Pelinna to the east and Tricca to the west, not far from Ithome^l; another in the island of Eubœa, in the district of Eretria^m. The third was a town in Messenia, which in later times was called Carnasium, upon the boundary of Arcadiaⁿ; in which region there was also a town named Ithome; and, as it is stated, another named Tricca; so that we must suppose that there was some early connexion between the inhabitants of this district and the tribes near the Peneus. Now it may be presumed that each of these Œchalias was considered by the respective inhabitants as the celebrated town of the great Eurytus; whence among the early poets there was a difference of statement on the subject. For the Messenian Œchalia is called the city of Eurytus in the Homeric catalogue^o, and in the Odyssey^p, which statement was followed by Pherecydes^q; the Eubœan city was selected by the writer of the poem called the Taking of Œchalia^r; as also

Plutarch de Def. Orac. 13. p. 322. The names of Iole's relations vary. See Hesiod ap. Schol. Trach. 266. as emended by Bentley, Creophylus cited by Bentley and Diod. ubi sup.

^k Soph. Trach. 354, 858. comp. Hermann ad v. 326.

^l Book I. ch. i. §. 4.

^m Hecateus ap. Paus. IV. 2. 2. Strabo X. p. 448.

ⁿ Hence Pherecydes ap. Schol. Soph. Trach. 354. places it in Arcadia, ἐν Θούλῃ Ἀρκαδίας, perhaps ἐν ΘΩΜΗΙ, i. e.

Ἰθάμῃ. Demetrius of Scepsis in Strabo VIII. p. 339. identifies Œchalia and Andamia, cf. X. p. 448. Strabo in this passage also mentions an Œchalia in Trachinia, and another in Ætolia, comp. Eustath. ad Il. p. 298. ed. Rom.

^o Il. 594.

^p XXI. 13.

^q Ubi sup. Pausanias likewise follows the local tradition, IV. 33. 5. cf. 27. 4.

^r Schol. Soph. ubi sup.

probably in the Ægimius^s, and afterwards by Hecataeus of Miletus^t; the Thessalian, in another passage in the catalogue of the ships, apparently of considerable antiquity^u. Since, then, this question cannot be settled by authority, we can only infer (but with great probability) from the connexion of the traditions that the last-mentioned Æchalia was the city of the original fable. The contest for this city is evidently closely connected with the war with the Lapithæ; Eurytus, as well as the Lapithæ, was hated by Apollo. If Æchalia is placed on the banks of the Peneus, the conquest of it naturally falls in with the other tradition; if not, it stands isolated and unconnected. Again; Hercules, according to all traditions, conquers Iole for his son Hyllus; now Hyllus never occurs in mythology *except in connexion with the Dorians*; consequently the place of the battle must be looked for in the vicinity of the Doric territory.

Even before the time of this war (according to the common narration) Hercules had embroiled himself with the Æchalians by killing Iphitus, the son of Eurytus, who demanded of him the restitution of some plundered cattle or horses. In the common version of this story the Peloponnese was the scene of the encounter; for Hercules is said to have hurled him from the walls of Tiryns^x. But to expiate this

^s Book I. ch. 1. §. 8.

^t Ubi sup. Also Scythinus, Sophocles and Apollodorus ubi sup. According to Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 87. and Schol. Ven. ad Catal. 103. the νεώτεροι in general. Probably all these placed this exploit after the adventures in Trachinia,

and immediately before his death, cf. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 50.

^u Il. B. 730. comp. Steph. Byz. in Οίχαλία. Eustath. ad Il. p. 330. ad Od. p. 1899. ed. Rom. and see the local tradition in Paus. IV. 2. 2.

^x Odyss. and Pherecyd. ubi

murder, and the violation of the rights of hospitality, Hercules became a slave; and, in order to release himself from the guilt, he was compelled to pay to the father of Iphitus his own ransom.

2. The meaning of this servitude cannot be rightly explained without observing the remarkable coincidence between some parts of the mythology of Hercules and Apollo, which we will here shortly elucidate. As Eurytus is represented sometimes as killed by Apollo, sometimes by Hercules, so in the poem of the Shield of Hercules^y this hero punishes Cycnus for profaning the Pagasæan temple; thus, in another tradition, he slays Phylas and Laogoras, princes of the Dryopes, for violating the shrine of Delphi and other temples^z; and consecrates the whole nation to the Pythian Apollo^a. Nor do I believe that Euripides invented the fable of the restoration of Alcestis, and the contest between Hercules and Death^b. It is also perhaps fair to infer, from the legends of epic poets, in which Hercules is represented as a hero in brassen armour, who defended the sacred roads with his sword, and overthrew the violent sons of Mars that waylaid the sacrificial processions in the narrow passes and defiles, that in ancient fables he was considered not only as the defender of the Doric race, but also of the Doric worship.

sup. cf. Soph. Trach. 38. The Odyssey has, however, quite a different story; viz. that the death of Iphitus (which was, moreover, a peaceable death, *ἐν δώμασιν*, XXI. 33. but inflicted by Apollo VIII. 227.) preceded the slaughter of Iphitus.

^y Above, ch. 1. §. 3.

^z Apollod. II. 7. 7. Diod. IV. 37.

^a Above, ch. 3. §. 3.

^b Perhaps the *Ἡρακλῆς Ἡπει-ἀλητα πνίγων* (the nightmare) of Sophron was a parody of this fable, Eustath. ad Il. pag. 571. ed. Rom.

We may now proceed to consider the sale and servitude of Hercules; a point of primary importance in the various forms which the legends concerning this hero assume. In the present instance this degradation originated from the murder of Iphitus. Here also the parallel with the servitude of Apollo at Pheræ cannot fail to strike every one. The god and the hero were chosen, as examples, to impress the people in early times with a strong sense of the sacred character, and necessity of expiation for murder^c. By whom Hercules was supposed to have been purchased in the original legend of northern Thessaly we know not; at a later period Omphale was called his mistress, who (according to Pherecydes^d) bought him for three talents.

3. We will now proceed to the second settlements of the Dorians, which comprehend the towns between the ridges of Œta and Parnassus; viz. Erineus, Cytinium, Bœum, and Pindus^e.

The neighbours of the Dorians in these settlements were, as has been already stated, the Dryopes, the Melians of Trachis, and the Ætolians. The first

^c Æsch. Agam. 1038. καὶ παῖδα γὰρ τοὶ φασιν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ Πραβέντα τλῆναι καὶ ζύγων θιγεῖν βίᾳ. Comp. below, §. 8.

^d Schol. Od. XXI. 23. cf. Apollod. II. 6. 2.

^e Erineus was, according to a fable preserved in a strange and apocryphal inscription, the place of a combat between Hercules and Calchas Mopsus. Boeckh. N°. 1759. Κάλχαντα Μόψον δικαίως Ἡρακλῆς χλεύμενος (i. e. χολούμενος) περὶ ἐρινεοῦ, πλήξας αὐτὸν τῷ κολάφῳ καὶ

ἀποκτείνας τέθαπεν ἐν Ἐρινεῷ. The transcript has δικαίως and τέθαπεν; for which Hermann has emended as above. The inscription itself is a forgery either of the latest period of antiquity, or of the middle ages. The same legend is told, with additional circumstances, and a different locality, by Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 980. According to Hesiod, the contest was between the two prophets, Calchas and Mopsus, fragm. 14. ed. Gaisford.

were hostile to the Dorians; the other two were for the most part friendly to them. These facts again are expressed with much clearness in the mythology of Hercules. Of the relation between the Dorians and Dryopeans, and the manner in which it is expressed in the fables of Hercules, we have already given an account^f. Ceyx, the Trachinian, was a faithful friend of Hercules, and of his descendants; in one account indeed he is called the nephew of Hercules^g, who is said to have founded for him his town of Trachis^h. In this place was shewn a grave of Deianiraⁱ, the daughter of Ceneus, whose marriage with Hercules is evidently a mythological expression for the league which existed between the Ætolian and Dorian nations before the invasion of the Peloponnese^k. For Deianira was an inhabitant of Calydon^l; and the Calydonians had the principal share in this expedition. To this marriage is annexed a series of connected Ætolian fables concerning Hercules. For the peculiarity of this part of the heroic mythology is, that they readily passed from one nation to another; and wherever they obtained a firm ground, formed a large mass of traditions. Among these is the conquest of the bull Achelous^m, and the adventure at the ford of the Euenusⁿ, which afterwards occasioned the death

^f Book I. ch. 2. §. 4. above, ch. 3. §. 3.

^g Schol. Soph. Trach. 40.

^h Steph. Byz. in *Τραχίς*. Marm. Farnes. l. 66. emended by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 191.

ⁱ Paus. II. 23. 5.

^k Book I. ch. 3. §. 9.

^l Apollod. Diod. &c. Sopho-

cles, however, calls her a native of Pleuron, Trach. 7.

^m Described by Archilochus, according to Schol. Ven. ad Il. XXI. 237.

ⁿ Archilochus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1213. This scene is very coarsely represented on an ancient vase (Hancarville

of Hercules. It is also probable that the residence of Hercules at Olenus, in the house of Dexamenus, was connected with the Ætolian adventures; although even Hesiod does not in this legend mention the ancient Ætolian town Olenus in the neighbourhood of Calydon, but the Achæan city of the same name on the banks of the Pirus^o. Now Dexamenus is frequently placed in connexion with the Calydonian family of Æneus^p; the wife of Æneus came from Olenus, and was of the same family. The ancient legend represented him as a hospitable hero; which quality is also expressed in his name (Δεξάμενος, from δεξάμενος); in return for which, Hercules released him from his brutal guests, the Centaurs^q; to which fable the ancient battle of the Centaurs in the mythology of Hercules probably annexed itself. Lastly, Hercules is said to have led the Ætolians against the Thesprotians of Ephyra. This expedition was perhaps as much celebrated in ancient lays as the taking of Æchalia. Ephyra, which is here spoken of, is an ancient city of Thesprotia^r, situated on the spot where the Acherusian lake flows into the sea through the river Selleeis (Acheron). In

IV. 31.), with the inscription ΔΑΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ ΝΕΣΣΟΣ, as should be read.

^o See the verse in Strabo VIII. pag. 342. Steph. Byz. in Ὀλενος, which, however, probably belongs to the story in Apollod. I. 8. 4.

^p According to Hyginus Fab. 31. 33. Deianira is the daughter of Dexamenus. The Schol. Callim. Hymn. Del. 102. call Dexamenus himself a Centaur;

and thus on a vase of the best age Hercules is represented as wrestling with him for Deianira, with the inscription ΟΙΝΕΥΣ ΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΑΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ from left to right, Millingen Diverses Peintures 33.

^q Bacchylides ap. Schol. Od. XXI. 295. with Buttmann's note.

^r Raoul-Rochette, Etabliss. des Col. Grecques, tom. I. p. 219.

later times the name of this city was Cichyrus; but even at the present day remains of the original Cyclopiian style of building, not unlike those of Tiryns, are extant*. The whole district is celebrated in fables as the dwelling-place of Pluto: as the seat of an oracle where departed spirits were questioned, it was always regarded by the inhabitants with an awe, which was further increased by a belief that the natives were very skilful in the preparation of poison†. This city Hercules is said to have attacked as an ally of the Ætolians; whence it appears probable that this circumstance gave occasion for introducing his adventures in Hades; his battle with Pluto; the carrying away of Cerberus; the liberation of other heroes from the infernal regions", &c. It must not however be thought, that in the style of Euhemerus, I suppose a king Aidoneus to have really once reigned in this district, who had a dog, or rather a general, named Cerberus, whom Hercules overcame in a battle, &c. The following appears to be a more probable method of accounting for the origin of this fable. The gloomy religious rites on the banks of the Acheron, which had always rather deterred than united the neighbouring

* Hughes Travels vol. II. p. 313. Pouqueville vol. I. p. 471.

† Heyne ad Il. II. 659. Strabo's opinion, that in Homer, and the fable of Hercules, Ephyra in Elis is meant (VII. p. 328. VIII. 338.), is refuted by the passages of Homer himself.

" Some of these fables were mixed up with the war against Pylos, and some (e. g. the ab-

duction of Cerberus) taken over to Tænarum and Heraclea Pontica; the latter probably first by Herodorus, who was a native of that Heraclea, Appendix V. §. 1. Compare the coin of Heraclea in Mionnet, N°. 160, in which Hercules is represented as bringing Cerberus to the statue of Ceres.

nations from a participation in them, were at an early period contrasted with the free and active habits of the heroic tribes; the awe inspired by the presence of the unearthly spectres with the proud spirit and bold thoughts of a military life. If now the people themselves came into collision with each other, their gods necessarily did the same; the result of which was traditions of contest and war between themselves. On the other hand, the fable must not be understood as having a purely symbolical meaning; and that Hercules was worshipped, together with Pluto, merely as an enemy of Death, as a deity alleviating and removing the terrors of the infernal regions.

4. The rest of this fable, however, entirely loses its symbolical character; viz. the manner in which the birth of several Doric heroes is connected with the taking of Ephyra; who, though out of the confines of history, are nevertheless to be considered as real individuals. In the first place, Hercules is stated to have begotten Tlepolemus on Astyocheia, whom, according to Homer, he carried away from Ephyra, on the river Selleeis, after having destroyed many cities^x; Antiphus and Pheidippus also were said to have come from Ephyra in Thesprotia, the sons of Thessalus, and grandsons of Hercules, to whom the noblest families of Thessaly, as well as the Heraclidæ of Cos, referred their origin^y; the latter, however,

^x *Iliad*. II. 657.

^y Strabo IX. pag. 443. Polyæn. Strateg. VII. 44. Vell. Paterc. I. 3. 2. Schol. Apoll. Rh. III. 1089. See Boeckh Expl. Pind. Pyth. X. p. 332. The kings of the Molossi like-

wise supposed themselves descended from a certain Lannassa, the daughter of Cleodæus, of the Hyllean tribe. Plutarch Pyrrh. 1. Justin. XVII. 3.

according to another and later tradition, sprung from the union of Hercules and the daughter of Eurypylus in Cos itself^a. The origin of this intricate fable appears to be as follows; There were in the ancient country of the Dorians some noble families which referred their origin to the conquest of Ephyra; and these were designated by the names of Tlepolemus, Antiphus, and Pheidippus; those families went with the other Dorians to the Peloponnese, and passed through Argos and Epidaurus to Rhodes and Cos, where they partly new-modelled their original family legends. Now it was always admitted that the Thessalian people came also from Ephyra and Thesprotia; and when it settled among the Greeks, and sought to participate in their traditions, it was natural that Hercules, the conqueror of Ephyra, should be placed at the head of its genealogies.

5. To the combat of Hercules and Pluto at Ephyra we will now annex the important fable of Geryoneus. The cattle of Geryoneus and Pluto grazed together in the island of Erytheia^a; but they were supposed to belong to the Sun^b, and therefore were of a bright red colour. Now Erytheia was anciently believed to be near the kingdom of Pluto. For the statement of Hecataeus, that Erytheia and Geryoneus belonged to Epirus and the region of Ambracia^c, could not have been owing to an attempt to give to mythology an appearance of reality: but he seems to have availed himself of

^a Iliad. II. 678. Compare book I. ch. 6. §. 3. cidentally mentioned from an earlier tradition.

^a Apollod. II. 5. 10.

^c Ap. Arrian. II. 16. frag.

^b Ib. I. 6. 4. where it is in- p. 50. ed. Creuzer.

some real tradition. This is certain, from the datum of Scylax, who would never have laid down Erytheia in his *Periplus*^d on the authority of a mythologist (λογόγραφος). According to this writer it is situated between the territory of the Atintanes and the Ceraunian mountains, north of Epirus, on the borders of Greece, at no great distance from the earliest seats of the Dorians. Now it is a remarkable fact, that, even in historical times, there were in the same country, viz. near the Aous, a river running from mount Lacmon, herds sacred to the Sun, which were guarded in the daytime on the banks of that river, and in the night in a cave of the mountain, by men whom the inhabitants of the Greek city of Apollonia intrusted with this office as a particular honour^e. It is not probable that the Corinthians, who founded Apollonia, should have been the first to introduce this usage, although there

^d P. 23. ed. Gronov. The mountain *Abas* and river *Anthemoeis* in Erythea, according to Apollodorus, should probably also be referred to this district. At least there were Abantes in the exact spot where Erythea is placed, on the Aous, near Oricum. According to Aristot. *Mirab.* §. 145. Erythea was in the territory of the Ænians. Hercules stole the oxen there for Cythera Persephassa. Compare Antonin. *Liberal.* c. 4. πολεμήσαντας γὰρ αὐτῷ Κελτοὺς καὶ Χάονας καὶ Θεσπρώτους καὶ σύμπαντας Ἡπειρώτας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κρατηθῆναι, ὅτι τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς συνελθόντες (ἤθελον) ἀφελίσθαι. The *Celts* are introduced from some Ge-

ryonis; see Diod. V. 24. *Ety-mol. M.* p. 502. 50. See also Appian *Bell. Civ.* II. 29.

^e Herod. IX. 93. Conon *Narr.* c. 30. Two legends connected with this fable are remarkable; first, the punishment of blindness for any one who had neglected the worship of the Sun; secondly, the tale that the Greek gods themselves had sent wolves against their herds. The cattle of the Sun in the *Odyssey* are only those of Tænarum and Epirus transferred to a greater distance: there was likewise a fabulous reason for the νηφάλιοι θυσίαι of the Sun, as they were performed in many cities of Greece, *Od.* XII. 363.

are traces of an ancient worship of the Sun in the territory of Corinth^f; but we may fairly assume that the colonists merely retained a native custom. This hypothesis clears away all difficulty. The empire of Pluto on this earth was conterminous with a district in which the worship of the Sun prevailed, and which contained innumerable herds of cattle, under the protection of the god; but the Greek hero, little caring for their sanctity, had driven them away, and devoted them to *his own* gods. Epirus was always distinguished for its excellent breed of cattle, which were said to have sprung from the herds of Geryoneus, which Hercules offered to the Dodonæan Jupiter^g.

6. We were led to these considerations by the Ætolian legends respecting Hercules, from which we will now return to the Dorians, who possessed the mountainous tract along mount Ceta towards Thermopylæ. There was perhaps no region in the whole of Greece which abounded more in local fables of Hercules. It was in the pass of Thermopylæ that he caught those strange monsters the Cæcropes^h; here it was that Minerva caused a hot spring to issue for him from the groundⁱ; on the top of mount Ceta, on the Phrygian rock^k, was

^f Paus. II. 1. 6, &c.

^g Proxenus *ἐν Ἑπειρωτικοῖς* ap. Suid. et Apostol. in *λαρινοὶ βόες*. Compare Lycus of Rhægion *ibid.* Ælian N. H. XII. 11. III. 33.

^h Herod. VII. 216.

ⁱ Peisander ap. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1047. τῷ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεῷ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη ποίει θερμὰ λουτρά παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, which verses are re-

ferred to by Zenobius Prov. VI. 49. Compare Ruhnkens ap. Heyn. ad Æn. II. Exc. I. pag. 287. Wesseling ad Diod. IV. 23. Herod. VII. 176. Phileas ap. Harpocrat. in *Θερμοπύλαι*. The fable was carried over to the hot spring near Himera in Sicily, Boeckh *Explic.* Pind. Olymp. XII. p. 210.

^k Callim. Hymn. Dian. 159. Schol. ad l. Arrian ap. Eu-

raised the fatal pile, which the brook of Dyrras in vain strove to extinguish¹; and many adjacent cities claimed a connexion with his exploits^m; even the Ænians (who at a later period settled in this district) attempted to appropriate to themselves these traditionsⁿ; and Heraclea Trachinia, not founded till the Peloponnesian war, and the neighbouring Cylicrani, were referred to the mythology of Hercules^o. It is certain that local traditions of this kind must have originated with the inhabitants of this district. Is it at least probable that the natives of Argos would have placed the death of their deified hero in a foreign region, if they had been the original inventors of this fiction? The career of the Doric hero doubtless closed on the funeral pile of mount Œta; and this adventure ended a series of fables, of which there are now extant only some fragments. In this point of view we may perceive a connexion between many of the legends detailed above.

The general tendency and spirit of these legends may be described in the following proposition: The national hero is represented as every where paving the road for his people and their worship; and as protecting them from other races. Thus he opens a communication between Tempe and Delphi, be-

stath. ad Dionys. Perieg. pag. 107. The *Φρικιον ὄρος* should be distinguished from the place where Hercules slew a Centaur, Steph. Byz. in *Φρικιον*.

¹ Strabo IX. p. 428.

^m Steph. Byz. in *Τύφρηστος*. The *ἀσέληνα ὄρη* of Trachis were mentioned in the fourteenth book of the Heraclea of Rhia-

nus, Etymol. M. in *ν*. Suidas in *Πίανος*.

ⁿ Strabo XIII. p. 613. Diod. XII. 59. the coins in Eckhel Num. Anecd. tab. 6. pag. 89. Dodwell's Travels vol. I. p. 76. Clarke's Travels vol. IV. pag. 197.

^o Scythinus and Polemon ap. Athen. XI. p. 461.

tween the fabulous worshippers of Apollo, the Hyperboreans, and the worshippers of his own age. At the same time his own person is an outward symbol of the national worship; he complies with its rites of expiation for homicide, being himself both the victim and the sacrificer.

7. We will next consider the Theban legends of Hercules; and will, for the sake of clearness, first state the propositions which the following discussion is intended to establish.

Hercules at Thebes is not to be considered as a Cadmean; and has no connexion with the ancient gods, and traditions of the Cadmeans; but his mythology was introduced into Bœotia partly by the Doric Heraclidæ, and partly from Delphi, together with the worship of Apollo.

To prove that Hercules has no connexion with the Cadmean gods, temples, and princes, it is only necessary to refer to a genealogical table of the Theban mythology, and a plan of Thebes sketched after Pausanias. From the former we perceive that Hercules (whose father is represented as having arrived as a fugitive from Mycenæ) is not made the relation either by blood or marriage of the Cadmeans, Creon (κρέων, the ruler), his supposed father-in-law, being only a fictitious personage, invented to fill up a chasm in the pedigree^p; from the latter, that the temples of Hercules were not only not in the citadel (like those of Cadmus, Harmonia, and Semele), or within the walls of the city, but were all without the gates. This fact is of great im-

^p Heyne ad Apollod. II. 4. "ad Thebanas historias accom-
6. remarks with judgment, "modare difficile est."
"Herculis Thebani facta et fata

portance as to the antiquity of any worship in a city. The ancient and original deities, which enjoyed the honours of founders, possessed the citadel as their birthright; while all gods afterwards introduced enjoyed a less honourable abode in the suburbs of the town. Now it is known that the house of Amphitryon and the Gymnasium of Hercules stood in front of the gate of Electra, opposite the Ismenium^q; and to this we may add the account of Pherecydes^r respecting a village near that same gate, which the Heraclidæ had founded before their invasion of the Peloponnese, and where there was a statue of Hercules in the market-place. What can be clearer than that these Heraclidæ established the worship of their hero at Thebes? Near this place (it should be observed) was the Ismenian sanctuary of Apollo. Opposite to this temple Hercules was said to have been educated; and at a festival of Apollo to have carried the laurel before the chorus of virgins; and afterwards to have consecrated a tripod in the temple, as was the general custom in later times. This tripod is represented on the famous relief of the Argive apotheosis of Hercules, with the inscription Ἀμφιτρίων ὑπὲρ Ἀλκαίου τριπόδ' Ἀπόλλωνι^s.

With this is evidently connected the story of the

^q Annual sacrifices were here offered to the eight children of Hercules. See Pausan. Pind. Isthm. III. 79. and Chrysippus in the Scholia. The graves of Amphitryon, Iolaus, and Alcmæna, and the Gymnasium for the Iolaian or Heracleian games, were in front of the gate of

Prætidæ, Pind. Pyth. IX. 82. Nem. IV. 20. Schol. et Dissen Explic. p. 382. where the subject is very clearly explained.

^r Ap. Antonin. Liberal. c. 33.

^s Marini *Ville Alban.* p. 150. Compare Bættiger's *Amalthea* vol. I. p. 130.

robbery of the Delphinian tripod, of which the common version is as follows: Hercules was visited with a severe illness, as a punishment for the murder of Iphitus; and, in consequence, he had recourse for relief to Delphi; but as the Pythian priestess refused to answer the questions of one guilty of homicide, he threatened to plunder the temple, and carry off the tripod. Apollo accordingly pursued him, till Jupiter separated the combat of his two sons by lightning^t. The fable went on to say that a new consecration of the Delphian tripod took place, and a reconciliation of the god and hero: of this part we are only informed by works of art, these being indeed of tolerable antiquity^u. But it is manifest that this is not the genuine, ancient, and sacred tradition. How could this hero, who in other respects was entirely dependent on the mandates of the oracle, and who in so many ways protected and promoted the worship of Apollo^x, suddenly become

^t Other versions of this story may be seen in Cicero De Nat. D. III. 16. where see Creuzer's note, and in Paus. X. 13. 4. See also Visconti *Museo Pio-Clementino* II. 5. Zoëga *Bassirilievi* vol. II. p. 98.

^u The reconsecration on the foot of a candelabra at Dresden. The atonement, on a Corinthian *puteal*, in the genuine archaic style, published by Dodwell in his *Travels* and his collection of Bas-reliefs, Rome 1820. It afterwards came into the possession of the late lord Guilford. In this, Apollo, Diana, and Latona are met by Minerva, Hercules, and Alcmena, or some other

woman: the Graces follow behind. Perhaps this is a copy of the Sicyonian group of Diopæus and Scyllis (Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 4.) unless this also represented the contest, as the one in Paus. *ubi sup.* There is a similar composition on a vase in Millingen's *Vases de Coghill* pl. 11. Apollo *δαφνηφόρος*, sitting by the tripod with Diana and Latona, receives Hercules; a goddess with a sceptre (Juno, according to Zoëga), and Mercury, are standing by. Hercules is always drawn as a youth in this subject.

^x Hence also his labours were represented on the met-

a sacrilegious violator of his most holy and ancient temple? This carrying off the tripod appears from other traditions to signify nothing else than a propagation of the worship of Apollo^y. Whither, then, is this tripod stated to have been first moved? By the Arcadians Hercules was said to have brought it to Pheneus, but was compelled again to restore it to Apollo^z. The hero, on his journey to Elis, is said to have built a temple to the Pythian Apollo^a; which, however, can scarcely be more ancient than the Doric migration. The foundation of this temple, as dependent on the Delphic oracle, was therefore by the tradition expressed under this image of the transportation of the tripod, the bearer of it being Hercules. But it is more important to our present purpose that, according to the Bœotian account^b, Hercules was supposed to have brought the tripod to Thebes, that is probably to the Ismenium. This fable therefore shews the connexion between the Ismenium and the great sanctuary of Apollo; and represents Hercules as the intermediate link between these two temples.

8. Several other traditions current in Bœotia are connected with the above explanation of this tradition. The Cretan colony, which, setting out from

opes of the Delphian temple, Eurip. Ion. 196, 239.

^y See the legend of Tripodiscus in Paus. I. 43. 7. comp. above, p. 14.

^z Plutarch de sera Num. Vind. 12. p. 245.

^a He erected three statues of Demonesian brass; above, p. 259, note ⁱ. Comp. Callim. fragm. 75. v. 5.

^b It can indeed be only collected from coins. See Visconti, Mus. Pio-Clement. tom. VII. 4. b. N^o. 11. Mionnet Descript. tom. II. p. 109. N^o. 94. and Planches LIII. 4. Pouqueville, Voyage, tom. IV. p. 208. I likewise saw a similar coin in lord Northwick's collection.

Cirrhæa, established the Tilphosian temple at Ocalea in Bœotia, was represented under the person of Rhadamanthus^c. Rhadamanthus is said to have there dwelt with Alcmena, and to have instructed the youthful hero in the Cretan art of archery^d. For this reason also Jupiter raised Alcmena from the dead, and conducted her to the islands of the blest as the wife of Rhadamanthus. A stone remained in her tomb, which was set up in her sacred grove at Thebes^e.

9. The Theban traditions of Hercules are not all equally significant; but some, such as those just mentioned, had a religious, some a political^f import, and others only express the bodily strength of that hero. The education of Hercules is confided to certain fabulous personages, most of whom were supposed to reside in Bœotia^g. His most remarkable instructor is the minstrel Linus, whom (probably in execution of the will of Apollo) he put to death, justifying himself by the law of Rhadamanthus^h. The destruction of the lion of Cithæron is an imitation of the legend of Nemea, of which we shall speak hereafterⁱ. After this adventure he went to

^c Above, ch. 2. §. 11. Hence the scene of the Rhadamanthus of Euripides was laid in Bœotia, fragm. 1.

^d Plutarch Lysand. 18. De Socrat. Genio 5. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 50. Apollod. II. 4. 11. Pherecydes ap. Antonin. Liberal. c. 32. fragm. 50. ed. Sturz. comp. Visconti ad Herod. Att. Inscript. Triop. fin.

^e Pherecydes ubi sup. Paus. IX. 16. 4.

^f *Orchomenos* pp. 84, 208.

On Hercules *Ἰπποδότης* see the story in Plutarch Parallel. p. 416.

^g The passage most in point is in the Theocritean poem XXIV. 100. where, however, much Alexandrine fiction may be discerned.

^h See, among other writers, Alcidas Rhætor ad Palamed. p. 75. 33. where for *Τέννος* write *Δίνος*.

ⁱ Below, ch. 12. §. 1.

Thespiæ, to the house of Thestius, where he deflowers in one or in fifty-seven nights the fifty daughters of his host; a fable which has perhaps an astronomical reference^k.

With respect to the singular legend of Hercules murdering his children by Megara by throwing them into the fire^l, it cannot be denied that this had some symbolical meaning, derived from an ancient elementary religion. In general, however, this temporary madness and fury is merely an exaggerated picture of that heroic mind whose courage and endurance had carried Hercules through so many dangers and difficulties for the good of mankind^m. According to the Bæotian version it was a melancholy madness, in which Hercules, regardless even of all that was most dear to him, murdered his children, and was even on the point of slaying his fatherⁿ. Upon this the hero, oppressed with a deep melancholy, turned for relief to the atoning Apollo; and either to the god of the Ismenium^o or of Pytho^p. The oracle commands him to serve as a slave, in the same manner as Apollo himself had served after

^k See Boeckh Explic. Pind. Olymp. III. 18. above, ch. 3. §. 2. At Nemea honours were paid to the 360 supposed companions of Hercules, Ælian. V. H. IV. 5; evidently referring to the year of 360 days.

^l Heyne ad Apollod. Dissen. Expl. Pind. p. 509.

^m The madness of Hercules also occurred in the *Κύπρια ἔπη*, as appears from the extract of Proclus (at the end of Gaisford's Hephæstion); but in that poem it was, if I rightly apprehend

the context, represented as caused by a love and seduction of Hercules.

ⁿ Eurip. Herc. Fur. Paus. IX. 11. 1.

^o In this temple a *λίθος σωφρονιστῆς*, which had restored him to his senses, was shewn under the altar, Paus. IX. 11. 5.

^p It is to this that the verses of Panyasis refer, in which Hercules is described as coming over Parnassus to Castalia (fragm. 7. ed. Gaisford).

the destruction of the Python. In the broken narrative of Apollodorus a remarkable trace has been preserved as to the time during which, according to the Bœotian tradition, the slavery of Hercules lasted, viz. eight years and one month⁹. This cannot be considered as an accidental number; but it is probable that the Ennaëteris is signified, which was a period of eight years and three intercalary months: of which only the last month is here mentioned, because the two inserted in the middle were less conspicuous. Hercules, therefore, like Apollo at Pheræ, was supposed to have served for an αἰθῖος ἐνιαυτός, for the octennial period of mythology and ancient astronomy[†].

10. We will here add some observations on the Athenian worship of Hercules, which was celebrated chiefly at Marathon in the Tetrapolis^{*}, in the three villages of Melite, Diomea and Collytus[†], which lay close to one another in the vicinity of Athens; at

⁹ Apollod. II. 5. 11. conf. Heyn. According to Herodorus apud Schol. Soph. Trach. 253. Hercules afterwards serves an ἐνιαυτός of three years; and so also Apollod. II. 6. 4. See above, ch. 11. §. 2.

[†] Above, ch. 7. §. 9. ch. 8. §. 4. The following verses from the Heraclea of Panyasis appear to have been spoken by Hercules as a consolation for his slavery (Fragm. 4. ed. Gaisford.).

τλῆ μὲν Δημόττει, τλῆ δὲ κλυτὸς Ἰλμφί-
γυήϊς,
τλῆ δὲ Ποσειδάων, τλῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐργαστόζους
Ἀπόλλων
ἀνδρὶ παρὰ θνητῶν θετινίμην εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,
τλῆ δὲ καὶ ἰβριμάθυμος Ἄρης, ὑπὸ πα-
τρὸς ἀνάρκτι.

Comp. Iliad XXI. 443. These verses seem to be incorrectly applied by Heyne ad Apollod. II. 7. 3. p. 188.

^{*} Herod. VI. 116. Paus. I. 15. 4. 32. 4. Harpocrat. in Ἡρακλῆς. Schol. Pind. Ol. IX. 92. XIII. 184. cf. Boeckh Explic. p. 193. Elmsley ad Eurip. Heraclid. 32.

[†] Aristoph. Ran. 504. Schol. ad l. et ad 664. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1209. Harpocrat. in Μελίτη, Hesych. in ἐκ Μελίτης, Μήλων et Διομεία, Suidas in Διομεία. Tzetzes Chil. VIII. 192. Comp. Corsini Fast. Att. II. p. 335. where, however, there are some inaccuracies.

Cynosarges^u in particular, which belonged to the demus of Diomea; at Acharnæ^x and Hephæstia^y, and in the city itself; and likewise near the sea in the Tetracomæ, or "Four Hamlets^z." The circumstance that those temples which were not situated in the vicinity of the city were all in the northern part of Attica, seems to prove that the worship was derived from the northern frontiers; and it was attributed to the presence of the Heraclidæ in Attica, though the fable of the great assistance which Athens lent to the Heraclidæ was peculiar to the Athenians^a. It is probable, however, that at some early period a division of the Doric people passed through Attica, and there founded that worship which, by the supremacy of the Dorians and their various connexions with other nations, increased in character and importance. If the Lacedæmonians really spared the Tetrapolis in the Peloponnesian war^b, their forbearance must be attributed to the respect which they shewed to their national hero. There is a tradition worthy of notice, that Theseus consecrated to Hercules all the temples which had been dedicated to himself^c; whence it may be inferred that the worship of the former demigod was thus transferred at some early period; only not, it should be observed,

^u Together with Hebe, Alcmena, and Iolaus, Paus. I. 19. 3. This temple is frequently mentioned.

^x Paus. I. 31.

^y Diog. Laert. III. 41.

^z Steph. Byz. in Ἑχελίδαι. Hence, according to some writers, a dance called τετράκωμος derived its name, Pollux IV. 14. 99, 105. Athen. XIV. pag.

618. Hesych. in τετράκωμος. There was a temple of Hercules, not far off, on the road to Salamis, Plutarch Themist. 13.

^a Book I. ch. 3. §. 5.

^b Diod. XII. 45. Schol. Soph. Œd. T. 701.

^c Plutarch Thes. 35. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 1333.

at the time of Theseus himself. That the worship of Hercules was only half-nationalized may (as it appears) be inferred from the custom of the Parasiti of that hero at Cynosarges being always Athenians, of whose parents one only was a citizen; a symbolical allusion to the half-foreign origin of their worship.

Of the same description are the traditions which were peculiar to the villages of Aphidna, Decelea, and Titacidæ (likewise situated in the north of Attica), respecting the expedition of the Tyndaridæ; who were said to have conquered Aphidna with the aid of Decelus and Titacus^d. From this plunder, according to a Spartan legend, the very ancient temple of Minerva Chalcæcus at Sparta was built. In this instance, likewise, the tradition was recognised as real history; for the Lacedæmonians always kept up a friendly intercourse with Decelea; nor was it, we may be assured, without some particular reason that in the Messenian war at the command of the oracle they called to their aid Tyr-tæus, the man of Aphidna. But as the Tyndaridæ, i. e. their images (as was mentioned above^e), accompanied every Spartan army on its marches, it is probable that these stories originated in some Doric expedition into the northern parts of Attica, which

^d See the *Κυδαίκοι* in Schol. II. Γ. 242. Herod. IX. 73. Paus. I. 41. 4. III. 18. 3. Isocrat. Encom. Helen. p. 211 E. Plutarch Thes. 32. Steph. Byz. and Harpocrat. in *Τιτακίδαι*. To this also the verse of Callimachus refers, Frag. 234. ἄνδ' ἐλαιοι (write "Ελαον) Δεκελειόθεν ἀμπρεύοντες, "dragging Elatus from Decelea," i. e. as a guide to A-

phidna. According to Alcman (Fragm. 3. ed. Welcker) and the inscription on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. V. 19. 1.) they even conquered Athens. How this is connected with the gloss in Hesychius, Ἀθαναίων πόλιν τὰς Ἀφιδνας, which probably refers to Alcman, does not appear.

^e Above, ch. 10. §. 8.

left behind it these permanent traces and recollections.

CHAP. XII.

On the mixture of the Peloponnesian and Thessalian legends of the adventures of Hercules, and the confusion of Hercules with foreign heroes. On the general character of the heroic mythology.

1. We must now entreat the indulgence of our readers when we enter upon an obscure and difficult part of our subject, and one lying beyond the limits of historical record. We allude to the Peloponnesian fable of Hercules; a collection of legends doubtless for the most part invented subsequently to the Doric invasion, and intended by that nation in great measure to justify their conquest of the Peninsula, and to make their expedition appear, not as an act of wrongful aggression, but as a reassertion of ancient right. Some hero (perhaps even of the same name) must have existed in the Argive traditions in the time of the Persidæ, and the resemblance may have been sufficiently striking to identify him with the father of the Doric Hyllus. We shall therefore consider the destroyer of the Nemean lion as a native Argive hero; but the delay experienced at his birth, and his consequent exposure to want and toil, evidently belong to the Doric tradition, as well as the enmity of Juno; fables which were partly borrowed from the worship of Apollo, and may partly have been intended to indicate the contrast between the ancient worship of Argos and that of the invading race^f.

^f See book I. ch. 3. §. 2.

We shall now proceed without further preface to consider the different adventures of Hercules, which may be divided into two classes; the first consisting of his warlike exploits, the second of his combats with wild beasts. We shall commence with the examination of the latter ^g.

Nemea was separated from the Argive temple of Juno, the most ancient one in the country, by a chain of mountains and a long rocky ravine. It cannot be denied that the moon was often invoked in this worship, although it would not be safe to consider Juno as the goddess of the moon. Now Nemea is called the daughter of the moon ^h, from which deity the Nemean lion is also said to have sprung; the antiquity of which fable may be inferred from the circumstance that Anaxagoras availed himself of it, as being generally received, to account for the physical hypothesis of the Antichthon ⁱ. Connected with this is Hesiod's tradition that the goddess Juno had herself brought up the lion, which she is by that poet represented as having done out of enmity to Hercules. Hence we detect the sym-

^g The striking difference between the two has been remarked, amongst others, by Dio Chrysost. Orat. 47. p. 523. B. C. The Alexandrine fiction of the *twelve* labours is satisfactorily treated of by Zoega (Bassiril. II. p. 46.) and also by Ouwaroff, *Examen critique de la Fable d'Hercule*.

^h Schol. Pind. Nem. Arg. p. 425. ed. Boeckh. Argus was also fabled to have there pastured the sacred cows of Juno.

ⁱ Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 498. comp. Orph. Fragm. 9.

A fragment of Epimenides ap. Ælian. Nat. Anim. XII. 7. also mentions this fable, and Herodorus apud Tatian. I. p. 164. (ap. Justin. Martyr. ed. Col.), where for 'Ἡροδόρου we should read 'Ἡροδόπου, and again by Euphorion Fragm. 47. p. 111. ed. Meineke. To the passages there collected add Hesiod. Theog. 331. Pindar Fragm. inc. 100. p. 660. ed. Boeckh. Callim. Fragm. 82. Plutarch de Facie in Orbe Lunæ 24. de Fluv. 18. 4. Steph. Byz. in 'Αἰείους. comp. Hygin. Fab. 30.

bolical character of the fable, which resembles that of Perseus and Gorgo, &c. ; although we can scarcely attempt to explain the whole legend in a similar manner.

The combat with the Lernæan hydra may also be thus explained. Hercules is represented as employing in this contest the same sickle with which Perseus beheaded Medusa^k. Whatever meaning we may attach to these combats, whether we consider them as symbolical, or as memorials of a remote antiquity, in which it was the hero's principal occupation to free Greece from monsters and wild beasts, it is nevertheless evident that they are as little adapted to the time assigned to them (shortly previous to the Pelopidæ) as to the character of the other parts of the fable. A mere consideration of Hercules' costume will sufficiently convince us of this fact. It is certain that the Hercules of the early poets was either a hero armed with a spear and buckler, as in the poem attributed to Hesiod^l, or with a bow and sword, as in the *Odyssey*^m. The latter description occurs particularly in the battle of the giants; the former is founded on all the traditions which represent Hercules as the first of warriors and conquerors. Pisander and Stesichorus were the first who introduced him as a half-naked savage,

^k Compare the vase published by Millin II. tab. 75. with the description of the metopes on the temple at Delphi in Eurip. *Ion* 196. On the chest of Cypselus, however, he is represented as slaying them with arrows.

^l Heinrich Proleg. in Hesiod. *Scut.* pag. 69. Dissen. *Explic.*

Pind. *Isthm.* V. p. 525. Buttmann ad Soph. *Philoct.* 726. On the chest of Cypselus Hercules was represented with arrows, and also with a sword: he is called *αἰχμητής* in Archilochus *Frag.* 60. ed. Gaisford.

^m *Odys.* XI. 600. cf. VIII. 224. II. V. 393.

with the lion's skin round his loins, the jaws covering his head instead of a helmet, and merely a club in his handⁿ. There were extant so late as the time of Strabo some ancient wooden statues of Hercules very different from this description. Pisander, too, was (as far as we know) the first who represented in detail the combats of Hercules with wild beasts, collected from scattered accounts in the Theogony, and who composed the "Labours of Hercules;" for which he perhaps availed himself of different local traditions.

2. We now come to the martial exploits of Hercules, which, as it appears, were intended to represent the conquests of the Dorians in the Peloponnese. We have only to direct our attention to the account that Hercules, towards the close of his life, being prince of Mycenæ^o, delivered Sparta from the Hippocontidæ into the hands of Tyndareus, and after conquering Pylos from Neleus transferred it to Nestor^p, in order to perceive the coincidence of tradition and history. The circumstances which have chiefly contributed to the formation of these traditions may best be traced in the combat at Pylos. The share which Pluto had in this adventure, when that god was himself wounded by the bold son of Jupiter^q, may be considered, according to the con-

ⁿ Athen. XII. p. 512 F. Strab. XV. p. 688. Eratosth. Cataster. 12. Suid. in Πείσανδρος. comp. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 1197. concerning the brasen club of Hercules mentioned by Peisander.

^o See above, book I. ch. 3. §. 5.

^p Comp. Isocr. Archid. pag.

119 D. Marm. Farnes. p. 152. in Marini and others.

^q I understand ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκίεσσι, II. III. 395. in the same manner as Pausanias does VI. 25, 3. Apollod. II. 7. 3. The wounding of Pluto was also mentioned by Panyasis, Arnob. adv. Gent. IV. 25. According to the same author

nexion established above, as having been transferred from Ephyra, where Pluto had a greater inducement to the protection of oppressed cities than at Pylos^r. But Hercules is said to have destroyed Pylos because Neleus would not purify him from the murder of Iphitus^s; an act which Deiphobus afterwards performed in the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ^t. Here it seems to be assumed that Æchalia, the native city of Iphitus, was situated in Messenia, which, as we have shewn above^u, was not the original tradition.

3. The influence of historical facts upon mythology is most clearly perceivable in the legend of Hercules having founded the Olympic games when he returned victorious (καλλίνικος) from his expedition against Augeas of Elis^x. Afterwards the same hero celebrates the first Olympiad as a festival of the whole Peloponnese, with various combats, in which heroes from Tiryns, Tegea, Mantinea, and Sparta were victorious^y. It was also Hercules who

(ap. Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 25. ed. Sylb.) Juno was also wounded at Pylus. The passage in the Iliad V. 392. leaves this undecided. Comp. Schol. Venet. ad Il. XI. 689. Lycophr. 39. with the Commentary of Tzetzes. The wounding of Mars is connected with the above by Hesiod Scut. 368. the battle with Apollo and Neptune by Pindar Olymp. IX. 33. Boeckh Expl. p. 189.

^r Nevertheless there was also near Pylos Triphyliacus a sanctuary of Pluto on mount Minthe.

^s Schol. Il. V. 392. Venet, II. 336. from the Κατάλογοι of He-

siod. Diod. IV. 31.

^t Apollod. II. 6. 2. Schol. Venet. Il. II. 88. Marm. Farnes. p. 151.

^u Ch. II. §. 1.

^x Olymp. XI. 57. The names of the conquerors were perhaps taken from public registers, ἀναγραφαι, which usually went back to the fabulous period, like those of the priestesses of Juno at Argos (see book I. ch. 7. §. 2.) Comp. with ibid. v. 59. Etym. Mag. Δαιτήριον ἐν Ἰλιάδι, read ΗΛΕΙΑΙ; the spot where Hercules distributed the booty of the Elean war.

^y Provided that Doryclus is

fixed the quinquennial period, and established the sacred armistice². His bringing the wild olive-tree from the Hyperboreans, and planting it in the grove of Altis, was probably derived from the traditions of Northern Greece³; in which Hercules was represented as more closely connected with Apollo than in the common Peloponnesian legends. It should, moreover, be remarked that Hercules in his expedition against Elis is reported to have founded or visited several temples of Apollo at Pheneus and Thelpusa^b; both lying on the road which connected the isthmus and the north of Greece with Olympia^c. It would, however, involve us in no slight difficulties to date the tradition of Hercules founding the Olympic games later than the Olympiad of Iphitus; for as since that period the Eleans conducted the festival, and therefore shewed a particular veneration for Hercules, it is scarcely probable that a war *against Elis* should have been considered as the cause of the establishment of this festival, had not the report been handed down from an earlier period. The continual claim of Pisa, that the presidency of the games should be restored to her as an ancient right, is, however, one of several circumstances which render it probable that she had once enjoyed this

the *Δορυκλείς* mentioned in Apollod. III. 10. 5.

² Polyb. XII. 26. 2. comp. above, ch. 3. §. 2.

³ See Pind. Olymp. III. 14. where the connexion seems to be as follows: Hercules, while chasing the hind of Diana, arrives at the country of the Hyperboreans, at the source of the Ister, and there sees the beautiful olive-trees. After-

wards, when about to found the Olympic games, he remembers these trees, and procures some young shoots to plant the bare and sunny plains of Elis. On the *κόρινθος* of Olympia see Schneider Index Theophrast. vol. V. p. 424.

^b Pausan. VIII. 25. 5. 15. 2. comp. above, p. 228. note ^b.

^c See the map.

privilege before the festival had acquired its subsequent celebrity; and that Hercules, to whom a very ancient wooden statue had been erected at Pisa^d, was, even at this early period, regarded as the founder: to which facts the story of a war against Elis was easily subjoined. The combat with Augeas, a son of Helius, seems to have been in great part borrowed from some Epirote fable respecting Geryon.

4. In tracing the various steps which led to the formation of the Peloponnesian mythology of Hercules, it has by no means been our aim to enter minutely into the details of the subject, which would carry us far beyond the limits of the present inquiry: the distinction between the ancient and recent parts of the tradition being so undefined that an accurate separation of the two is almost impossible. Enough has been said to shew how frequently the same legend reappears in different shapes; and consequently that some original version was variously modified in different places. We shall once for all remind those who imagine the northern legend of Hercules to have been of later date than the Peloponnesian because the latter is mentioned by the early epic poets, that some higher source must be sought for than a few passages of those poets which have been accidentally preserved: that it should be looked for (if any where) in some connected mythological tradition, to which the particular fables owed their rise and developement.

The task is comparatively easy to examine the history of fables, the scene of which lies in colonies

^d Apollod. II. 6. 3.

or countries with which the Greeks did not become acquainted till a late period, as the events on which they are founded took place within the era of our historical knowledge. At the same time the analogy of these facts, sufficiently ascertained, enables us to conjecture as to those which are enveloped in fabulous obscurity; we can reason from what we do know to what we do not know.

5. From Sparta the worship of Hercules spread to her colonies, particularly Tarentum^e and Crotona. In the latter city Hercules enjoyed the honours of a founder^f, being reported to have established it on his return from Erythea^g. Afterwards the tradition of his purification and atonement was transferred from Amyclæ in Laconia to Crotona, an event to which the high reputation enjoyed by the worship of Apollo in the latter town greatly contributed. Hence we perceive on the coins of this place the youthful hero sitting with a bow, quiver, and arrows before a blazing altar, on which he scorches a branch of laurel^h. Connected with the above is the tradition of Philoctetes having deposited the arrows of Hercules in the temple of Apollo Alæus at Crotona, from whence they were said to have been brought by the Crotoniats into the temple of Apollo within the precincts of their townⁱ. On the coins of that city Hercules is frequently seen with a goblet in his hand, either in a recumbent or erect posture. The allusion is explained by the fol-

^e See Heyne Excurs. 14. ad Æn. III. From hence the colony of Heraclea was sent.

^f ΟΙΚΙΜΤΑΜ on coins, i. e. οικιστής.

^g Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 10.

^h Mus. Pembrock. P. II. tab. 16. Eckhel N. Anecd. tab. I. N^o. 13. from whose explanation mine differs in some respects.

ⁱ Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. §. 115.

lowing story: Hercules, who was always thirsty, had asked for some wine at Crotona; but the woman of the house dissuaded her husband from tapping the cask for a stranger; on which account the women of that country never drank wine^k.

6. Our readers are, we take for granted, well acquainted with the fable of Hercules in the island of Cos, as related by Homer^l. The events which contributed to its formation are, in the first place, the existence of several noble families of Heraclide descent, whose origin, according to ancient traditions, was connected with the conquest of Ephyra, though they were afterwards said to have sprung from the supposed residence of Hercules in the island itself, where the ancestor of these families sprang from his connexion with a daughter of the king of the Meropians. This fiction of his abode in Cos took its rise in a mistaken view of certain ceremonies there practised: for the peculiarity of the worship in question, in which the priest at the festival *ἀντιμαχία*, celebrated in the spring, put on a female dress (as Hercules is said to have disguised himself in woman's clothes^m), betrays an Asiatic origin; which induced the poets of ancient times to consider Hercules of Cos as identified with the Idæan Dactyliⁿ. This dress was also probably worn in the Lydian worship of Sandon^o (who was called Her-

^k Athen. X. p. 441 A. from the *Ἰταλική* of Alcimus.

^l See book I. ch. 6. §. 3.

^m Plutarch Quæst. Græc. 58. p. 409. Nicomachus ap. Lyd. de Mensibus p. 93.

ⁿ Dissen Expl. Pind. Isthm. V. p. 525. It may perhaps be

collected from Ovid. Metam. VII. 369. that at this festival the women were disguised as cows. Perhaps the festival of Hercules was connected with that of Juno, concerning which see Athen. VI. p. 262.

^o Laur. Lydus de Magistr.

cules by the Greeks); for Omphale is said to have attired the effeminate hero in a transparent garment dyed with sandyx, a custom which evidently originated in the practice of some festival. The man described as the slave of a lascivious woman was a symbolical representation of a soft and voluptuous elementary religion; while the same allegory was by the Greeks referred to the servitude of Hercules in the house of Eurystheus. This legend is first mentioned by Pherecydes, then by Hellanicus of Lesbos (who refers to the traditions current in the city of Acele^p), and also in Herodotus, whose genealogy of the ancient kings of Lydia—Hercules, Alcæus (from the Greek mythology), Belus (the god of Babylon), Ninus (Nineveh), Agron, &c. refers to the Assyrian origin of the ancient Lydian kings, and agrees remarkably with the statement that Hercules-Sandon or Sandes, was originally an Assyrian deity belonging to the same religious system as Belus^q.

7. We now come to a fable of kindred origin, the fable of Hylas. Hylas was invoked during midsummer at the side of fountains by the aboriginal inhabitants of Bithynia^r, long before the Greeks founded their city of Cios; but the latter adopted the story of the boy falling into the water, connecting it (as they worshipped Hercules as their founder^s) with the fable of that hero. Indeed a legend very similar had previously existed, the minion

III. 64. p. 268. On the connexion between the Lydian worship of Sandon or Sandes and the Hellenic worship of Hercules see a paper by the author in the *Rheinisches Museum* vol. III. p. 22—39.

^p Steph. Byz. in 'Ακελή.

^q Berosus ap. Agath. Hist. Justin. II. p. 62. ed. Vulcan.

^r Strabo XII. p. 564 B. Solinus 42, &c. comp. *Orchomenos* p. 293.

^s Κτιστής on the coins.

of Hercules being (according to Hellanicus) Theiomenes, the son of Theiodamas the king of the Dryopes[†]. The death of Lityerses was in Phrygia the subject of an ancient song; and who else should have slain him, according to the tradition of the Greeks, than he whose power was dreaded throughout the countries of the barbarians[‡]? The Greeks introduced such heterogeneous matter without hesitation into their mythology. Hercules, even in the spot whence his worship originated, was represented as a hero of great power abroad: he was the protector of boundaries and (if I may be allowed the expression) of marches: afterwards, when his worship was adopted by the whole of Greece, he was considered as the general guardian of the Grecian colonists. Thus he is represented as contending for the territory of Heraclea on the Pontus, against the aboriginal Bebryces, and in defence of Cyrene against the native Libyans. For it seems very probable that the combat with Antæus^{*}, who derived new vigour from touching the earth, was merely emblematical of the contests sustained by the Greek colonists against the Libyan hordes, which, though often conquered, always sallied forth from the deserts in increased numbers. Thus the fable of Hercules and Busiris was invented at a time when the Greeks first became known in Egypt, and had as yet only

[†] Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 131. Hence this genealogy was afterwards transferred to Hylas. In the Spartan fable Elacatus was represented as the *παιδικά* of Hercules (Sosibius ap. Hesych. in *Ἡλικάτια*).

[‡] See the fragments of the

Lityerses of Sositheus, Hermann, *Opuscula* vol. I. p. 54. and above, ch. 8. §. 12.

^{*} Amongst the passages quoted in Creuzer's *Symbolik* vol. I. p. 326. those of Pherecydes, Pindar, and Apollodorus should be particularly noticed.

an imperfect acquaintance with that country; for which reason Herodotus ridicules it as a silly invention of the Ionians. Busiris appears to me to have been the name of the principal deity with the addition of the article. In this story he is described as a ferocious tyrant, who orders Hercules to be sacrificed, until the latter, recovering himself suddenly, slays the tyrant and his cowardly retinue.

8. While attempting to reconcile these discordant traditions, and mould them into one connected history, it was natural that the Greeks should find some affinity of character between Hercules and the Phœnician god Melcart, the son of Baal and Astarte (*Ἀστέρια*). It was to the existence of a temple of Hercules at Gadir that the fable of this hero, having there terminated his voyage, after the battle of Geryon, owed its origin; and the neighbouring pillars of Hercules or Briareus^y were originally considered as the works of Melcart. The Hercules of the Carthaginians was also represented as a wanderer and conqueror^z; his particular province was the island of Sardinia^a; which island became also included in the Grecian mythology: he is likewise said to have passed through Spain^b. The inventor

^y Aristot. ap. Ælian. Var. Hist. V. 3. comp. Schwarz de *Columnis Herculis* Opuscula vol. II. p. 205. Peringer de *Templo Herculis Gaditani*. Concerning Hercules-Briareus, see also Zenob. Prov. οὗτος ἄλλος Ἡρακλῆς.

^z The African Hercules Maecris, according to Pausan. X. 17. 2; the Phœnician Δωδῆς, according to Euseb. Scal. pag. 26. in the Greek text. Islands

of Hercules near New Carthage in Spain, Athen. III. p. 121 A. We find also an Iolaus connected with the Carthaginian Hercules, Polyb. VII. 9. 2. Eudoxus ap. Athen. IX. pag. 392 D.

^a Pausan. ubi sup.

^b Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. 21. which passage also mentions his death in Spain. Comp. Strabo XVII. p. 828.

of the purple dye, in the Tyrian tradition, is the same personage^c; the quail was sacred to him, the smell of that bird having resuscitated him from death^d. Great as the confusion soon became between the Doric and Phœnician traditions respecting Hercules, they may still be easily distinguished from each other; and the first effect of their union may perhaps be traced in the wish of Dorieus, the son of Anaxandridas, to found a kingdom near mount Eryx, because Hercules had formerly conquered that country^e; now the worship and name of the Phœnician Venus (Astarte) existed on mount Eryx, and probably also that of her son Melcart.

9. Notwithstanding the long digression into which the examination of our subject has led us, we are afraid that the following positions, attempted to be established as the result of the preceding investigation, will by no means carry with them conviction to all readers. We may, however, rest assured, that whatever traces of an elementary religion can be discovered in this fable, they were additions totally at variance with its original structure. The fundamental idea of all the heroic mythology may be pronounced to be a proud consciousness of power innate in man, by which he endeavours to place himself on a level with the gods, not through the influence of a mild and benign destiny, but by labour, misery, and combats. The highest degree of human suffering and courage is attributed to Hercules; his cha-

^c Pollux I. 4. 45.

^d Eudoxus ubi sup. Eustath. ad Il. p. 1702. 50. Zenobius in ὄρνις ἑσώσεν. Compare with these passages the very inge-

nious explanation of this fable in Heeren's *Ideen* vol. I. part 2. p. 129.

^e Herod. V. 43. Paus. III. 16. 4.

racter is as noble as could be conceived in those rude and early times; but he is by no means represented as free from the blemishes of human nature; on the contrary, he is frequently subject to wild, ungovernable passions, when the noble indignation and anger of the suffering hero degenerated into phrensy^f. Every crime, however, is atoned for by some new suffering; but nothing breaks his invincible courage, until, purified from earthly corruption, he ascends mount Olympus, and there receives the beauteous Hebe for his bride, while his shade threatens the frightened ghosts in Hades^g. As in the tradition of Apollo the godhead descends into the circle of human life, so in Hercules a pure human power is elevated to the gods. Hercules also corresponds to the last mentioned deity, in his divine attributes, as an averter of evil (ἀλεξίκακος and σωτήρ^h); which the Ætæans carried so far as to worship him as the destroyer of grasshoppers (κορνοπίων), and the Erythræans as the killer of the vine-worm (ἰπποκτόνοςⁱ). We cannot, however, agree with

^f Hence also the legend that Hercules was subject to epilepsy.

^g Od. XI. 605.

^h This worship certainly originated at Delphi, since the Delphic oracle in Demosth. in Mid. p. 531. 7. orders the Athenians to offer sacrifices *περὶ ὑγίαιας* to the supreme Jupiter, Hercules, and Apollo *προστατήριος*. Concerning Hercules ἀλεξίκακος see Libanius Ep. 12. Dio Chrysost. Orat. I. p. 17. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1375. and Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1218. comp. Marini Ville Alban. p.

141. N^o. 152. This character of the hero is generally alluded to in the exclamations Ἡράκλεις, *Me Hercules*; and as such, representations of sheep were offered to him (otherwise the usual sacrifices were swine); and he was called Μήλων at Thebes, Pollux I. 1. 27. 30. and at Melite in Attica. See Apollod. ap. Zenob. V. 12. Hesych. in Μήλων. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 42. cf. 740. Suidas in Μήλιος.

ⁱ Strab. XIII. p. 613. This, however, was not the original Grecian Hercules; above, §. 8.

Herodotus, who derives the deification of Hercules from a combination of the Phœnician or Idæan god, and the hero of Thebes, since Hercules also enjoyed divine honours at places (e. g. Messene and Marathon^k) where such an amalgamation can scarcely be imagined. But he is a deity representing the highest perfection of humanity, and therefore the model and aim of human imitation; and the summit of heroic energy was seen where the human passed into the divine nature. His life and actions on earth are in ancient mythology perfectly human; and those fables, which raise him above humanity, for instance, those alluding to the combat with the giants^l, betray a later origin.

10. How little the ancient mythology was desirous of divesting Hercules of any feelings of humanity may be collected from various features in his character. Hercules, whether invited or not invited, is a jovial guest, and not backward in enjoying himself. This explains the frequent allusions to him as a great eater (*Βουθύνας*) and tippler, and also the Herculean goblets and couches. The original source of all these fictions was the ancient tradition of the residence of Hercules with Ceyx and Dexa-

Hercules *ἀπόμυος* (the averter of flies) was worshipped at Rome, according to Clemens Alexand. Protrept. I. pag. 24. ed. Sylb. a title of Jupiter at Olympia.

^k According to Pausanias, who also gives an account of several Didalian wooden images of Hercules. The divine worship at Sicyon (Paus. II. 10. 1.) may, however, be referred to the Idæan Dactylus, since

this town was anciently connected with Phæstus.

^l Pind. Nem. I. 67. (cf. VII. 90.) represents Hercules as engaged in this contest with the gods, probably a short time before his deification. The first representations of Hercules the giant-destroyer occur on the throne of the Amyclæan Apollo. Pausan. III. 18. 7. and some very ancient vases.

menus; nay, they may be traced to the ceremonies observed at his worship and festivals^m. The Doricⁿ, like the Athenian comic poets and satirists, merely adopted the general outline of the story, filling up the details to suit their own fancy and humour; the latter adding some jokes upon the gluttony of their Bœotian neighbours^o. It was Hercules above all other heroes whom mythology endeavoured to place in ludicrous situations; and sometimes made the butt of the buffoonery of others. This was the case in the fable of the Cercopes (treated of in a ludicrous epic poem ascribed to Homer^p), who are represented as alternately amusing and annoying the

^m In making libations to Hercules not a drop was left in the goblet, Athen. XII. p. 512 F. Those who wished to make libations brought him a measure of wine, Hesych. in *Οἰνιστήρια*.

ⁿ For instance, Epicharmus in the Busiris, and The Marriage of Hebe (frequently quoted in Athenæus), and Rhinthon in the Hercules; see Athen. XI. p. 500 F.

^o See, e. g., Eubulus ap. Athen. XIII. p. 567.

^p On this poem see Fabric. Biblioth. Gr. vol. I. p. 378. ed. Harles. Thermopylæ appears to have been the earliest locality of this fable (Herod. VII. 216. above, ch. 11. §. 5.), but in this poem the scene was perhaps laid in Œchalia in Eubœa; at least Tzetzes, enumerating the poems attributed to Homer, mentions the *Κέρκωπες* next to the *Οἰχαλίας ἀλωσεις* (ap. Bentl. Epist. ad Mill. p. 505.

ed. Lips.). Hence Diotimus, in his poem on the labours of Hercules, called the Cercopes Œchaliens, viz. in Eubœa, whence they ravaged the territory of Bœotia (Suidas in *Εὐρύβατος*, Apostol. IX. 33. Schol. Lucian. Alexand. 4. 71.); Æschryon of Sardis, in his Ephe-sis, was probably the first who transplanted them to Lydia (Lobeck *de Cercopibus et Cobal-lis* p. 7.), and Xenagoras to the Pithecusæ (apparently in his treatise *περὶ Νήσων*, ap. Harpocrat. in *Κέρκωπες*. Lactant. Fab. XIV. 3. Zenobius, Apostol. XI. 24.). Among the Athenian comic poets Hermippus and Plato treated this fable; but the composition in Hancarville III. 88. in which Hercules reaches two monkey-shaped Cercopes in nets or cages to Eurystheus sitting on a throne, seems to be a representation of an Italian farce.

hero. In works of art they are often represented as satyrs, who rob the hero of his quiver, bow, and club^q. Hercules, annoyed at their insults, binds two of them to a pole, in the manner represented on the bas-relief of Selinus^r, and marches off with his prize. Happily for the offenders, the hinder parts of Hercules had become tanned by continued labours and exposure to the atmosphere: which reminded them of an old prophecy, warning them to beware of a person of this complexion^s; and the coincidence caused them to burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. This surprised Hercules, who inquired the reason, and was himself so diverted by it, that he set both his prisoners at liberty. And in general no company better agrees with the character of Hercules, even in his deified state, than that of satyrs and other followers of Bacchus, as might easily be proved by many works of Grecian art. It also seems that mirth and buffoonery were often combined with the festivals of Hercules; thus there was at Athens a society of sixty men, who, on the festival of the Diomean Hercules, attacked and amused themselves and others with sallies of wit^t. We shall hereafter shew how these exhibitions originated in the propensity of the Doric race to the burlesque and comical^u.

^q Millingen Peintures Inédites pl. 35. Tischbein III. 37. See Tzet. ad Lycophr. 691.

^r See Reinganum's Selinus, plate 3. (Leipsig. 1827).

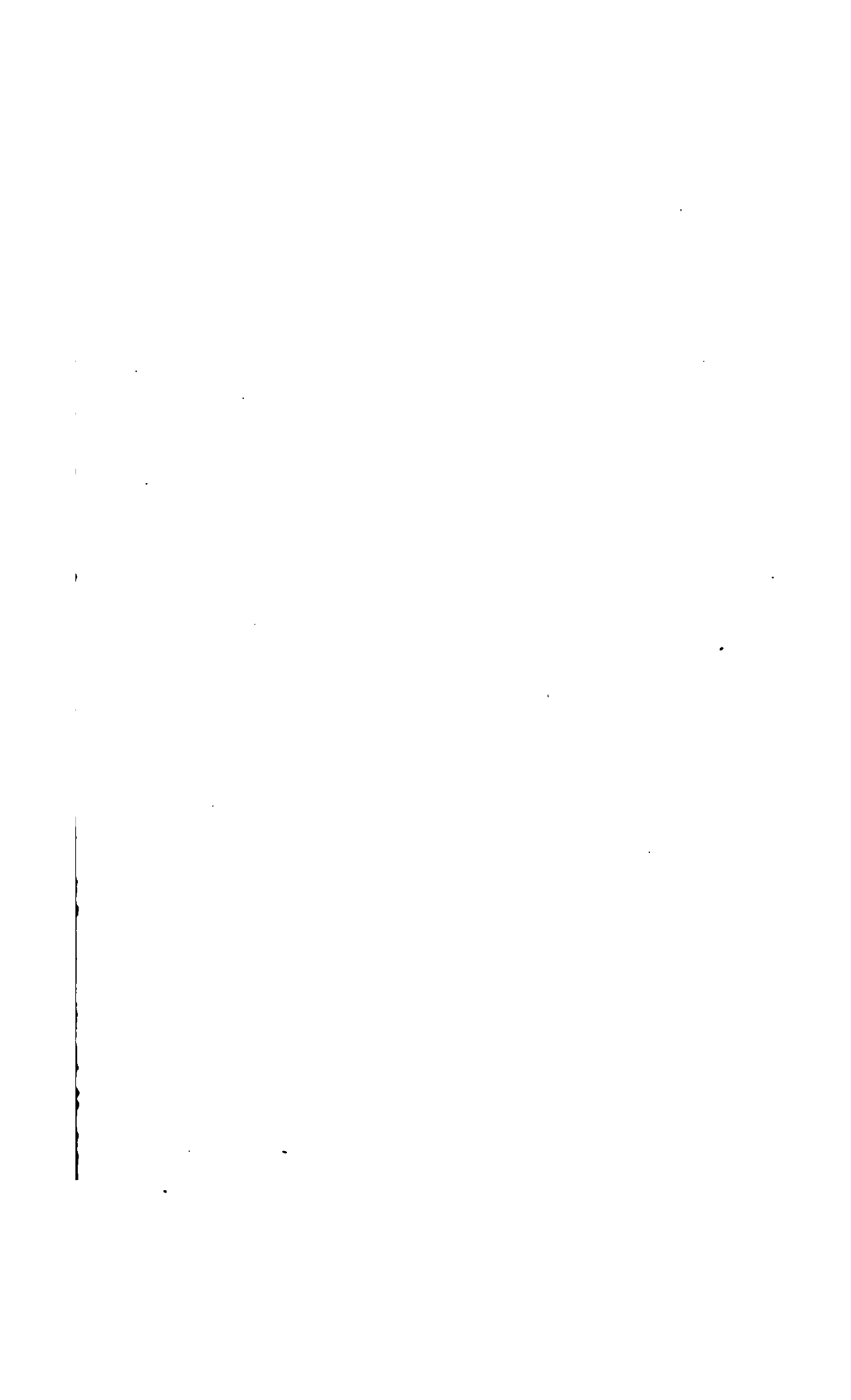
^s Μὴ τευ μελαμπίγου τύχους. See the Parœmiographers, Photius, Suidas, &c. in this expression, Diod. IV. 31. and others. The proverb occurred in Ar-

chilochus, fragm. 106. ed. Gaisford.

^t Athen. VI. pag. 260. from Hegesander, ibid. XIV. p. 615 D. from Telephanes. Perhaps Hercules had παράσιτοι here as well as at Cynosarges.

^u Book IV. ch. 6. §. 9. 10. ch. 7.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX I.

On the settlements, origin, and early history of the Macedonian nation.

General outline of the country^a.

1. IN the Thermaic bay, the modern *gulf of Salonichi*, three rivers of considerable size fall into the sea at very short distances from one another, but which meet in this place in very different directions. The largest of the three comes from the north-west, and is now called (as indeed it was in the time of Tzetzes and Anna Comnena) the *Bar-dares* (or *Vardar*), and was in ancient days celebrated under the name of *Axius*. Its stream is increased by large tributary branches on both sides, and chiefly by the *Erigon*, which flows from the mountains of *Illyria*^b. The river next in order runs from the west; it is now called in the interior of the country *Potova*, and on the coast *Carasmac*; its ancient name, as is evident from passages in Herodotus and Strabo, was *Lydias*, or *Ludias*^c. And, lastly, after many

^a Our knowledge of Macedonia has been much increased by the Travels of F. C. H. L. Pouqueville from Janina to Greveno and Castoria, of H. Pouqueville from Guilan to Mezzovo, and Barbié du Bocage's (the younger) Examination of the Ruins of Pella; although in the *Voyage dans la Grèce* (top. II.) of the first-named writer some singular notions, arising from an imperfect knowledge of ancient geography (e. g. of *Haliac-monts*), somewhat confuse the description. But the *Carte de*

la Grèce Moderne, by J. D. Barbié du Bocage, is a work of great accuracy, and it has been implicitly followed in the annexed Map.

^b Its rise in these mountains, and course through Pæonia (Liv. XXXIX. 53. Strabo VII. p. 327. cf. Exc. 9. p. 330. ed. Casaub. Ptolem. p. 82. ed. Montan.), prove that it is the modern Cara-Sou.

^c Strabo VII. 9. p. 330. states that the *Ludias* runs out of the lake on which Pella is situated; which is now the lake of Jenidge. (According to modern

turnings and windings, the Haliacmon, now called *Bichlista*, flows from the south-west; in the time of Herodotus it fell into the sea through the same mouth as the Lydias, probably being widened by marshes; and in modern maps the interval between the two rivers is represented as very small^d. It may be easily conceived that this whole maritime district must have been low and marshy; and by this means Pella, as Livy remarks, was of all towns in the country best fitted for being the fortress of the Macedonian kings, and the place of deposit for their treasure, since it lay, like an island, in the morasses and swamps formed by the neighbouring lakes and rivers. These marshes were called by the expressive name of *βόρβορος*, or *mud*^e.

2. Although the mouths of these rivers were so near together, the extent of mountains, valleys, and plains which they encompassed in their course was very considerable, amounting, according to modern maps, to 140 geographical miles from north and south, and more than 60 from east to west. The Axios, together with its minor branches, runs from the great Scardian chain, which further on receives the names of Orbelos, Scomius, and Hæmus; while the course of the Haliacmon is close to the heights of mount Olympus (part of which ridge in later times was called the Cambunian mountains), and therefore to the borders of

maps it is not true that the lake is formed by an *ἀπόσπασμα* of the Axios; but in ancient times also the marshes reached to the east of Pella, Liv. XLIV. 46.) Compare Strabo VII. 8. p. 330. It is evident from Herodotus VII. 127. that the Lydias was next to the Axios. *Λοιδίας* was the reading found by Harpocration in Æschines de Fals. Leg. p. 44.

^d Herod. VII. 127. Scylax agrees with Herodotus, p. 26. ed. Hudson, where the places come in the following order: "Pydna, Methone, the mouth

" of the Haliacmon, Alorus, " the Lydias, then Pella, the " Axios, the Echeidorus, and " Therma." On the other hand, Strabo, who represents the Haliacmon as falling into the sea near Dium (VII. 8. p. 330.), perhaps confounding it with the Helicon, Pausan. IX. 30. 4.) is supported by Ptolemy p. 82. "Thessalonice, the " Echeidorus, the Axios, the " Lydias, Pydna, the Haliacmon, Dion, Pharybas (read " Baphyras), the Peneus."

^e Plutarch de Exilio 10.

Thessaly. Both ridges run at right angles from the great mountain-chain which cuts the upper part of Greece in a direction from north-west to south-east, its southern parts bearing the name of Pindus, the ridge towards Thessaly and Epirus of Lacmon^f, and further to the north-west it is called the Candavian chain^g and mount Barnus^h. It stretches behind the whole of the district just named, and forms, as it were, the spine, to which the mountains of Illyria, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly are attached like ribs. From this chain the two lines of mountains proceed, which separate the valleys of the Haliaemon and the Axios. The name of the ridge between the Haliaemon and the Lydias is known by the mention of mount Bermius above Berœaⁱ; and Berola is certainly the modern Veria, or Cara Veria^k, near the northern bank of the Haliaemon. It will be shewn presently that Dysorum was the name of the mountain which divided the Lydias and the Axios^l. And the ridge, which, stretching southward from the Scardian chain, parted the valley of the Axios from the plains to the east, was called (in one point at least), as we know from Thucydides^m account of the Odrysian king's march, Cercine.

^f Or Lacmus, in which mountain the Aous and the Inachus, a branch of the Achelous, have their source, Hecataeus ap. Strab. VI. pag. 271. VII. p. 316. Steph. Byz. in v. Λάκμων. Sophocles ap. Strab. VI. p. 271. Herod. IX. 93. The *Lingus* of Livy XXXII. 13. is nearly the same mountain.

^g Ptolemy. It seems plain that the *Καυδαίονια ὄρη* of Ptolemy, in which the Haliaemon rises, and the *Καρδαονία ὄρη* before Lychnidus, in Strabo, Cæsar, Cicero, and the Tab. Peut., are the same name, and that the passage of Ptolemy is corrupt. The ridge is indeed

broken by the Genusus.

^h See next note.

ⁱ Strabo VII. Exc. 11. pag. 330. This *Bermius* is a continuation of mount *Barnus*, at the foot of which the Via Egnatia passes (Strab. VII. pag. 323.), and the same as the *Bernus* of Diodorus fragm. 27. p. 229. ed. Bipont, or the *Bora* of Livy XLV. 29, 30. where it must be distinguished between what properly belongs to a *regio* and what *adjicitur*. See below, p. 476. note ^v.

^k Mannert's *Géographie* VII. p. 516.

^l Below, §. 17.

^m Below, §. 11.

3. The valleys beyond the last mentioned ridge are those of the Strymon and the Angites. As the Axios falls into the sea in a gulf to the west, so does the Strymon join the sea to the east of the Chalcidian peninsula. Not far from its mouth the Strymon forms a lake, into which the Angites runs; a stream of considerable size, its course lying westward of the Strymon. For that the eastern stream is the ancient Strymon (notwithstanding the opinion of most modern geographers) is, in the first place, evident from its size; secondly, from the name *Struma*, which it now bears; and, thirdly, from the statement of Herodotusⁿ, that the district of Phyllis reached southwards to the Strymon, and westward to the Angites; it lay, therefore, above the confluence of the two rivers and the lake which they formed by their junction. The ridge which lies to the east of the Strymon was called, at least where it widens along the coast, Pangæum^o.

Thus much is sufficient to give a general notion of the geographical structure of the region, the ancient inhabitants of which form the subject of our present inquiry.

Ancient names of the several districts.

4. We will now chiefly follow the full and accurate accounts of Herodotus respecting the districts situated near the mouths of the three rivers just mentioned. First, MYGDONIA, on the Thermaic bay, and round the ancient city of Therma, extended, according to Herodotus, to the Axios, which divided this district from Bottiaïs^p; and it agrees with this statement that the small river Echidorus (probably the modern *Gallico*), which fell into the sea at the marshes near the Axios, in the lower part of its course passed through Mygdonia^q. To the east this district extended still further; lake Bolbe, beyond Chalcidice, was either in or near Mygdonia^r. Thucydides, indeed, makes Mygdonia

ⁿ VII. 113.

^o Herodotus (*ubi sup.*) appears also to call the mountain between the Strymon and

Angites, Pangæum.

^p Herod. VII. 123. cf. 127.

^q Herod. VII. 124.

^r Thuc. I. 58.

reach as far as the Strymon^s; but this cannot be reconciled with the account of Herodotus (who appears to have possessed a very accurate knowledge of this region), that both the maritime district, west from the Strymon, in which was the Greek city of Argilus, and the land further to the interior, was called BISALTIA^t. On the other side, above Mygdonia, was situated (according to Herodotus) the district of CRESTONICA, from which the river Echeidorus flowed down to the coast^u.

5. Beyond the Axios, to the west of the stream, immediately after Mygdonia, came BOTTIAIS, which district was on the other side bounded by the united mouth of the Ha-liacmon and the Lydias^x; and thus towards the sea it terminated in a narrow wedge-shaped strip. On this tongue of land were the cities of Ichnæ and Pella^y, the first of which was celebrated for an ancient temple^z; while Pella became afterwards the royal residence, situated on the lake of the Lydias, at the distance of 120 stadia from the river's mouth^a, and may be now recognised by these marks of its

^s II. 99.

^t Herod. VII. 115. Diodorus XXVII. p. 229. also places the Bisaltæ to the west of the Strymon; somewhat differently Liv. XLV. 29, 30. Compare Gatterer's excellent *Dissertations de Herodoti et Thucydidis Thraciæ*, and *Commentat.* Gotting. Vol. 5. p. 33.

^u Herod. VII. 124. cf. 127. It is, however, singular that Xerxes should go from Acanthus to Therma in Mygdonia, beyond Pæonia (on the Axios?) and Crestonica. This Crestonica is probably quite different from the Crestonæi at the source of the Echeidorus, and is a district of Chalcidice. See the author's *Etrusker* vol. I. p. 96. Ἐν τῇ Κρηστωνίᾳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν Βισαλτῶν χώραν, Pseudo-Aristot. *Mirab. Auscult.* p. 710.

ed. Casaubon.

^x Herod. VII. 127.

^y VII. 123. Βοττιαῖδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στενὸν χωρίον πόλιν Ἰχναί τε καὶ Πέλλα. It does not follow that Pella was, in the opinion of Herodotus, a coast-town.

^z Of Apollo, according to Hesychius in Ἰχναίην. Macedonia had been called from it Ἰχναίη by some poet, Hesychius and Suidas in v. The city is mentioned by Eratosthenes ap. Steph. Byz. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. and Mela II. 3. Stephanus Byz. confounds with this town that in Thessaly. Themis was worshipped at Ichnæ, according to Strabo IX. p. 435.

^a Strab. VII. 8. pag. 330. compare Scylax and Æschines above, in notes c and d.

position and some ruins. According to Strabo^b, also, the river Axios made the boundary of Bottiæa, and divided it from the district of Amphaxitis, which was the name of the opposite and more elevated side of the Axios^c. Thucydides also calls this tract of country Bottiæa^d; and distinguishes it from the more recent settlements of the Bottiæans, near Olynthus, in Chalcidice^e, which he calls *Botticæ*^f.

6. The united mouth of the Lydias and Haliacmon, according to Herodotus^g, divided Bottiæis from MACEDONIS; for he can only mean this common mouth when he says that "the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon divide the districts of Bottiæis and Macedonis, uniting their waters in the same channel." Further on in the interior the Lydias alone must have been the boundary of Bottiæis, since otherwise this district would not end in a narrow strip of land; Macedonis, therefore, began on the western bank of the Lydias. In this place nothing more can be said as to the meaning of the word *Macedonis*, before the precise signification of some other names has been determined.

7. Proceeding along the coast, PIERIA borders upon Macedonis, the district under mount Olympus^h, which ridge, where it approaches this coast, splits into two branches, the one stretching towards the mouth of the Peneus, the

^b Strab. VII. 9. p. 330.

^c In Polybius V. 97. 4. Bottia and Amphaxitis are also mentioned together.

^d Bottiæa in II. 99. should probably be written Bottiæia, as in II. 100. (or the reverse; see notes ^e and ^f in this page, and Etym. Mag. in v.).

^e See below, p. 482. note ^k.

^f Thucyd. I. 65, II. 79, 101. The passage of Theopompus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Αἰόλιον should be thus written: πόλιν Αἰόλιον τῆς Βοττικῆς (vulg. Ἀττικῆς) μὲν οὖσαν, πολιτευομένην δὲ μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων. The inhabitants, however, are always

called Βοττιαῖοι in Thucydides. Βοττιαία for Βοττικῆ, Dionysius ad Amm. I. 9. The great etymologist in Βοττιαία also notices the distinction between Βοττικῆ and Βοττιαία; where write Βοττικῆ ἢ Χαλκιδικῆ γῆ (ΧΑΛΚΙΔΙΚΗ for ΧΑΛΔΑΙΚΗ).

^g VII. 127. Compare the expression οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν Βοττιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, with VII. 123. ὅς οὐρίζει χώρην τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαίδα.

^h Pausan. IX. 30. 3. χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ ὄρεσ, τὴν Πιερίαν. Livy XLIV. 43. calls the mountain-forest above Pydna *Pieria sylva*.

other towards those of the three rivers. Herodotus cannot make Pieria reach as far as the Haliacmonⁱ, as they are here separated by Macedonis Proper^k; he probably supposes it to begin just at the rise of mount Olympus, and divides the narrow plain on the sea-coast from the tracts to the interior. The southern boundary of Pieria is stated by Strabo^l and Livy^m to have been the district of Diumⁿ; so that these writers leave a narrow and mountainous strip of land, stretching towards Tempe, which belonged neither to Pieria nor Thessaly. The chief place in Pieria was Pydna, also called Cydna (according to Stephanus Byz.), and in later times Citron (according to the epitomizer of Strabo),^o which name still remains in the same place.

8. Now that we proceed from the divisions of the coast to the interior, we are deserted indeed by the excellent account of Herodotus; but there are nevertheless statements sufficiently accurate to determine the ancient name of each district. The high and mountainous valley of the Haliacmon was, according to Livy^p, called ELIMEIA; the inhabitants Elimioti, who are included by Thucydides^q among the Macedonians: the district is also called after their name Elimiotis^r. From thence proceeds the road to Thessaly over the Cambunian mountains^s; and another almost impracticable road to Ætolia over the mountainous country

ⁱ With Strabo VII. 8. pag. 330. who makes Pæonia extend to the Axios (and so Ptolemy p. 82.); though he afterwards places Alorus to the south of the Lydias, and yet in Bottiæa. There is however much confusion in this passage.

^k See below, §. 17.

^l VIII. 8. p. 330.

^m Liv. XLIV. 9, 20. Hence also Pausanias (IX. 30. 3. X. 13. 3.) appears to distinguish Dium (τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Πιερίᾳ), and Strabo (IX. p. 410. X. p. 471.) Leibethrum, from Pieria. On the other hand, Arrian. Anab.

I. 11. places the ξόανον of Orpheus at Leibethra (Plutarch Alexand. 14.) in Pieria.

ⁿ I have placed Dium at the ruins in B. du Bocage; Platamona is perhaps the ancient temple of Hercules.

^o VII. 8. pag. 330. comp. Wesseling ad Anton. Itin. p. 328. and Drakenb. ad Liv. XLII. 51. The *Citium* of Livy must be sought for near Edessa.

^p XLII. 53.

^q II. 99.

^r Liv. XLV. 30.

^s Liv. XLII. 53. Compare

to the south of Elimeia¹. To Elimeia succeeded PAREUÆA, a fertile district, near the sources of the river called Aous, Æas, or Auus²; and to the south again lay PAROREA, which was crossed by the river Arachthus at the beginning of its course from under mount Stympha³: the country near this mountain was called STYMPHÆA (or Tymphæa), extending to the sources of the Peneus and the land of the Æthicians⁴. The ATINTANIANS reached beyond the country of the Parauæans, and within that of the Chaonians as far as Illyria⁵. All these districts are indeed divided from Elimeia by the great chain of Pindus; but from their connexion with that region, some account of them in this place was indispensable.

9. A small valley in the district of Elimeia, which lay to the north towards the Illyrian Dassaretians⁶, was inhabited by the Orestian Macedonians⁷, who doubtless were so called

Plutarch. Æmil. 9. *βασζόμενον κατὰ τὰς Ἑλιμίαις* (the passes of Elimeia?).

¹ Liv. XLIII. 21. see above, §. 2.

² Steph. Byz. in Παρωναῖοι. According to Arrian I. 7. the ἄκρα Τυμφαίας and Παρωναίας, between Elimeia and Thessaly. Plutarch Qu. Gr. 13. cf. 26. places Parauæa in Molossis, Stephanus in Thesprotis, as well as Tymphe. Comp. Thuc. II. 80. It is now called Ζᾶγορι. See *Geographische Ephemeriden* vol. XVII. p. 429.

³ Strab. VII. p. 325. cf. 326. The Paroræa in Pæonia, Liv. XLII. 51. Plin. IV. 17. should be distinguished from it.

⁴ Strab. VII. p. 327. cf. 326. Liv. XLV. 30. According to Marsyas in Steph. Byz. in v. Αἰθυκία, Æthicia lay between Tymphæa and Athamania. In Liv. XXXII. 13. should probably be written, in *Tymphæa terra Molottidis*, where you

would arrive by mounting the course of the Aous.

⁵ See particularly Polyb. II. 5. Scylax p. 10. Comp. Thucydides, Livy, and Strabo as above. In Proxenus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Χαονία, for Παρωναῖοι, Ἀμύμονες read Παρωναῖοι, Ἀτίνταρες. It is mentioned in Pseud-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. pag. 704. ed. Casaub. that Atintania borders on Apolloniatis; and hence in p. 710. for Ἀτλαντίων read Ἀτιντάνων, or Ἀμαντίων.

⁶ In Liv. XXXI. 40. Sulpicius goes from Elimeia to Orestis, and from thence to Dassaretis (on the lake Lynchidus, XXVII. 32. near Lyncestis, XXXI. 33. XXXII. 9. cf. Polyb. V. 108. Ptolem. p. 83.), and conquers Pelion on the Erigon (see Arrian I. 5.).

⁷ Μακεδόνων οἱ Ὀρίσται, Polyb. XVIII. 30. Liv. XXXIII. 34. cf. XLII. 38.

from the *mountains* (ὄρη) in which they dwelt, and not from *Orestes*, the son of Agamemnon. The valley of Orestis^c contained a lake, in which was the town Celetrum, situated on a peninsula^d. Its position coincides with that of the modern Castoria^e; and it cannot be doubted that the wild mountain-valley near the source of the Haliacmon was the ancient Orestis. Another valley in Elimeia was called *AL-MOPIA*, or *Almonia*, an ancient settlement of the Minyans, situated on the confines of Macedonia and Thessaly, apparently not far from Pieria^f.

10. Elimeia, together with the surrounding highlands, was cold and rugged, and difficult of cultivation^g. The same was the case with the neighbouring district of *LYNCESTIS*, the country of the Lyncestæ, who had received their name, according to a Macedonian inflexion^h, from *Lyncus*ⁱ. *Lyncus* was the name of the whole district, and not of any one city, as in early times there were only unfortified vil-

^c Or 'Ορεστίας, Strab. VII. p. 326.

^d Liv. XXXI. 40.

^e Mannert denies this (VII. p. 519.); but without the authority of any good map. See Pouqueville tom. II. pag. 322. Orestia was beyond Macedonia, according to Steph. Byz.

^f This is evident from the following passages, Plin. H. N. IV. 15. *In Thessalia autem Orchomenus Minyeus ante dictus et oppidum Almon ab aliis Salmon*. Schol. Apollon. II. 1186. δύνεται δὲ καὶ 'Ορχομενοῦ μνημονεύειν τοῦ μεθορίου Μακεδονίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας. Steph. Byz. Μινύα πόλις Θεσσαλίας ἢ πρότερον 'Αλμωνία; Diod. XX. 110. where Orchomenus and Dium are mentioned together as cities in existence in Olymp. 119. 3; Eustath. ad Il. IX. p. 661. 4. ed. Bas. (cf. II. p. 206. 22.) who states that the Thessalian or

Macedonian Orchomenus was in his time called Charmenas. See *Orchomenos* pp. 139, 249. where it is also shewn that the Halmopians, or Salmonians, were an ancient tribe of the Minyæ.

^g Livy XLV. 30. says of Eordæa, Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Atintania, Tymphæa, and Elimiotis, *frigida hæc omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est*.

^h Among the Macedonian gentile-names, such as Lyncestæ, Orestæ, Diastæ (Steph. Byz. in Δίον), may also be included the Cyrrhestæ (Plin. H. N. IV. 17.) of the region Cyrrhus (Thuc. II. 100. Diod. XVIII. 4. Steph. Byz. in Μανδαρά).

ⁱ Thuc. IV. 83, 124, 129. Liv. XXVI. 25. XXXI. 33. see p. 476. note ^m. p. 477. note ^x. and §. 27.

lages in this part^k. It was surrounded on all sides by mountains; a narrow pass between two heights being the chief road to the coast^l. The position of Lyncus is accurately determined by the course of the Egnatian Roman road from Dyrrachium, which, after crossing the Illyrian mountains at Pylon (or the gateway), led by Heraclea Lyncestis, and through the country of the Lyncestæ and Eordians, to Edessa and Pella^m; as well as by the fact that the *mons Bora* of Livy, i. e. the Bermius, lay to the south of itⁿ. Consequently the Lyncestæ must have inhabited the mountains south of the Erigon, and a part of the valley in which that river flowed; which is confirmed by other accounts of ancient writers^o. The country of the EORDIANS is also determined by the direction of the Egnatian way; viz. to the east of Lyncus and west of Edessa, and therefore in the valley of the Lydias, to the north of Elimeæ^p and the Bermius^q. In order to go from the valley of the Erigon to Thessaly, the way passed first through Eordæa and then through Elimiotis^r.

11. DEURIOPUS (ἡ Δευρίοπος) was the name of a tract of

^k Thuc. IV. 124. τὰς τοῦ Ἀρ-
ριβαίου κόμας. Heraclea Lyn-
cestis appears to have been a
late settlement.

^l Thuc. IV. 127.

^m Strab. VII. p. 323. This
road, which, according to the
tab. Peutinger. and the Itin.
Anton. pag. 318, 329. passes
through Lychnidus, Heraclea
Lyncestis, Cellæ, Edessa, Pella,
and Therma, evidently in the
higher parts followed the di-
rection of an *ancient pass*, the
εὐπορος ὁδὸς διὰ τῆς Δασσαρήτιδος
(see p. 474. note ⁿ) κατὰ Λύγκον,
Plut. Flamin. 4. and also Liv.
XXXII. 9. where for *Lychni-*
dum read *Lyncum*.

ⁿ This follows from Liv. XLV.
29. *Quarta regio trans Boram*
montem (with respect to which

the *tertia regio* was *versus sep-*
trionem, and therefore *versus*
meridiem of this), and XLV. 30.
Quartam regionem Eordæi et
Lyncestæ et Pelagones incolunt.

^o For example, the way in
Livy XXVI. 25. cf. XXXI. 33.
where the river *Bevus* is also
mentioned, probably one of
the branches, which, according
to Strabo VII. p. 327, fall into
the Erigon ἐκ Λυγκηστῶν.

^p In Liv. XLII. 53. Perseus
goes from Pella through Eor-
dæa to Elimeæ. The *lacus Be-*
gorrites appears to be the lake
Citirini.

^q See above, note ⁿ.

^r Arrian I. 7. The river
Eordaicus, *ibid.* I. 5, probably
runs from Eordæa into the
Erigon.

country along the Erigon^s, which was considered as belonging to Pæonia^t, and probably lay to the east of Lyncestis and north of Eordæa^u. In Pæonia also was situated the rugged district of PELAGONIA, to the north of Lyncestis^s, having on its northern frontiers narrow passes, which protected it from the incursions of the Dardanians^v. As to other parts of the extensive territory of PÆONIA (in comparison with which Macedonia was originally very inconsiderable in size), it is only necessary to observe, that, beginning near the source of the Axios, the banks of which river had from early times been occupied by Pæonian tribes, a narrow strip of land extended down to Pella and the coast^z; though, according to Herodotus, it could not have actually reached the edge of the sea, as the frontiers of Bottiaïs and Mygdonia at this point came into contact with one another^a. Immediately to the north of Lower Macedonia, i. e. to the north of Macedonian Pæonia, Bottiaïs, and Mygdonia, but without the confines of these provinces, was situated, as we learn from Thucydides^b, the Pæonian city of DOBERUS^c. The king of the Odrysians arrived, according to the same

^s Liv. XXXIX. 53. Strab. VII. p. 327. Places, Bryanium, Alcomenæ, Stymbara (*Stubera* Livy, Στύβερρα Polybius). In Livy XXXI. 39, 40. Sulpicius follows a mountain-road from Stubera to Eordæa, and then to Elimeia; compare Polyb. XVIII. 6. 3.

^t Liv. XXXIX. 53.

^u See above, note ^s.

^v By the road *per Pelagoniam et Lyncum et Bottiaeam in Thessaliam*, Liv. XXVI. 25. That it borders on Deuriopus is shewn by Liv. XXXI. 39.

^s Liv. XXXI. 28, 33. comp. Gatterer Commentat. tom. VI. p. 67.

^z Thucyd. II. 99. τῆς Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενὴν τινα καθήκουσαν ἀνωθεν μέχρι

Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης. The same strip of land was included by Æmilius Paulus in his *tertia regio*, according to Livy XLV. 29. *Adjecta huic parti regio Pæonia, qua ab occasu præter Axium amnem porrigitur*.

^a See above, p. 470. note ^p.

^b II. 99. where Sitalces is going to make a descent into Lower Macedonia, the country of Perdiccas, from Doberus κατὰ κορυφὴν. He then invades (II. 100.) Eidomene, Gortynia, Atalante, and Europus (*Europos ad Axium amnem*, Plin. IV. 17.), probably places in Pæonia, but certainly not Bottiaea or Mygdonia.

^c II. 98. Παίονες Δόβηρες, Herod. VII. 113.

writer^d, at this place after having come from his dominions, which were bounded by the Strymon, over mount Cercine; in which passage he left the Pæonians to the right, and to the left the Sintes and Mædi (Thracian races, supposed by Gatterer to have penetrated hither when the Siropæonians and others crossed over to Asia^e). From which notices I have ventured to set down the mountain, the city, and nations just mentioned, as may be seen in the accompanying map^f.

Early history of the kingdom of Macedonia.

12. The subject of this dissertation made it necessary for us to enter into the above detail as to the several provinces and divisions of Upper and Lower Macedonia. We must now proceed to inquire into the gradual extension of the kingdom of Macedon; an investigation in which we are fortunately assisted by the clear and accurate account of Thucydides, who lived at no great distance from the country which he describes; and whose words I now transcribe as follows (II. 99.).

“Accordingly, the subjects of Sitalces mustered at Doberus, and prepared for a descent into Lower Macedonia, which country was under the rule of Perdiccas. For to the Macedonians belong^g the Lyncestæ and the Elimioti, and other nations in the upper parts of the country, which are the allies and subjects^h of these Macedoniansⁱ, but have nevertheless princes of their own. The present kingdom of Macedonia, extending along the sea^k, was first occupied by Alexander the father of Perdiccas, and his ancestors of the family of Temenus, who came originally from Argos; and ruled over it, having by force of

^d II. 98.

^e Herod. V. 15. Concerning the settlements of the Sintians, see Mannert vol. VII. pag. 502.

^f Doberus coincides with the modern *Doiran*. The *Κερκινίτις λίμνη*, Arrian I. 11, is probably

the lake near *Doiran*.

^g τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσί.

^h ὑπήκοα, as the Magnetes to the Thessalians.

ⁱ Those of Perdiccas.

^k τὴν παρὰ (according to Bekker) θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν.

“arms expelled the Pierians from Pieria¹, and the Bottiæans from the district called Bottiæa. They also obtained in Pæonia a narrow tongue of land, extending along the river Axius down to Pella and the sea: and on the further side of the Axius they possess the district called Mygdonia, as far as the Strymon, of which they dispossessed the Edones. They also dislodged the Eordians from the country still called Eordia, and from Almopia the Almopians. These Macedonians also subdued those other nations which they now possess; viz. Anthemus, together with Crestonia and Bisaltia, and a large part of the Macedonians themselves. The whole of this country together is called Macedonia; and Perdiccas, the son of Alexander, was king of it when Sitalces made his invasion.”

13. This chapter has not by any means been exhausted by those who have written on the growth and size of Macedonia; and therefore it will be convenient to set down some of the chief inferences which may be drawn from it.

In the first place, it is plain that the Macedonians, who made the conquest, and founded the kingdom of Macedon, were *not the whole Macedonian nation*, but only a part of it. There were in the mountainous districts Macedonian tribes, which had their own kings, and originally were not subject to the Temenidæ. These are the Macedonian highlanders of Herodotus^m, from whose district the road passed over mount Olympus (the Cambunian chain) into the country of the Perrhæbiansⁿ; and it began, as has been already remarked, in Elimeia^o. The Elimioti were, according to Thucydides, one portion of these Macedonians, the Lyncestæ another; both which appellations were merely local, and the full title was “*the Macedonians in Lynceus*,” or “*the Macedonian Lyncestæ* ^p.” Of the *remaining* Macedonian nations in the mountain-districts we only know the

¹ The substance of the clauses omitted is given below.

^m VII. 128. cf. 131, 173.

ⁿ See book I. ch. 1. §. 3.

^o Above, p. 473. note *.

^p Thus Thuc. IV. 83. comp. Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 38.

name of the Orestæ^a; at least there are no others who can with any certainty be considered as Macedonians.

14. The name of Macedonia was not therefore, as some have supposed, confined to the royal dynasty of Edessa, but was a *national appellation*; so much so, that it is even stated that those very kings subdued, among other nations, a large portion of the Macedonians. The tribes of Upper Macedonia were long governed by their own princes; thus Antiochus was king of the Orestæ at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war^r; the Lyncestæ were under the rule of Arrhibæus, the son of Bromerus^s, the great grandfather, by the mother's side, of Philip of Macedon, who derived his descent (nor altogether without probability) from the Bacchiadæ, the ancient rulers of Corinth^t; and these kings, though properly recognising the supremacy of the Temenidæ, were nevertheless at times their nearest, and therefore most dangerous enemies^u.

15. The Macedonian kingdom of the Temenidæ, on the other hand, began from a single point of the Macedonian territory, concerning the position of which there are various traditions. According to Herodotus, three brothers of the family of Temenus, Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas, fled from Argos to Illyria, from thence passed on to *Lebæa* in Upper Macedonia, and served the king of the country (who was therefore a Macedonian) as shepherds. From this place they again fled, and dwelt in another part of Macedonia, near the gardens of Midas, in mount Bermius (near *Berræa*), from which place they subdued the neighbouring country^x. Thucydides so far recognises this tradition, that he likewise considers Perdiccas as the founder of the kingdom, reckoning eight kings down to Archelaus^y. The

^a Above, pag. 474. note ^b. Thucydides II. 80. distinguishes the Orestæ from the Macedonians, viz. from those of Perdiccas.

^r Thuc. II. 80. Perhaps from his name he was of the family of the Aleuadæ.

^s Thuc. IV. 79. 83.

^t Strab. VII. p. 326. Comp. book I. ch. 7. §. 15.

^u Περδίκκας ἤγεν ὧν ἐκράτει Μακεδόνων τὴν δύναμιν against Arrhibæus, Thuc. IV. 124.

^x Herod. VIII. 137, 138.

^y II. 100. These were, ac-

other account, however, that there were three kings before Perdiccas, is unquestionably not the mere invention of later historians, but was derived, as well as the other, from some local tradition. According to this account the Macedonian kingdom began at *Edessa*², which had been taken by Caranus, of the family of the Temenidæ, and by him named after a goatherd, who rendered him assistance, *Ægæ* (or *Ægeæ*³). Both narrations have equally a traditional character, and were doubtless of Macedonian origin, only that the latter appears to have been combined with an Argive legend of a brother of the powerful Phido having gone to the north. The claim of Edessa is also confirmed by the fact, that even when it had long ceased to be the royal residence, it still continued the burial-place of the kings of Temenus' race, and, as Diodorus says, the *hearth* of their empire⁴.

16. Edessa and the gardens of Midas were both situated between the Lydias and the Haliacmon, in the original and proper country of Macedonia, according to the account of Herodotus⁵. The manner in which the dominions of the Temenidæ were extended along the sea-coast, and towards the interior, we learn from Thucydides, who comprises in one general view all the conquests of these princes until the reign of Alexander. For to suppose that Alexander, the son of Amyntas, made *all* these conquests, is an error which is even refuted by the words of Thucydides; although it is very possible that this prince, who began his reign about

according to Herodotus, Perdiccas, Argæus, Philip, Aeropus, Alcetas, Amyntas, Alexander, and Perdiccas.

² Edessa on the Via Egnatia, 28. m. p. from Pella, 62—66. from Heraclea Lyncestis (Antonin. Itinerar. pp. 319, 330; the tab. Peutinger. gives less accurately 45 and 77 m. p.) is probably the modern *Vodina*.

³ See Dexippus ap. Syncell. p. 262. Euseb. Scal. p. 47. cf.

37. Justin VII. 1. Solin. IX.

14. Dexippus quotes Theopompus for Caranus. Marsyas (perhaps the cotemporary of Alexander and Antigonus) related a fable concerning Cœnus, the successor of Caranus, Etym. Mag. p. 523. 40. Etym. Gud. p. 332. 41.

⁴ Diod. XIX. 52. XXII. p. 307. Bip. Plin. IV. 17. Solin. IX. 14. comp. Justin VII. 2.

⁵ See below, §. 17.

the 73d Olympiad (488 B. C.), at the time of the Persian power, and was the brother-in-law of a Persian general^d, added considerably to the territory which he had inherited^e. But when Xerxes undertook his great expedition against Greece, the power of Macedon was as great as it is described by Thucydides; nor was its territory much enlarged during the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars^f. For at the time of the Persian war (481 B. C.) the Pierians were already settled in New Pieria, especially in the fortified towns of Phagres and Pergamus, at the foot of mount Pangæum^g, whither they retired, after having been driven out of Old Pieria by the Macedonian kings^h; in fact, this extension of the territory of Macedon must have taken place at an early periodⁱ. Moreover, Olynthus was, according to Herodotus^k, at least *before* 480 B. C., in the hands of the Bottiæans, who had, as we learn from both Herodotus and Thucydides, expelled the Macedonians from the ancient Bottiæis; consequently this district had been under the rule of the Macedonians *before* the expedition of Xerxes. Thirdly, Amyntas the Macedonian, in 503 B. C.,

^d Herod. V. 21. VIII. 136. Justin VII. 3.

^e Consequently the fable, that Xerxes gave Alexander all the country between mounts Olympus and Hæmus (Justin VII. 4.) is not entirely fabulous.

^f Gatterer Commentat. vol. IV. p. 96. vol. VI. p. 15. is more accurate on this point than Poppe Thucyd. vol. II. p. 421.

^g Herod. VII. 112. Although Ἡϊῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης in Thuc. IV. 7. cannot be that on the Strymon, yet Eustathius ad II. II. 566. p. 217. ed. Bas. is incorrect in distinguishing Ἡϊῶν in Pieria from that on the Strymon (comp. Steph. Byz. in Ἡϊῶν, Schol. Thuc. I. 98.); and Raoul-Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, tom.

III. p. 207, should not have followed him, since Pieria, viz. New-Pieria, reaches in this point to the Strymon. But the Ἡϊῶν of Thucydides is not in Pieria, but in Chalcidice.

^h Thuc. II. 99.

ⁱ The expression of Thucydides, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερίκον κάλπος καλεῖται, proves that the circumstance had taken place long before. Hence arose the fabulous genealogies of Pierus and Emathius, the sons of Macednus, &c.; Marsyas ap. Schol. II. XIV. 226. comp. Pausan. IX. 29. 1.

^k VIII. 127. Thucydides also includes the Bottiæans, I. 57. (cf. IV. 57.) among those ἐπὶ Θράκης. Βοττιαῖοι ἐν Θράκη, Callimachus fragm. 75. 41.

offered Anthemus in Chalcidice to the Pisistratidæ¹; the same argument therefore applies in this case also. Anthemus, however, could hardly have been obtained without Mygdonia: and that this district was then a part of the Macedonian dominions is probable also from the following reasons^m. According to Thucydides, the Macedonians drove out the nation of the Edoniansⁿ from Mygdonia, between the rivers Axios and Strymon; and accordingly we find the Edonians always mentioned as dwelling to the east of the Strymon, at the foot of mount Pangæum. Now Ennea Hodoi, situated on the eastern bank of the Strymon, was, according to Herodotus^o, in the possession of the Edonians in the year 481 B. C.; and Myrcinus, in the same region, was found by Histiaëus, when he visited it, to be an Edonian district^p, as it was at a later period by Brasidas^q. The latter argument is not indeed of itself decisive, as it might be said that the Edonians were only driven together by the conquests of the Macedonians, and had *previously* been in possession of the further side of the Strymon; but when combined with the former facts, it offers an almost certain proof that the whole country, from lake Bolbè to within a short distance from the Peneus, was subject to the Macedonians before the expedition of Xerxes^r. Methone^s

¹ Herod. V. 94. Concerning the position of Anthemus, see Plin. H. N. IV. 17. Hence the *τάγμα Ἀνθεμονσία* of the Macedonian army, Hesychius in v.

^m An objection which might be derived from Thucyd. I. 58. where, according to the old reading, Mygdonia is distinguished from the kingdom of Perdiccas, is removed by omitting the *τε* after *Μυγδονίας*, which Bekker and Poppo have expunged, with good MSS.

ⁿ The distinction taken by Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 419. between the *Ἡδῶνες* and *Ἡδῶναι*, viz. that the former dwelt on

the coast, the latter inland, cannot be supported. For instance, Thucyd. I. 100. calls those by Amphipolis *Ἡδῶναι*.

^o VII. 114.

^p Herod. V. 11, 24.

^q Thuc. IV. 107.

^r But *τὰ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνη*, Herod. VI. 44. are not the nations in Macedonia, (Heyne Opuscul. Acad. IV. p. 164.), but those between Macedonia and Persia. See Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. II. pag. 483. note.

^s Forty stadia beyond Pydna, Strabo.

was on this coast the only interruption to the series of Macedonian possessions; this Eretrian colony had been, about the 10th Olympiad (746 B. C.¹), together with the numerous Eubœan settlements in Chalcidice², at a period when the power of the Macedonians on this line of coast was very insignificant; and it preserved its independence until the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas³.

17. From the facts now ascertained, we may deduce a result of some importance with regard to the language of Herodotus. This historian clearly and precisely distinguishes between Bottiaïs and Macedonia in the time of Xerxes⁴, although it is certain that Bottiaïs was then in the power of the Macedonians⁵; Macedonia he classes as a district with Bottiaïs, Mygdonia, and Pieria. He uses the word, therefore, not in a *political*, but in a *national* sense; i. e. he restricts it to the territory originally possessed by the Macedonian nation, not applying it to countries which had been obtained by conquest or political preponderance. The Macedonia of Herodotus is consequently the territory of the Macedonians *before* all the conquests of the Temenidæ. It extended, according to Herodotus, in a narrow tongue down to the sea⁶; a fact disregarded by Thucydides, when he states that the coast of Lower Macedonia was first reduced by the Temenidæ⁷. Further from the sea, however, the ancient Macedonia had a much wider extent, and in-

¹ Plutarch Qu. Gr. 11.

² Aristot. ap. Strab. X. pag. 447. Conon Narr. c. 20. Raoul-Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, tom. III. pp. 198 sqq.

³ *Pydna*, however, early belonged to the Macedonians, Thucyd. I. 137. Diod. XIII. 49. Scylax p. 26. calls Pydna and Methone Greek cities; but that proves nothing for their independence.

⁴ Above, p. 742, note 8. No one surely will distinguish between γῆ ἡ Μακεδονίς and ἡ Μα-

κεδονία.

⁵ Above, §. 16. Herodotus also mentions together, among the allies of Xerxes, VII. 185, the Eordians (in Physca, see below, pag. 486, note ^h), the Bottiæans (near Olynthus), and the Chalcideans. Concerning the Brygians, see below, §. 30.

⁶ Besides VII. 127. see also VII. 173. concerning the road from *Lower Macedonia* to Thesaly.

⁷ πρώτοι (πρώτων Bekker) ἐκτήσαντο.

cluded the districts of Edessa and Berœa, Lyncestis, Orestis, and Elimeia: for Macedonia is stated by Herodotus to have been on the one side bounded by mount Olympus (which ridge, where it borders on Pieria^c, was called the Macedonian mountains^d), and on the other by mount Dysorum. This last fact is evident from the statement of the same writer^e, that a very short way led from the Prasian lake to Macedonia, passing first to the mine from which Alexander obtained an immense supply of precious metal; and then, that having crossed mount Dysorum, you were in Macedonia; i. e. evidently in the *original* Macedonia, since he expressly excludes from it the mine which had been a subsequent accession. The Prasian lake was in Pæonia^f; but in what district of it is not known^g; mount Dysorum, however, can only be looked for to the north of Edessa and to the west of the Axios, Macedonia Proper not extending so far as that river. In this manner it is placed in the accompanying map; in which also the ancient boundaries of the Macedonian race are laid down according to the results obtained by these researches.

18. On the other conquests of the Macedonians little need be said. The occupation of Bisaltia and Crestonica was subsequent to the expedition of Xerxes. The Thracian king of these districts fled away, and left his kingdom a prey to the ambition of Alexander^h, who thus extended his empire to the mouth of the Strymon, which was the boundary of Macedonia in the days of Thucydides and of Scylax, and remained so until the time of Philip. At what time the Macedonian kings reduced that part of Pæonia which stretched along the Axios, Eordæa, Almopia, and a large part of the Macedonians themselves, we are nowhere informed; and to infer from Thucydides that these conquests succeeded that of Mygdonia, and preceded that of

^c Near the pass Volustana, Liv. XLIV. 2, which led to Elimeia, p. 473, note ^a.

^d VII. 131.

^e V. 17.

^f Herod. V. 15, 16.

^g See Poppo Thucyd. vol. II. p. 344. Mannert vol. VII. p. 495.

^h Herod. VIII. 16.

Anthemus, would be laying too much weight upon the order in which he arranges the events; in which, although he doubtless paid some regard to chronology, the context required that the conquests on the coast should be mentioned before those of the interior. Eordæa was probably subjugated at a very early period, since it lay, as it were, in a bay of the Macedonian territory; and a very credible tradition has been preserved by Dexippusⁱ, that Caranus had in early times made an alliance with the Orestæ against the Eordians, and founded his kingdom by the subjugation of that nation. In fact, the first nation with whom the king of Edessa had to contend was these Eordians. They were, according to Thucydides, nearly annihilated by a war of extermination; a small number of them escaped to Physca in Mygdonia^k; which district therefore was not as yet under the power of the Macedonians.

19. Among those parts of Macedonia Proper which were reduced by the Temenidæ, Elimeia may in particular be mentioned, as is evident from the following circumstances. Perdiccas, the son of Alexander, was at war with his brother Philip, with whom he was to have divided his kingdom^l, and also with Derdas^m. The brothers of Derdas, before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, in alliance with the Athenians, made a descent from the highlands, that is, from one of the districts Elimeia, Orestis, or Lynceus, into the dominions of Perdiccasⁿ. Derdas, a prince of the Elimioti in the time of Agesilaus^o, evidently belonged to the same family. Now the elder Derdas^p was the son of Arrhibæus, and cousin of Perdiccas; and it is plain that the Temenidæ reduced Elimeia; and a branch of the same family

ⁱ In Syncellus and Eusebius Scal. the reading is Dardanians for Eordians; the latter, which is evidently the correct reading, is preserved in the Armenian Eusebius, p. 168. ed. Mai.

^k According to Ptolemy p. 83. In Steph. Byz. it should probably be written, *Ἐορδαῖαι*,

δύο χωῖραι, Μακεδονίας καὶ Μυγδο- νίας.

^l Thuc. II. 100. cf. I. 57. VI. 7.

^m Thuc. I. 57.

ⁿ I. 59.

^o Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 38.

^p According to Schol. Thuc. I. 57.

received this district as their peculiar possession⁹. A separate king of Elimeia occurs as late as the time of Aristotle^r. Although in later times all these separate sovereignties, both of the Temenidæ and of other princes, were suppressed, and Upper and Lower Macedonia were equally ruled from the city of Pella; yet the tribes of the highlands still remained to a certain degree distinct. Even at the battle of Arbela, the Elimiotæ, Lyncestæ, Orestæ, and Tymphæans fought in separate bodies^s; and several persons are denoted in the history of Macedon by the surname of Lyncestes. Those in the lowlands, on the other hand, were known by the general name of Macedonians; and it should be observed, that there were also Macedonians dwelling in Pieria, Bottiaïs, Mygdonia, Eordæa, and Almopia^t, who had, according to Thucydides, driven out the native inhabitants; while Pæonia and Bisaltia, together with Anthemus and Crestonica, remained in the possession of those tribes which had been settled there before the conquest of Macedonia^u.

On the national affinity of the original Macedonians.

20. From what has been already said it is plain that

⁹ Hence perhaps we might separate *ξύμμαχα καὶ ἐπήκοα* in the beginning of the chapter, and refer the latter rather to Lynceus, the latter to Elimeia.

^r Aristot. Pol. V. 8.

^s Diod. XVII. 7.

^t Pliny H. N. IV. 17. mentions *Almopians*, together with Eordians, on the banks of the Axios; and in Ptolemy p. 83. Almopia is the country near Europus; it was to this place that the Almopians probably fled. This also explains the genealogical connexion with Pæon and Edonus, *Orchome-nos* p. 250, note 2.

^u Of ancient wars of the

Macedonians, not mentioned by Thucydides, I may mention the fabulous battle between Caranus and Cisseus (Pausan. IX. 40. 4.), probably a king of Cissus, near Therma, which is the explanation given by Strabo VII. exc. 10. p. 330. of Cisseus the Thracian in II. XI. 221. Euripides transferred this war, as well as the story of the goats, into his tragedy called Archelaus, perhaps only written from flattery, fragm. 33. ed. Musgr. Hyginus Fab. 219. see also Lycophr. 1237. Concerning the supposed war with the Phrygians, see below, §. 30.

there was, independently of the extension of the empire of the Temenidæ, a Macedonian nation possessing from early times a territory of considerable size, viz. the Macedonia of Herodotus; the area of which in the accompanying map amounts to 2400 geographical square miles.

We now proceed to the most important question to be considered in this treatise, viz. to what national family these Macedonians belonged.

21. The ancient writers distinguish in these regions the following nations; and in so marked a manner that it is evident that they differed from one another in their costume, language, and mode of living^x.

First, the THRACIANS. This great nation extended to the north as far as the Danube, where it included the Getæ^y; to the east beyond the sea, since the Thynians and Bithynians were Thracians^z; to the west within mount Hæmus as far as the Strymon, where it bordered on the Pæonians, widening still more as it receded from the coast, since it also included the Triballians^a. On the west bank of the Strymon the Sintians and Mædians were of Thracian origin^b; to which nation the Bisaltæ and Edones must also be referred^c. Thrace is often represented as having in early times extended to Thessaly and Bœotia^d, but merely in reference to the settlements of the Pierians at the foot of

^x See Mannert vol. VII. pag. 281. In the catalogue of nations, however, in Appian Illyr. 2. Pæonian and Thracian (Mædi, Triballi) are mixed with Illyrian tribes.

^y Herod. IV. 93. V. 3. Me-nander ap. Strab. VII. p. 297. The language of the Getæ was Thracian, Strab. VII. p. 303.

^z Herod. VII. 75, &c.

^a According to Strabo VII. p. 305, 315. cf. VII. p. 323.

^b Strab. VII. pag. 316. According to which passage they extended more to the north as far as the Illyrian Dardani-ans.

The Thracians beyond Crestona, mentioned by Herodotus V. 3. are probably the same people.

^c Conon Narr. c. 20. calls the Bisaltæ Thracians (*Ἀργαῖος* was also a Thracian name according to Heraclid. Pont. 41); and the Panæans, whom Thucydides II. 101. calls Thracians, were an Edonian nation according to Stephanus Byz.

^d Strabo X. p. 471. does not appear to make this supposition, but perhaps in VII. pag. 321.

Olympus and Helicon; and there are many reasons against considering these Pierians as of the same race as the *other* Thracians^e, although they were called Thracians at an early period^f. Homer at least distinguishes between these two nations when he makes Juno go from Olympus to Pieria, then to Emathia, and afterwards to the snowy mountains of the Thracians^g; by which he must mean the mountains of the Bisaltæ to the north of Edessa, since the goddess next rests her foot on mount Athos and the island of Lemnos.

Secondly, the PÆONIANS. A numerous race divided into several small nations^h, inhabiting the districts on the rivers Strymon and Axios and the countries to the north of Macedoniaⁱ, together with Pannonia, according to the Greeks^k. This race, according to *their own tradition* (if Herodotus's account is correct^l), derived their origin from the ancient Teucrians in the Troad; in their passage from which country they had been accompanied, according to Herodotus, by the Mysians, the same people that afterwards gave their name of Mœsians to a great province^m.

Thirdly, the ILLYRIANS extended southward as far as the Acroceraunian mountains, eastward to the mountain-chain known in its southern parts by the name of Pindus, and northward as far as the Save and the Alps, if Herodotus is correct in considering the Venetians as of Illyrian originⁿ.

Fourthly, *Nations of Grecian descent.*

22. Since the Macedonians evidently belonged to some

^e By Thucydides II. 29. and by earlier writers.

^f See above, p. 11.

^g Iliad XIV. 225. sqq.

^h Gatterer Commentat. VI. p. 37. Mannert vol. VII. p. 487.

ⁱ Solin. IX. 2, &c.

^k See particularly Appian Illyr. I. But as in later times Pæonians and Illyrians were confounded (Appian Illyr. 14.) the Pannonians also were call-

ed Illyrians.

^l Herod. V. 13. comp. VII. 20, 75. and see *Prolegomena zur Mythologie* p. 351. The legend concerning the great expedition of the Teucrians is well given in Lycophron v. 1341.

^m Yet Strabo VII. pag. 295. has the contrary tradition of the Mysians.

ⁿ I. 196.

one of these four races, our present object is to ascertain *which*. Now in the first place the *Greeks* may be excluded, since, although it is certain that a large portion of the Macedonian nation was of Grecian origin, the Macedonians were always considered by the Greeks as barbarians. Alexander the Philhellene^o, the father of Perdiccas, represented himself to the Persians (according to Herodotus^p) as a Greek, and satrap over Macedonians; the same person who was driven off the course at Olympia for being a barbarian, until he proved his Argive descent^q. The mouth of the Peneus, or the Magnesian mountain of Homolè, was on the eastern side considered as the boundary of Greece^r, unless Magnesia also was excluded. Fabulous genealogies, representing Macedon as the son of Jupiter and Thyia the daughter of Deucalion, or of a descendant of Æolus, are of no weight against the prevailing opinion of the Greeks; nor are they necessarily of greater antiquity than the fortieth Olympiad (620 B. C.^s), at which time Danaus and Ægyptus, and other races equally unconnected, were made the members of the same family, when the Scythians were derived from Hercules^t, and even the whole known world was comprised in extensive genealogies. It would be unreasonable to suppose, on the credit of these genealogies, that there was any other migration of Greeks into Macedonia except that of the Temenidæ.

23. Secondly, with regard to the PÆONIANS: it may be shewn that the Macedonians did not belong to that nation^u.

^o Gottleber ad Thucyd. I. 57.

^p Herod. V. 20.

^q Herodot. V. 22. and see Valckenaer's note. The Attic orators evidently exaggerate; there is, however, perhaps a slight *hyperbole* in what Weiske *de Hyperbole* p. 19. says on the other side.

^r See Scylax p. 12. and the metrical Dicæarchus pag. 3. Comp. Salmas. Exercit. Plin. p. 100 A.

^s The passage of Hesiod appears to be from the 'Hoia above, p. 4. note ^u), and these poems come down as late as the 40th Olympiad (*Orchomenos* p. 358). After Hesiod Solinus IX. 13. calls *Macedo Deucalionis maternus nepos*. comp. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 427.

^t The account of the Greeks living on the Pontus, according to Herod. IV. 8—10.

^u Although Mannert vol. VII.

The possessions of the Macedonians in Pæonia are accurately described by ancient writers; these were, until the time of Perdiccas, only a narrow strip of land^x; Pelagonia and Pæonia on the Axius were subdued at a later date. As the Pæonian race was not aboriginal in this district, its peculiarities were probably easy to be recognised in the time of Thucydides, and hence this national name occurs more frequently than those of the separate provinces. For this reason great importance should be attached to the circumstance that the ancients never refer the Macedonians themselves to the Pæonian race; and it should perhaps be considered as decisive. On the other hand, with aboriginal races having a large territory and numerous connexions, such a separation hardly warrants this inference, since otherwise the Macedonians, whom both Herodotus and Thucydides mention *together with* Thracians and Illyrians^y, could not have belonged to either of those two tribes, and therefore to no great national division of the human race. It is, however, plain that the ancients frequently used the national name in a limited sense, merely for the chief mass of the people, and did not apply it to particular *portions of it* which had acquired a character different from that of the rest of their nation^z, without by this meaning to express a diversity of origin. We have therefore now only to ascertain whether the Macedonians were of *Thracian* or *Illyrian* descent.

24. We shall gain one step towards a conclusion by inquiring in what region were the original settlements of the

p. 492. considers the Macedonians to be of Illyrian and Pæonian descent, comp. p. 421.

^x See above, p. 477, note ^x. Pliny H. N. IV. 17. appears to say that the Eordi were Pæonians, and it is not improbable that this was the fact, though the passage of Pliny is corrupt. Herodotus VII. 185. mentions together Thracians, Pæonians, Eordians, Bottiæans, Chalci-

dians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, and Perrhæbians.

^y E. g. Thuc. IV. 124.

^z E. g. Thucydides II. 96. mentions Thracians between mounts Hæmus and Rhodope, Getæ and mountain Thracians together, as if the Getæ were not Thracians. Instances of this use are very common, e. g. the common case of Ionians and Athenians.

Macedonians; a question which should carefully be distinguished from the former investigation as to the first station of the Temenidæ. Now in pursuing this inquiry, we soon perceive that even of Macedonia Proper, from which Bottiæa, Pieria, and Eordæa were conquered, a large part was not always in the possession of the Macedonians. Homer, for example, places Emathia, not Macedonia, between Pieria and Chalcidice^a. Several writers state in general that Macedonia had anciently been called Emathia^b; but, as will be presently shewn, they do not so much mean the highlands as the country about the mouths of the three rivers and near Edessa^c. The fabulous name was renewed in later times; and Ptolemy^d even mentions the district of Emathia, in which were the towns of Cyrrhus^e, Eidomenæ, Gordynia, Edessa, Berrhœa, and Pella. - According to Thucydides^f and others, Eidomenæ and Gordynia must have been situated in the region near the Axios, in the early subdued country of Pæonia^g; whence it may be understood how Polybius^h could say that Emathia, at a distance from

^a Il. XIV. 226. And hence in the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, v. 39. (according to Matthiæ's and Ilgen's conjecture), although Emathia does not suit very well there, and the preceding word (neither Δεύκον or Λεύκον is in its place) remains uncertain. The Roman poets, as is well known, use the name in a very wide sense, Heyne ad Virg. Georg. I. 492.

^b Plin. H. N. IV. 17. Justin. VII. 1. Gell. XIV. 6. 4. Solinus IX. 1. distinguishes between the Edonian, Mygdonian, Pierian and Emathian territory, and IX. 12. derives the name of Emathia, as being that of the most ancient Macedonia, from an Autochthon *Emathius*. Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Op. I. Chiliad. VI. 90. states,

from the Delphica of Melisæus, that Aëropus the eldest son of Emathion had reigned over Lynceus, which had previously been called Pieria,—a very confused account.

^c See Justin VII. 1.

^d Pag. 84.

^e In Ptolemy the word is *Kύρπος*. See above, pag. 475, note ^b.

^f Il. 100. comp. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. The tabula Peutinger, which places Idomenæ 53 m. p. from Therma, and 35 from Stoboi (Istip), agrees very well with Thucydides, Ptolemy, and Pliny.

^g As he entirely separates Bottiæa from Pieria.

^h XXIV. 8. Liv. XV. 3. Justin VII. 1. says of Emathia, *Populus Pelasgi, regio Bæotia dicebatur*, where Bottiæa is a

the coast, had in early times been called *Pæonia*. For the ancient name of *Emathia* had evidently been extended to a tract of land belonging to *Pæonia*, which had, perhaps, previously to the *Pæonian* conquests, once borne the name of *Emathia*.

25. Now although the country round *Edessa*, and nearer to the sea, was not originally called *Macedonia*, yet we find traces of the existence of the name of the *Macedonians* under its ancient forms of *Μακέται* and *Μακεδνοί*, in the hill country near the ridge of *Pindus*. Herodotus says that the Doric race, having been driven from *Hestiaeotis*, and dwelling under mount *Pindus*, was called the *Macedonian nation*¹. By this statement he plainly means that the Dorians were first known by that name in the Peloponnese^k; and indeed his other notions on the progress of this people are only suited to the childhood of history. But notwithstanding the erroneous conclusions of the narrator, it is allowable to infer from his statement that the *Macedonians* had once dwelt at the foot of *Pindus*, i. e. probably in one of the districts of Upper *Macedonia*; of which provinces *Orestis* may be considered (on the faith of a conjectural emendation) as the ancient *Maceta*^l. For it cannot be a Thessalian district that is alluded to, since *Maceta* was, as we know from certain testimony, in fact a part of *Macedonia*.

The fact that the ancient country of the *Macedonians* was near the ridge of mountains on the confines of *Illyria*, and was at a considerable distance from *Thrace*, renders it probable that the *Macetæ* were of *Illyrian* blood; but this probability would yield to arguments drawn from the lan-

more probable correction than *Pæonia*, and is confirmed by the Vatican fragments of *Diodorus* p. 4. Mai.

^l I. 56. cf. VIII. 43. and see book I. ch. 1. §. 10.

^k I. 56. Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη. And yet, according to Herodotus himself, they were governed by Dorus in *Hestiaeotis*.

¹ Constantin. Porphyrog. II. 2. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Μακεδονίας μοῖρα Μακέται, ὡς Μαρσύας ἐν πρώτῳ Μακεδονιακῶν. καὶ τὴν Ὀρεστιάδα (vulg. Ἡρέστειαν δὲ) Μακέταν λέγουσιν. See above, p. 475, note c. Scymnus calls the *Macedonians* γηγενεῖς, and makes them come from *Macessa* and *Emathia*, v. 657.

guage, costume, and manners of the three nations. The question therefore is, whom did the Macedonians in the points most resemble, the *Illyrians* or the *Thracians*?

26. There is a passage in Strabo^m which on account of its importance I will give nearly at full length, omitting only those parts which are not necessary to the context. It contains an account of the population of Epirus.

“Of the nations of Epirus the Chaonians and Thesprotians inhabit the coast from the Ceraunian mountains to the Ambracian gulf; behind Ambracia is Amphilocheian Argos. The Amphilocheians also are Epirots, together with the tribes lying more in the interior, and joining the mountains of Illyria, viz. the Molotti, the Athamanes, the Æthices, the Tymphæi, the Orestæ, the Paroræi, and the Atintanes, some dwelling nearer to the Macedonians, and others to the Ionian sea. With these the Illyrian

^m VII. p. 324. sqq. Τῶν μὲν οὖν Ἠπειρωτῶν—Χάονες καὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ . . . τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Κεραυνίων ὄρων μεχρὶ τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου παραλίαν νέμονται.—Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν τὸ Ἄργος ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικόν.—Ἠπειρῶται δ' εἰσὶ καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ οἱ ὑπερκείμενοι καὶ συνάπτοντες τοῖς Ἰλλυρικοῖς ἄρεσι, τραχείαν οἰκοῦντες χώραν, Μολοττοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες καὶ Αἰθίκες καὶ Τυμφαῖοι καὶ Ὀρέσται, Παρωραῖοί τε καὶ Ἀτινῆνες, οἱ μὲν πλησιάζοντες τοῖς Μακεδόσι μᾶλλον οἱ δὲ τῷ Ἰονικῷ κόλπῳ.—Ἀναμέμικται δὲ τοῖς τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη τὰ πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ μέρει τῆς ὕρεινῆς καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου· τῆς γὰρ Ἐπιδάμνου καὶ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας μέχρη τῶν Κεραυνίων ὑπεροικοῦσι Βυλλιονέες τε καὶ Ταυλάντιοι καὶ Παρθῖνοι καὶ Βρύγοι· πλησίον δέ που κατὰ (vulg. καὶ) τὰ ἀργύρια τὰ ἐν Δαμαστίῳ Περισάδιές τε συνεστήσαντο τὴν δυναστείαν· καὶ Ἐγχελίου καὶ Σεσαρσίνους καλοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς

Λυγκησταῖ τε καὶ ἡ Δευρίοπος καὶ ἡ Τριπολίτις Πελαγονία καὶ Ἐορδοὶ καὶ Ἑλίμεια καὶ Ἐράτυρα. Ταῦτα δὲ πρότερον μὲν κατεδυναστεύετο ἕκαστα, ὧν ἐν τοῖς Ἐγχελίοις οἱ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας ἀπογόνοι ἤρχον . . . οἱ δὲ Λυγκησταὶ ἵπ' Ἀρριβαίῳ ἐγένοντο . . . καὶ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν δὲ Μολοττοὶ ὑπὸ Πύρρῳ τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ Θετταλοῖς οὖσι γεγονότες, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ἰθαγενῶν ἤρχοντο. εἰτ' ἐπικρατούντων αἰετίνων κατέστρεψεν ἅπαντα εἰς τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν πλην ὀλίγων τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Λυγκηστὸν καὶ Πελαγονίαν καὶ Ὀρεστιάδα καὶ Ἑλίμειαν τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον καὶ ἐλευθέραν. Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν μέχρη Κερκύρας Μακεδονίαν προσαγορεύουσιν, αἰτιολογούντες ὅτι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ διαλέκτῳ καὶ χλαμῦδι καὶ ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις χρώνται παραπλησίως· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διγλωττοὶ εἰσιν.

“ nations were mixed which dwelt to the south of the hill-
 “ country, as well as those beyond the Ionian sea. For
 “ between Epidamnus and Apollonia and the Ceraunian
 “ mountains there are the Byllionesⁿ, the Taulantii^o, the
 “ Parthini^p, and the Brygi^q; and at a short distance, about
 “ the silver mines of Damastium^r, the Perisadies have esta-
 “ blished their dominion; the Enchelii^s and Sesarasii^t are
 “ also named as dwelling in these parts; and besides these
 “ the Lyncestæ, the land of Deuriopus, the Pelagonian
 “ Tripolis^u, the Eordi, Elimeia, and Eratyra^x. Now in
 “ early times these tribes had severally rulers of their own;
 “ the Enchelians were governed by the descendants of Cad-
 “ mus, the Lyncestæ were under Arrhibæus, and of the
 “ Epirots the Molotti were ruled by Pyrrhus and his de-
 “ scendants, while all the other nations of that tribe were
 “ governed by native princes. In process of time, however,
 “ as one nation obtained the dominion over others, the
 “ whole fell into the Macedonian empire, except a small
 “ tract beyond the Ionian sea. Also the country about
 “ Lyncestus, Pelagonia, Orestias and Elimeia was once
 “ called Upper Macedonia, and at a later period the In-
 “ dependant. Some persons, moreover, give to the whole
 “ country as far as Corcyra the name of Macedonia, assign-
 “ ing, as their reason, that the inhabitants nearly resemble
 “ one another in the mode of wearing the hair, in their

ⁿ Bulini, near the modern 83), ἡ Δευρίωνος above, §. 11.
Valona, Mannert vol. VII. pag. ἡ Κύρπος.

388.

^o Near Epidamnus, accord-
 ing to Thuc. I. 24. Appian
 Bell. Civ. II. 39. and extend-
 ing as far as the Dalmatians
 according to Appian. Illyr. 24.

^p Also near Epidamnus ac-
 cording to Liv. XXIX. 12.
 XLIII. 21. to the south of the
 Taulantians according to Plin.
 H. N. III. 26. Mela II. 3. The
 country of the Parthini was
 called ἡ Πάρθος, Polyb. XVIII.
 30. 12. as ἡ Λύγκος (Thuc. IV.

See below, p. 500, note ^c.

^r Besides this passage Da-
 mastium is only known by
 its silver coins, Eckhel D. N.
 I. II. p. 164. Mionnet Descript.
 tom. II. p. 54.

^s Here those in the neigh-
 bourhood of Apollonia are
 meant, see below, page 503,
 note ^t.

^t Probably the Dassarethians
 (Sesarethians) near Lychnidus.

^u In Northern Thessaly.

^x Not mentioned elsewhere.

“dialect, in the use of the chlamys, and in other points of this kind: some of them, likewise, speak two languages.”

27. Now although the historical accounts of Strabo, collected at a time when these regions had been ravaged by conquest, and had undergone manifold changes, have not the value which the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides possess, yet it is possible to extract from them much information. In the first place it should be observed that the Epirots and the Illyrians are not considered as two wholly distinct nations. The Epirots, although in early times allied by blood with the Greeks, were always considered as barbarians^y, and Ambracia as the last city in Greece^z; which fact, since the original inhabitants were the same as in Arcadia, i. e. Pelasgians, can only be explained by supposing that there had been a mixture of Illyrians. Hence it might be at that late time difficult to distinguish between the Epirots and the Illyrians; and thus Strabo includes the Atintanes, who according to Scylax^a and Appian^b were Illyrians, among the Epirote nations. It is more singular that he should consider the Orestæ, whom Polybius^c recognises as a Macedonian people, as Epirots; but it may be probably accounted for by the circumstance of their separation from the cause of the Macedonian kings, which procured them their independance in the year of the city 556^d. But the other inhabitants of Upper Macedonia, the genuine Macedonians, such as the Lyncestæ and Elimioti (who probably from being mountaineers had preserved their national distinctions more than the civilized tribes of the lowlands), were considered by Strabo, as the context plainly shews, as original Illyrians; and it can

^y See particularly Thuc. II. 80. Scymn. 444. Concerning their *ἐκβαρβαρώσις* see Plutarch Pyrrh. 1.

^z Scylax p. 12. Dicæarchus p. 3.

^a Pag. 10.

^b Illyr. 7.

^c See above, p. 474, note ^b.

^d Polyb. XVIII. 30. Liv.

XXXIII. 34. *Liberi Amantini et Orestæ*, Plin. H. N. IV. 17. Hence Steph. Byz. makes Orestis reach to Molossia, in v. *Ὀρίσται*. These have been generally followed by modern geographers. Lyncus alone is mentioned by Steph. Byz. in v. *πῶλιν Ἠπειρῶν*.

hardly be doubted that they still bore the characteristic marks of that nation.

28. Some again, as Strabo says, considered the whole country as far as Corcyra to be included in Macedonia. What country this is, is accurately known both from the testimony of other writers and even of Strabo himself. The Romans called the whole region which opened to them the way to Macedonia^c by the name of Macedonia; and made it reach from Lissus (now *Alessio*) on the river Drilon (now the *Drin*) either to the Egnatian road^f, which begins between Dyrrhachium (or Epidamnus) and Apollonia, or, as Strabo states in the passage quoted in the text, for a short distance beyond g. The inhabitants of this tract of country were beyond all question Illyrians (Taulantii, Parthini, Dassaretii, &c.^h); and it is of *their* dress and language that Strabo here speaks. The importance of these points for the discovery of national affinity is easily perceived. Indeed, many Grecian tribes might be distinguished merely by their mode of wearing the hairⁱ. The chlamys had come to the Greeks from the Thessalians, and Sappho was the first Grecian writer who mentioned it^k: afterwards it became a military dress, and supplanted the *ιμάτιον*, as in Italy the *sagum* took the place of the *toga*, which was originally girt up for military use^l. From this passage of Strabo we

^c According to the probable supposition of Mannert, vol. VII. p. 390.

^f Strab. VII. See Exc. 3. p. 329.

^g This usage first occurs in Cæsar Bell. Civ. III. 34. although there it is not quite clear: on the other hand, Dio Cassius XLI. 49. distinctly says, ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε γε ἡδὲ Μακεδονία νονομισμένη: the boundaries are given by Pliny N. H. III. 26. (from Lissus to Oricum) and Ptolemy. Dextippus also, quoted by Constan-

tinus Porphy. de Them. II. 9. includes Epidamnus in Macedonia, and the tabula Peutinger. has only Macedonia between Dalmatia and Epirus.

^h See e. g. Thuc. I. 24. Liv. XLV. 26.

ⁱ It would lead me too far to treat here of the Thesæan, Abantian, Laconian, and ancient Ionian *κουρά*.

^k Book IV. ch. 2. §. 4. The proper Thessalian appellation was, according to the great etymologist, ἀλλήξ, whence *allicula*.

^l See *Etrusker* vol. I. p. 265.

learn that it was the national habit of the Illyrian tribes above Epirus. In like manner, the broad brimmed, low, flat fur-cap, known by the name of *causia*, which was equally unlike the conical ^m *κυνέη* of the Bœotians and the low, tapering ⁿ *πέτασος*, was worn by these northern nations; it was the ancient dress of state among the Macedonians, and worn by their kings^o; and it was likewise the dress of the Ætolians^p and Molossians^q. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that the same cap which is borne by the riders on the tetradrachms of the first Alexander also adorns the head of the Illyrian king Gentius^r. Lastly, the similarity of dialect is a decisive proof. Now that all these things should have been introduced by the Macedonian kings seems highly improbable, when it is remembered that their rule did not even extend over the whole of this tract, that it was also often interrupted, and in general not of a nature to alter the character, language, and costume of the natives^s.

^m Theophrast. Hist. Plant. III. 9.

ⁿ Schneider's Lexicon in *πέτασος*.

^o Plutarch Amat. 16. Pyrrh. II. Herodian. IV. 8. 5. Dio Chrysostom. Or. 72. pag. 628. ed. Reisk. Pollux X. 162. Valer. Max. V. 1. ext. 4. Antipater Thessal. apud Brunck. n. 10. Suidas in *Καυσίη*. Compare Valckenaer ad Adonias. p. 345.

^p Polyb. IV. 4. 5.

^q Heracl. Pont. 17.

^r Eckhel Doct. Num. I. 2. pp. 83. 155. 158. A clear notion of the *causia* may be obtained from the representations of Macedonian coins in Pellerin Recueil de M. de Rois Pl. I. n. 1. of Ætolian in Combe Numi Mus. Britann. Pl. 5. 24. 25. and of Illyrian in Eckhel Numi Vet. Anecd. (1775.) Pl. I. tab. 6. 22. 23.

^s Philip, the son of Amyntas, first conquered the country as far as the lake Lychnitis, Diod. XVI. 8. The Taulantians in the time of Alexander had their own king, Arrian I. 5. The Illyrian king Agron ruled (about 240 B. C.) as far as Epirus, and the Atintanes were his subjects, Appian Illyr. 7. 8. When the Romans first went to Illyria they were joined by the Parthini and Atintanes, Polyb. II. 11. Atintania was first conquered by Philip the son of Demetrius, Schweighauser ad Polyb. II. 5. p. 356. In the peace he only lost Lychnidus (with Dassaretis, Polyb. V. 108.) and Parthus (i. e. the Parthini), Polyb. XVIII. 30. 12. Liv. XXXIII. 34. The only countries which even Perseus possessed beyond the mountains were Atintania and Tym-

From these facts it may, I think, be safely inferred that the Macedonians, viz. the people originally and properly so called, belonged to the ILLYRIAN race.

On the mixture of the Macedonians with other, particularly Greek, races.

29. It is, however, certain, notwithstanding the result which has been established, that the Macedonians in their advance from the highlands dislodged, and partly incorporated other, and particularly Grecian, tribes.

The first to fall in their hands was the ancient Emathia, near Edessa, and downwards to the sea, which Herodotus includes in *his* Macedonia. The name of the country appears to be Grecian^t, and since Justin^u distinctly affirms that the ancient inhabitants of Emathia were Pelasgi, and as Æschylus, a poet greatly versed in traditional lore, also makes the kingdom of the Pelasgi extend through Macedonia as far as the Strymon^x, it must be considered that according to ancient tradition the early inhabitants of this country were of the Pelasgic race. It is likewise fair, by the guidance of several parallel cases in the Greek mythology, to interpret the legend that Lycaon the Arcadian hero had once ruled in Emathia, and was the father of Macedon^y, as signifying merely the succession, *according to order of time*, of the Pelasgi and Macedonians in the occupation of this country; which the language of mythology expressed by placing the respective races in a *genealogical* connexion. Hence it is highly probable that at the first conquest of this tract of land, viz. of Macedonia Proper, nations akin to the Greeks were mixed with the Illyrians.

2. One of the earliest conquests of the Macedonians was the country of their neighbours^z the Phrygians; i. e. according to the most exact statements, the district about

phæa, Liv. XLV. 30. See also Palmer Græc. Ant. I. 14. p. 78.

^t From *ἄμαθος*, sea-sand.

^u V. 11. 1.

^x Suppl. 257.

^y Apollod. III. 8. 1. Ælian de Nat. An. X. 48. Steph. Byz. in *Ἠρωπός*.

^z *σύννοικοι*, Herod. VII. 73.

mount Bermius, where in the ancient gardens of king Midas, the son of Gordias (in which Silenus had been once taken prisoner), the hundred-leaved rose still flourished at the time of Herodotus^a. It is exceedingly probable that, as Herodotus states, this district had been occupied by the Macedonians before the arrival of the Temenidæ^b; with which the tradition of an ancient migration of the Phrygians coincides^c: yet it is also stated that Caranus the Temenid expelled Midas^d. That the Phrygians or Brygians were entirely incorporated in the Macedonian nation cannot be supposed, as we hear quite in late times of a tribe of Brygians (*Βρύγοι*) in these regions, who then dwelt near the Illyrian mountains beyond Lychnidus, not far from the Erigon, together with the Dassaretians^e. The tribe of Mygdonians, which was allied to the Phrygians^f, must have been lost in other nations at an early period, since their territory had been occupied by the Edones before it became a part of the Macedonian empire.

31. In their further extension the Macedonians fell in

^a Herod. VIII. 138. Conon Narr. I. Concerning these roses see also Nicand. Fragm. 2. p. 278. ed. Schneider. Conon ibid. and Apollodorus ap. Strab. XIV. p. 680. also speak of ancient mines near mount Bermius.

^b It might be inferred from Thuc. I. 61. that Bercæ had not even *then* become a Macedonian possession; but it seems that ἀναστράττειν merely signifies "they prepare to leave" Macedonia.

^c In Herod. VII. 73. Conon *ubi sup.* Xanthus placed it after, but probably *soon* after the Trojan war.

^d Justin VII. 1.

^e Scymnus Chius v. 433. Strab. pp. 326, 327. There were *Βρύγες* in Dyrrhachium,

according to Appian B. C. II. 39. who states that they returned from Phrygia; comp. Steph. Byz. in *Βρύξ*. Herodotus indeed plainly distinguishes from the *Βρύγες-Φρύγες* (VII. 73.) the *Βρύγοι Θρήκες* (VI. 45. VII. 185.) in Macedonia, who revolted to Mardonius and came with Xerxes; and Strabo also appears completely to separate the *Βρύγοι* as an Illyrian people (in p. 327. write *Βρύγων*) from the Thracian *Βρύγες*, who are said to have entirely left Europe (VII. p. 295): still their names and settlements seem to establish a national affinity.

^f Mygdon, a prince of the Phrygians, is mentioned in Iliad III. 186. Comp. Strabo VII. p. 295.

with Grecian, with Pæonian, and with Thracian tribes, which they either subdued or dislodged; but no expulsion was probably so complete that some part of the former population was not left behind. Among the tribes thus driven out were the Bottiæans, who were reported to have come from Athens and Crete^κ; a tradition which could hardly have arisen, if they had not been a Grecian people. Notice should also be taken of the Grecian and Pelasgic names of the cities on the Axios, viz. Ichnæ, Eidomenæ, Gortynia, Atalante, and Europus^h, which cannot have been given by the Pæonians, and therefore must be referred to the ancient Greek population of this region. Beyond the Axios, according to Herodotusⁱ, was Creston, a settlement of Thesalian Pelasgi, whence they do not appear to have been expelled by the victorious Macedonians; which fate befell the Almopians, an ancient branch of the Minyæ^k. It has been already shewn that the common population of Leibethrum and Pieria was at least nearly related to the Greeks: the names of *Ἀσιβηθρα*, for a well-watered valley, *Πίμπλη* for a full fountain, and of *Ἐλικὼν* for a winding stream, are evidently Grecian^l.

As to the Eordians, the ancient foes of Macedon, it is uncertain whether they should be considered as belonging to the Illyrian or the Pæonian race^m; of this latter tribe,

^κ Aristotle *ἐν τῇ Βορτιαίων πολιτείᾳ* ap. Plutarch. Thes. 16. Qu. Gr. 35. A similar, though still stranger legend concerning the Bottiæans may be seen in Strabo VI. pp. 279, 282. Compare Etymol. Magn. in *Βόρρεια*. The Cretan traditions may perhaps have found a resting-place in the temple at Ichnæ.

^h Thuc. II. 100. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. The name Europus (Justin VII. 1. speaks of an ancient king Europus in this country, and according to Steph. Byz. *Εὐρωπὸς* and *Ἄρω-*

πὸς were the sons of Macedon) reminds us of Ceres Europa, the Hermionean Europs, and the Cretan Europa. The Cretan *Ἰδομενεὺς* implies the existence of a place named *Ἰδομένη*.
ⁱ I. 57. Compare *Orchomenos* p. 444. note 1.

^k See above, p. 475. note ^ε.
^l *Πύβλη* occurs again in the sacred Pytna of Crete. The poetical associations chiefly clung to the district above Dium, where Pimple and Leibethrum were situated.

^m See above, p. 491. note ^κ. Strabo, who calls the Eordi

in earlier times, a small, and, in later, a considerable portion obeyed the Macedonian kings. And, lastly, the subjection of the Bisaltæ, who even in the time of Perseus formed one of the chief parts of the kingdom of Macedonⁿ, joined to that nation a people of purely Thracian descent; and the Macedonians, in the political meaning of the word, ceased more and more to be a regular nation, or a body of men of the same origin and language^o.

On the customs and language of the Macedonians.

32. In order to trace the national character and origin of the Macedonians it is necessary to distinguish three things; first, their Illyrian descent; secondly, their extension over other, for the most part Grecian countries; and thirdly, the introduction by the ruling family, of the civilization and refinements of the Greeks; which must have gained great ground when Alexander the Philhellene offered himself as a combatant at the Olympic games, and honoured the poetry of Pindar^p; and when Archelaus, the son of Perdiccas, the same person who first established many fortresses and roads in his dominions, and formed a Macedonian army^q, nay, even had it in view to procure a navy^r, and had tragedies of Euripides acted at his court under the direction of that poet. These changes must have chiefly affected the regions near the sea; for they could not have equally extended to the Macedonians of Lynceus, &c. who

Illyrians (above, §. 26.), yet speaks only of the Macedonian inhabitants of Eordia. Hesychius and Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1342. call the Eordi Macedonians. Stephanus Byz. in "Αμυρος has a confused passage on the Amyri, who, according to Suidas were Eordi.

ⁿ Liv. XLV. 30.

^o Compare now Heyne Opsc. Acad. IV. p. 165. *Macedonas e multis barbarorum populis, Thracum inprimis et Pelas-*

gorum, quibus Græcorum exigua pars accesserat, coaluisse. Schlözer Weltgeschichte vol. I. pag. 290. *The Macedonians, brothers of the Thracians, and entirely different from the Greeks, among whom they were long called barbarians, wandered about their mountainous country, divided into 150 hordes, when a Heraclide &c.*

^p Solinus IX. 16.

^q Thuc. II. 100.

^r Solinus IX. 17.

even in the time of Strabo had the greatest resemblance to the Dassaretians, Taulantians, &c. and until the overthrow of the Macedonian monarchy preserved their ancient savage habits; which Livy only partially accounts for by their intercourse with neighbouring barbarians^s.

33. Since the Illyrian tribes were never distinguished for that original invention which imagined new gods and established new modes of worship; while, on the other hand, they readily adopted strange deities^t; we find among the Macedonians more traces of foreign than native religion. Certain deities which the Greeks compared with the Sileni they called Sauadæ^u, as the Illyrians called them Deuadæ^x; a native Macedonian god of health was named Darrhon^y; there was also a god called Deipatyrus among the neighbouring Stymphæans^z. The wide extension of the worship of Bacchus must be ascribed to the vicinity of, and early intercourse with Pieria: the Macetian women were celebrated as wild and raging Bacchantes^a. The worship of Jupiter appears to have been early introduced among the Macedonians from mount Olympus^b. Hercules, the heroic

^s XLV. 30. *ferociore eos et accolæ barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos*. An intercourse in peace, among free and hardy nations, presupposes a certain degree of resemblance. At the present time the wild Orestæ are stated to be very different from the mild and social Zagoriots (Parauæans), *Geographische Ephemeriden* vol. XVII. p. 430.

^t As the Encheleans appear to have carried from the Bœotian incursion (*Orchomenos* p. 231.) the worship of Cadmus and Harmonia both to the region of Buthoë (Scylax p. 9. Steph. Byz. in *Βουθόν*), and to the Ceraunian mountains (Dionys. Perieg. v. 391. Apoll. Rh. IV. 517. for there were En-

cheleans in both places). Compare Apollodorus III. 5. 4. Scymnus Chius v. 437. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 389. Interpret. Virg. *Æn.* I. 243. ed. Mai.

^u Amerias ap. Hesych. in v.

^x Hesychius in *Δευάδαι*.

^y Hesychius et Favorinus in v.

^z Hesychius in v.

^a Plutarch Alex. 2. Polyæn. Stratag. IV. 1. Compare Athenæus V. pag. 198 E. Etym. Mag. et Suidas in *Κλώδονες*, Lycoph. v. 1237. Conon Narr. 45. Creuzer's *Symbolik* vol. III. p. 194. sq.

^b *Jovis templum, veterrima Macedonum religionis*, Justin XXIV. 2. Archelaus established Olympic games (Arrian I. 11.), who had himself been a con-

progenitor of the royal family, was worshipped in their first residence at Edessa^c: he was called in Macedonia Aretus^d. The worship of Apollo, which was prevalent in Macedonia at an early period^e, probably was introduced from Pythium on mount Olympus^f: that of Pan, at Pella, was perhaps derived from the Pelasgi^g.

34. Many barbarous customs of the northern nations, as, e. g., that of tattooing, which prevailed among the Illyrians and Thracians,^h must have fallen into disuse in Macedonia at a very early date: for the Greeks would not have forgotten to mention such evident proofs of barbarian descent. Even the usage of the ancient Macedonians that every person who had not killed an enemy should wear some disgraceful badge, had been discontinued in the time of Aristotleⁱ. Yet at a very late date no one was permitted to lie down at table who had not slain a wild boar without the nets^k. It is greatly to be lamented that we know much less of the ancient customs of the Illyrians than of the Thracians, of whose singular and almost Asiatic usages we are sufficiently well informed. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul in the worship of Zalmoxis, the lamentations of the Trausi at the birth of a man^l, and the slaughter of the dearest wife on the grave of her husband among the Sintes and Mædi^m, point to a particular view of human life, foreign to the Grecian character, but familiar to many eastern nationsⁿ. The prevailing custom of polygamy^o,

queror at the Olympic games at Elis, Solin. IX. 18. Perhaps also Musea in Macedonia, according to Arrian *ubi sup.*

^c Hesych. in Ἐδεσσαῖος.

^d Hesych. in Ἀρητος.

^e See above, p. 471. note 2.

^f Book II. ch. 1. §. 2.

^g Eckhel D. N. I. 2. p. 74. The Macedonian Venus, Zeyrene (Hesych. in v.) was perhaps the Zerynthian. Mars, according to Hesychius, was in Macedonia called Thaumus or Thaulus.

^h Herod. V. 6. Strab. VII. p. 315. Comp. Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 169 A.

ⁱ Polit. VII. 2. 6.

^k According to Hegesander ap. Athen. I. p. 18 A.

^l Herod. V. 4; according to Solinus X. 2. *apud plurimos.*

^m Herod. V. 5. comp. Solinus X. 3.

ⁿ Solinus X. 1. concludes *Thracibus barbaris inesse contentum vitæ ex quadam naturalis sapientiæ disciplina.*

^o See besides Herod. V. 5.

the buying and inheriting of women, the selling of children as slaves^p, and the delight in intoxication^q, are traces of a genuine barbarian character; no one of which, as far as I am aware, can be discovered among the Macedonians: with whom, moreover, the Thracian names (e. g. Cotys, and those ending in *cetes* and *sades*) never occur.

35. On the other hand, a military disposition, which still distinguished the Macedonians in the time of Polybius, personal valour, and a certain freedom of spirit, were the national characteristics of this people. Long before Philip organized his phalanx, the cavalry of Macedon was greatly celebrated, especially that of the highlands, as is shewn by the tetradrachms of Alexander the First. In smaller numbers they attacked the close array of the Thracians of Sitalces, relying on their skill in horsemanship and on their defensive armour^r. Teleutias the Spartan also admired the cavalry of Elimeas^s; and in the days of the conquest of Asia the custom still remained that the king could not condemn any person without having first taken the voice of the people or of the army^t.

36. It is difficult to treat of the Macedonian language, as not only the *ancient* period of the native dialect must be distinguished from the *second*, in which the Grecian language was partially introduced, after Archelaus, Philip, and Alexander made their people acquainted with Athenian civilization, but also from a *third*, in which many barbarous words were adopted from the mixture of the Macedonians with Indians, Persians, and Egyptians^u. Nevertheless it

Heraclid. Pont. Polit. 27. Strab. VII. pag. 297. Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 112 A.

^p Herod. V. 6. Heraclid. *ubi sup.* Solin. X. 4.

^q Solin. X. 5.

^r Thuc. II. 100. The *ἄντα ξύμμαχοι* are the Lyncestæ, &c.

^s Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 41. V. 3. 1. cf. Thuc. I. 61. 62.

^t Polyb. V. 27. 6. Curtius VI.

8. 25. (with Freinsheim's note) VI. 9. 34. Crophius Antiq. Maced. I. 6. II. 4.

^u Hence, for example, it cannot be inferred from the distinction between the Illyrian and Macedonian languages in Polyb. XXVIII. 8. 9. that the nations were originally of a different descent. Sturz *De Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina* has not sufficiently distinguish-

is possible to form a well-grounded opinion as to the form of the Macedonian language in the first period. In the first place, they had many barbarous words for very simple and common objects^x, which may be certainly considered as Illyrian, since among the *very scanty* relics of the Illyrian and Athamanian dialects^y there are some words which are also mentioned as Macedonian^z. Indeed without supposing some barbarous foundation of this kind we could hardly account for the Macedonian language being still unintelligible to the Greeks in the time of Alexander the Great^a. Yet it cannot be doubted that the Greek had passed into the Illyrian dialect *before* the introduction of Athenian literature, and that their combination produced the mongrel language which was afterwards called Macedonian. The nominatives in *α*, such as *ἱππότεα*, *πολιτεα*, &c. could not have been derived from the Athenians; but the Thessalians, the Dryopians, and probably all the Pelasgi, used that form^b. That some mixture of Greek had taken place at an early period seems also to be proved by the great and almost inexplicable change which the Grecian

ed the third period from the two first.

^x For example, Steph. Byz. in v. Βορμίσκος—ὅς κύνas τῇ πατρὶά φωνῇ ἑστερικὰς καλοῦσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες. The barbarous word *σκοῖδος*, signifying a kind of steward, which was used by Alexander in letters, and adopted by Menander (Photius pag. 523. 5.) can hardly be oriental. See also the collection of Sturz in the words *ἄβαγνα*, *ἄδδαι*, *ἄδῃ*, *ἄκρεα*, *ἄξος*, &c.

^y The Athamanes were Epirots according to Strabo, Illyrians according to Steph. Byz. in v. The words are not Grecian.

^z See above, *Σανάδαι*, and Athenæus III. pag. 114 B. concerning the Macedonian and

Athamanian word *δράμης* or *δράμης*.

^a This fact may be believed on the testimony of Curtius VI. 9. 35.

^b Apollonius de Construct. III. 7. calls it the Macedonian or Thessalian usage. Sturz p. 28. 5. infers chiefly from this that the Macedonian language was originally nearly the same as the Dorian. The coins, I may remark incidentally, prove nothing, as they were struck for intercourse with the Greeks. Adelung, on the other hand, considers the Macedonians as Thracians (to which nation he also refers the Illyrians), with a tinge of Greek civilization, *Mithridat*, vol. II. p. 359.

words experienced in the mouth of the Macedonians, who appear to have been unable to pronounce the letters Φ and Θ, and hence they always substituted B for the former, and Δ for the latter^c, perhaps from a peculiarity of the Illyrian nation. On the other hand, the Macedonian language had a consonant OT or V, as *Volustana*, the name of the country round Olympus^d, the *Candavian* mountains^e, &c. prove; and thus both in this and the former respect it approximated to the vocal system of the Latin.

^c See above, pag. 3. notes ^g and ^h.

^d Above, p. 485. note ^c. Hence the Cambunian mountains are now called Volutza.

^e Above, pag. 469. note ^g. The first syllable of this name appears to be the same as of

Cambunii montes, in which the second part is probably the word *βοῖρος*, which in modern Greek still means "a hill." In the names of Macedonian mountains, *Barnus*, *Bermius*, and *Bertiscus* (Ptolemy), there is probably the same root.

Note on the Map of Macedonia.

Since the annexed Map is entirely copied from that of Barbié du Bocage, as far as the country is concerned, I will only remark some important points in which Arrowsmith's great Map of Turkey, which is in part founded on quite different authorities, differs from it. In this Map the small lake to the east of Lychnis, or Lychnitis (the lake of Ochrida), is not connected with any river running to the coast, and the mountains to the west of it stretch uninterruptedly to the south. (Perhaps this is correct; see p. 469. note *ε*.) The Haliacmon rises rather more to the north than in Barbié du Bocage's Map. The Cara-Sou, which is certainly the Erigon, runs into the lake of the Lydias. (Incorrect, according to Strabo, quoted in p. 467. note *b*.) The Lydias has a longer course, and rises in the Illyrian mountains. The modern river Gallico, which I make the Echeidorus, flows at some distance from the sea through a lake into the Axios. The tributary branch of the Achelous, called by the ancients the Inachus, rises further to the south, under the Pindus-chain (contrary to the authors quoted in p. 469. note *f*). Upon the whole, Barbié du Bocage's Map is without doubt the more accurate.



1

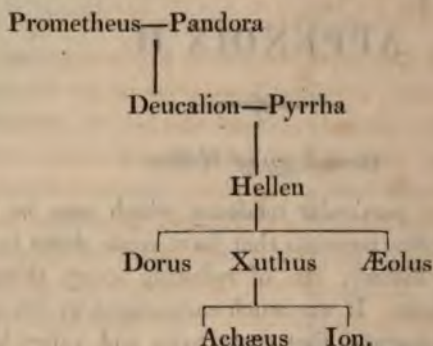
APPENDIX II.

Genealogy of Hellen.

THERE is a particular tendency which may be traced throughout all the accounts that have come down to us of early Grecian history, viz. of reducing every thing to a *genealogical* form. It was much encouraged by the opinion of the later historians, that every town and valley had received its name from some ancient prince or hero; thus even Pausanias meets with persons who explained every thing by means of genealogies^a; who, e. g., out of the Pythian temple at Delphi made a son of Delphus Pythis, a prince of early times. This tendency, however, is manifestly founded on the genuine ancient language of mythology. With the inventors of these fabulous narratives, nations, cities, mountains, rivers, and gods became real *persons*, who stood to one another in the relation of human beings, were arranged in families, and joined to one another in marriage. Now although such fictions are in many cases easily seen through, and the meaning of the connexion may be readily deciphered, yet these genealogies, as there was nothing of arbitrary and fanciful invention in them, in after-times passed for real history; and were, both by early and late historians, with full confidence in their general accuracy, made use of for the establishment of a sort of chronology. On these principles, then, the genealogies which were formed in the age of the later epic poets, and perhaps even of the early historians, (λογογράφοι,) cannot be considered as pure invention; these too must have been founded on certain arguments and facts, which were generally believed at that time. We will endeavour, first, to point this out in the famous genealogy of the chief races of the Greeks, which was taken from the *Ῥοῖαι* of Hesiod^b.

^a Pausan. X. 6. 5. οἱ μὲν δὴ γενεολογεῖν τὰ πάντα ἐθέλοντες &c.

^b Ἕλληνας δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλου βασιλῆος Δωρὸς τε Ζοῦθός τε καὶ Αἰόλος ἱππιοχάρμης. Tzet.



Now the passage of Hesiod only mentions the three brothers, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, without naming the sons of Xuthus; but it is evident that in this series Xuthus must also represent some race, or races; and since no tribe ever bore the title of *Xuthi*, this name must have been used by Hesiod to signify the Ionians and Achæans, as in Apollodorus, and other writers^c. According to another tradition, perhaps of equal antiquity, Jupiter, the father of gods and men, was, instead of Deucalion, the husband of Pandora^d.

It is evident that the above genealogy was intended to represent the chief races of the Hellenes, or Greeks, as belonging to one nation; and consequently could not have been made before the name Hellenes was applied to the whole nation; which in the *Iliad*^e is only the name of a

zes ad Lycoph. 284. and Schol. Apoll. Rh. III. 1085. Other poems of Hesiod are made use of by Schol. Hom. Od. χ'. 2.

^c Apollodorus I. 7, 3. Pausan. V. 1, 2. &c. from the circumstance that Achæus and Ion are represented as the *only* sons of Xuthus, I have inferred above that the Ionians were probably of an Achæan race. Bura, the Achæan town, was fabled to have been founded by Bura, a daughter of Ion; Pausan. VII. 25. 8.

^d Schol. Hom. Od. κ' 2. οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἑλλήν γόνος μὲν ἦν Διὸς, λόγῳ δὲ Δευκαλίωνος. Compare Pindar Pyth. IV. 167. who alludes to this fable, and Eurip. Melan. IV. 2.

^e Il. II. 684. (a verse, however, as Knight has remarked, of very doubtful authority); and compare IX. 395, 474. XVI. 595. The verse ἐγγεῖν δ' ἐκέαστο Πανελλήνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, II. 530. has been properly condemned by the Alexandrine critics.

small tribe in Phthia^f. The more extended use of the name falls in the period of the poems which went under the name of Hesiod^g: it is first thus used in the Works and Days of the real Hesiod^h, before which time therefore the above genealogy cannot have been formed. But that the author of it did not make an arbitrary fiction is evident from the circumstance that he put Xuthus instead of Achæus and Ion; by which he greatly deranged the symmetry of his genealogy. It is clear that he thought himself bound to respect the tradition, that Achæus and Ion were the sons of Xuthus; which prevented him from making Hellen their father. As yet therefore the other brothers were not recognised in tradition as having any fathers; and some obscure legends, such as that of Dorus, the son of Apolloⁱ, had not obtained a general belief. There can be no doubt that Hellen was recognised in the most ancient tradition. Now in the fictions of mythology the invention was bound by a sort of fanciful regularity; and in a fabulous genealogy the part was deduced from the whole, the species from the genus, as an inferior and subordinate being: thus in the Theogony the hills are the children of the earth, and the sun and the moon of light^k. Accordingly the poet (or

^f Or rather "near Phthia." Homer distinguishes Hellas and Phthia (Il. IX. 395, 478, 479. Od. XI. 115.); the tetrarchy of Phthiotis in later times included both.

^g *Æginetica* p. 155.

^h Hesiod. *Op. et Di.* 526. Βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαίνει. Compare Strabo VIII. p. 370. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πανελλήνων ἀντιλέγεται. Θουκυδίδης μὲν γὰρ τὸν ποιητὴν μηδαμῶς βαρβάρους εἰπεῖν φησι διὰ τὸ μηδὲ Ἑλληνὰς πῶς ἀντίπαλον εἰς ἐν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι. καὶ Ἀπολλώδωρος δὲ μόνους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θεταλίᾳ καλεῖσθαι φησιν Ἑλλήνας. Μυρμιδόνες δ' ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ Ἑλ-

λῆνες." Ἡσίοδον μέντοι καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ἤδη εἰδέναι καὶ Ἑλλήνας λεγομένους τοὺς σύμπαντας καὶ Πανελλήνας τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν Προϊτῶν λέγοντα ὡς Πανελλήνες ἐμνήστευον αὐτάς· τὸν δὲ, "Ὡς Πανελλήνων οἷζυς ἐς Θάσον συνῆδραμεν." It may be observed, that in the three most ancient passages in which the collective name of the Greeks occurs, viz. the verse in the Works and Days, the spurious line in the Iliad, and the passage in the *Hoiai* referred to by Strabo, they are called, not Ἑλλήνες, but Πανελλήνες.

ⁱ Apollodorus I. 7. 6.

^k Hes. *Theog.* 129, 371.

whoever was his authority) sang of Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, the progenitors of nations, being the sons of Hellen, the son of Jupiter, or grandson of Prometheus. It is possible that before this entire genealogy others had been invented, e. g., that *Dorus* was a son of Hellen; since, as early as the time of Lycurgus, the Spartans were commanded by the Pythian oracle to worship Jupiter Hellanius and Minerva Hellania¹; and since both the judges in the Spartan army^m and the judges of the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ. And when I consider the celebrated oracle just quoted, and the close connexion of Sparta and Olympia with Delphi, the sacred families of the Delphians (the *ἱερεῖς*), who referred their origin to Deucalionⁿ, and on the other hand remember that a Bæotian poem, composed in the neighbourhood of the Pythian oracle, first uses the word "Hellenes" in this extended sense; I cannot help conjecturing that this national sanctuary of the Hellenic name had a large share in the formation of that really beautiful legend; by which all the different races of Greece, separated for so many centuries by violent and unceasing contention, were united into the peaceable fellowship of brotherly affection and concord.

¹ Ap. Plutarch. *Lycurg.* 6. according to a certain emendation. See vol. II. p. 87. note¹.

^m Vol. II. p. 255.

ⁿ Above, p. 241.

APPENDIX III.

The migration of the Dorians to Crete.

CNOSUS^a, the Minoian Cnosus, was even so late as the time of Plato the first city in Crete, and the chief domicile of the Cretan laws and customs: and Plato, in his Treatise on Laws, takes a Cnosian as the representative and defender of the Cretan laws in general^b: although Cnosus about his time had declined from internal corruption, and the fame of having preserved the good laws of ancient Crete soon passed from her to Gortyna and Lyctus^c. In earlier times, however, the Cretan laws, (Κρητικοὶ νόμοι,) which Archilochus even mentions as being of a distinct character^d, were preserved in the greatest purity at Cnosus. Now when modern writers admit indeed that the Cretan laws were founded upon the customs of the Doric race, but affirm that this race did not penetrate into Crete before the expedition of the Heraclidæ, and that migrations subsequently took place from the Peloponnese; it is necessary for them first of all to shew that *Cnosus* received its Doric inhabitants from that country, i. e. probably either from Argos or Sparta. But had such been the case, the memory of these migrations would assuredly never have been lost: Argos and Sparta would have been too proud to possess such a colony. Cnosus must therefore have received its Doric inhabitants at an earlier date, in the dark ages of fable and mythology; and the subsequent colonies from the Peloponnese to Lyctus, Gortyna, and other places, helped to increase the Doric population, which in Homer's time^e was

^a See book I. ch. 1. §. 9.

compare p. 481. after Ephorus.

^b See particularly Plato de Leg. I. p. 636. VI. p. 752. Κνωσίους πρεσβέειν τῶν πολλῶν πόλεων.

^d Archilochus ap. Heraclid. Pont. πολιτ. Κρητῶν, fragm. 86. Gaisford.

^c See Strabo X. p. 476.

^e Hom. Od. XXIX. 175.

sqq.

confined to a *part* of the island, over the *whole* of Crete; as was the case in late ages. And at the time which Homer describes, not only the language, but the customs and laws were probably also different; whereas Archilochus appears to mention the Cretan laws as prevalent over the whole island. Upon the whole, the Dorians in Crete—and this is a fact of great importance—never seem to stand, with regard to the Dorians of the Peloponnese, in the relation of a colony to its mother country. In Greece, the parent state—so great was the pride of higher antiquity—never condescended to take the institutions of a colony as models for its own, as was the case with Sparta and Crete; nor did the mother country ever procure priests from its colony, as was the case when the Pythian Apollo sent Cretan priests to Sparta^f. In short, every thing seems to prove that the Doric institutions were of great antiquity in Crete, and that the distinction which has lately been taken between the laws of Minos and the Doric institutions and customs of Crete—a distinction directly opposed to the unanimous testimony of antiquity—is false and untenable.

^f See book III. ch. 1. §. 8.

APPENDIX IV.

History of the Greek congress or syndrion during the Persian war.

1. IN the present article it will be my object to trace the foreign influence which Sparta possessed at the time of the Persian war, and for what length of time her supremacy in Greece remained uncontested and unshaken. This is chiefly seen in the proceedings of the congress of the allied Greek states: to ascertain which with precision, it will be first necessary to fix the chronology of the successive stages of the Persian war.

In the course of the year 481 B. C. (Olymp. 74 $\frac{1}{4}$) Xerxes set out from his residence at Susa (Herod. VII. 20), found the great army assembled in Cappadocia, and marched to Sardis, from which town he sent ambassadors to the Greek cities (ib. 32). Having wintered here, the army marched in the spring of 480 B. C. (Olymp. 74. 4) to Abydos^a; when it had reached the passes of Pieria, the Persian envoys returned (ib. 131.). Soon after this, they met at Thermopylæ the Greek forces, which had set out before the 75th Olympiad and the Carnean games, about June 480 B. C. Battles of Thermopylæ and Artemisium in μέσον θέρος (VIII. 12.) both perhaps a short time before the Olympic festival (VIII. 26). Conquest of Attica, four months after the beginning of the διάβασις τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου (VIII. 51). Battle of Salamis, a little after the time of the Ἰακχός, after the σικάς of Boëdromion Olymp. 75. 1., as the Etesian winds were either blowing or had ceased to blow (they last from the summer solstice to the rising of the dog-star), VII. 168. Mardonius winters in Thessaly and Mace-

^a The eclipse of the sun, dotus, does not agree, and however, mentioned by Hero- must be an error, VII. 37.

donia, the Persian fleet at Cume and Samos. Battle of Plataea on the 26th or 27th of Panemus (Metagitnion), Olymp. 75. 2. 479 B. C. at the same time as that of Mycale. The year ends with the taking of Sestos.

2. The Greeks certainly received early intelligence of the preparations in Persia (VII. 138), even if the story related by Herodotus (VII. 239.) about the secret message of Demaratus is not true. They either refused or gave earth and water to the envoys late in the year 481 B. C. (VII. 138.). The states which refused to submit held a congress^b; and they are now called by Herodotus, "the Greeks allied against the Persians," (οἱ συναμύονται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, VII. 148.). This assembly of course was formed by deputies from the different cities: the *manner* of its formation may be inferred from the *place* at which it sat; and it will be shewn presently that it first assembled at Corinth, which city belonged to the Peloponnesian confederacy. It appears therefore that Sparta must have convened an assembly at Corinth, to which the extra-Peloponnesian states, which had refused earth and water, sent envoys. This congress first put an end to the internal dissensions of Greece (VII. 145.), in which good service Chileus of Tegea and Themistocles are said to have earned the gratitude of their countrymen (Plutarch Themist. 6.). Secondly, when they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, they despatched spies thither, and at the same time envoys to Argos, Sicily, Corcyra, and Crete (VII. 145. 199.). The envoys are stated by Herodotus to have been sent by the Lacedæmonians and their allies^c. They also made a vow to decimate to the Delphian God all those Greeks who had unnecessarily given earth and water to the Persians (VII. 132.); the persons who made this vow are called by Diodorus XI. 3. "the

^b Συλλεγομένων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονοόντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, Herod. VII. 145.

^c VII. 157. ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι [τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι]

καὶ οἱ τοῦτων σύμμαχοι. The words included in brackets are wanting in the family of the Passioneus and Florence MSS., and appear to be interpolated from c. 161.

"Greeks assembled in congress at the Isthmus," οἱ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ συνεδρεύοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

3. In this narrative taken from Herodotus there still remains one contradiction, viz. that if the Greeks did not assemble till after they had refused earth and water (as appears from VII. 138. cf. 145.), the Argives had no longer any option whether they would join the league or not. Likewise the dismissal of the Greek envoys would fall too late in the unfavourable season for sailing, and there would scarcely be time for the messages to the oracles (c. 148, 169.), and the other proceedings. It is therefore probable that this congress was formed *before* the arrival of the Persian envoys, which was late in 481 B. C.: and Diodorus seems to be correct in stating that of the nations some gave earth and water, while the Persian army was in the valley of Tempe, and others after its departure (XI. 3.); and therefore none till early in 480 B. C.: previously the ambassadors were probably in the north; Herodotus in VII. 138. appears to mean only the ambassadors of Darius. With this the following statements agree, which he adds in VII. 172. "*As soon as* the Thessalians had heard that "*the Persians wished to invade Europe*"—which they must have known in the winter of 481-80 B. C.—"*they sent envoys to the Isthmus.*" Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ (i. e. in the village which had grown up about the temple of Neptune), ἔσαν ὀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι (plenipotentiaries, VI. 7.) τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονιουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Now this assembly, while the Persian king was at Abydos, and therefore very early in 480 B. C., sent the army to Tempe, which soon returned (VII. 173.), and indeed returned to the Isthmus, which must therefore have been the head-quarters of the allied army. When it returned, the congress was still sitting at the Isthmus^d. This synedrion or assembly (which is again mentioned in this place by Diodorus XI. 4.) now resolved to defend the passes of Thermopylæ and Artemisium; and when the in-

^d Herod. VII. 176. where both the troops and the congress. the words οἱ Ἕλληνες include

telligence arrived that the Persians were in Pieria, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ (i. e. departing from the Isthmus) ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῶν, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίον. But that the Isthmus was still the place in which the congress sat, is evident from the fact, that Sandoces, Aridolis, and Penthylus, who fell into the hands of the Greeks before the battle of Artemisium, were sent thither (VII. 195.). At this time indeed the Peloponnesians were celebrating the Olympiad, and the Spartans the Carneia, at their respective homes^c, after which, as had been previously arranged, they were to take the field with all their forces (πανδημεῖ, VII. 206. VIII. 26.). Nevertheless, the decree that the ships which came too late for Artemisium, should assemble in the Troezenian Pogon (VIII. 42.), as well as the other, that the Isthmus should be fortified (VIII. 40, 71.), which measure was not thought of before the battle of Thermopylæ, must have been passed in this interval. Diodorus (XI. 16.) mentions the syndedrion in connection with this decree. The fortification began after the Carneia (VIII. 72.). The fleet was commanded (as is evident from VIII. 2, 9, 56, 58, 74, 108, 111. IX. 90.) by the Spartan admiral and a council, a συνέδριον of the στρατηγοὶ or ἐν τέλει ὄντες (IX. 106.), in which the admiral τὸν λόγον προετίθει (VIII. 59.) put the question to the vote (ἐπεψήφισε, c. 61.), and gave out the decree. This commander was armed with very large powers, and Leotychidas concluded an alliance with the Samians (IX. 92.), and even the captains of the fleet debated on the projected migration of the Ionians (IX. 106.). Nor is it ever mentioned that the fleet received orders from the Isthmus. But the circumstance of the fleet's sailing to the Isthmus, after the battle of Salamis, for the decree on the ἀριστεῖα (VIII. 123.), is a proof that the Isthmus was still the seat of the confederate assembly. Diodorus likewise represents this decree as proceeding from the συνέδριον (XI. 55.); probably the

^c The former in the first the latter about the second, full-moon after the solstice, Corsini Fast. Att. I. 2. p. 453.

"Greeks," who refused to confirm the vote of the commanders (VIII. 124.), were the members of the league. The ships which had been engaged in the battle, returned home without any decision. Late in the year, after the eclipse of the sun on the 2nd of October, Cleombrotus had led the great allied army from the Isthmus, and soon afterwards died (IX. 10.). The decree for the following year, that the fleet should go to Ægina (VIII. 131.), may have proceeded either from the synedrium of the preceding year, or from *Sparta*. For that there were no longer any deputies assembled at Corinth is evident from the circumstance that the Ionian envoys only went to *Sparta* and Ægina (VIII. 132.); nor is the Isthmus afterwards mentioned as the seat of an assembly, although it was fortified until the middle of summer, till the time of the Hyacinthia (IX. 7.). After this time, Athens, Platæa, and Megara sent their envoys to *Sparta*, where there were also Peloponnesian envoys, as for instance Chileus of Tegea (IX. 9.), who was mentioned above among the πρόβουλοι; and all these, together with the ambassadors of the three states just mentioned, are, as it appears, called by Herodotus οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπικνύμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, IX. 10. There must probably have been some joint act of the allies^f, by virtue of which Pausanias was able to collect the great Peloponnesian army. After the battle of Platæa there was in the army a kind of council of war, doubtless a συνέδριον τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων, which regulated the number of the sacred offerings, divided the booty (IX. 81, 85.), and determined on the expedition against Thebes (c. 86.): the persons who were given up, Pausanias seems at Corinth to have ordered to execution on his own authority (c. 88.).

4. Such is the substance of the narrative of Herodotus; in which we can only be surprised, that of the most remarkable event, viz. the treaty of Pausanias, he should say not a word: a silence which can only be explained by supposing that he had intended to mention it in another passage of his

^f Diodorus speaks of a decree on the Isthmus is a rhetorical invention, XI. 29.

unfinished work. When Pausanias, with the assistance of the allies, had won the battle of Plataea, he sacrificed in the market-place of Plataea to Jupiter Eleutherius, and convened an assembly of all the Greeks, in which the Plataeans (who annually performed certain honorary rites to those who had fallen in the battle, Thuc. III. 58.) were promised that their country and city should remain independent, and that no one should attack them without lawful reason, or with intention to reduce them to subjection: and that in case these conditions were not observed, all the allies then present would protect them; (Thuc. VI. 71. cf. III. 56, 59.); an engagement which the Spartans themselves afterwards broke, on the ground that the Plataeans had first unjustly given up τὸ ξυνώμοτον (II. 74.). For in "the ancient treaty of Pausanias after the Persian war," it was ordered that the allies in general, and the Plataeans among them, should remain at peace with each other (Thuc. III. 68. cf. II. 72.). The further conditions of this treaty may be collected from Thucyd. I. 67, (for it is evidently this treaty which is in question,) where the Æginetans complain that they are not independent, "according to the treaty;" for the thirty years' truce (I. 115.) cannot be meant, as it was not concluded till after the subjection of Ægina (the former in Olymp. 83. 3. the latter in Olymp. 80. 4.); whence it is likewise evident that the treaty, which was violated by the siege of Potidæa, and the exclusion of the Megarians from the market of Attica, (I. 67, 87. cf. c. 144.) was the same ancient act, only renewed by later treaties. Thus Plutarch states that the latter prohibition was "contrary to the common principles of justice, and the solemn oaths of the Greeks." And in another place he mentions, that in a general assembly of the Greeks after the battle of Plataea, Aristides proposed a decree that the Greeks should annually send deputies and sacred messengers to Plataea, and that the Eleutheria should be solemnized every five years^h. Also, that it was agreed that an

^g Pericl. 39. παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι.
δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γεγενημένους ὅρκους

^h Aristid. 21. γενομένης ἐκκλη-

allied Greek armament should be organized against the Persians, consisting of 10,000 heavy-armed infantry, 1000 cavalry, and 100 ships: and that the Platæans should be considered sacred and inviolable. From what has been stated above, it is clear how much of this account is true, and how much added by Athenian partiality.

5. In the following years, when Sparta still continued the war against the Persians and their allies by means of Pausanias and Leotychidas, there must have been a congress, though not constantly sitting; since the Spartans would not have determined the amount of "the war contribution" on their own authority; and there is much probability in the account of Diodorus (XI. 55.), that the Spartans summoned Themistocles for his share in the treason of Pausanias before the common-council of the Greeks, which used at this time to assemble at Sparta. At least it is not contradicted by Thucydides; indeed his narrative (I. 135.) perfectly agrees in this point with that of Diodorus. The words ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, which are omitted in some MSS. of Diodorus, and suspected by Wesseling (yet, it should be observed, *only* these words), cannot be well spared; and even if they were expunged, the whole chapter would shew that the congress was sitting at Sparta; for it was evidently under Lacedæmonian influence, and therefore met in the Peloponnese; and, since the instance mentioned above, it does not appear that any of its meetings were held at the Isthmus.

This account likewise proves, that after Pausanias had occasioned the defection of the Ionians and Æolians from Sparta, who were now considered as the separate allies of Athens, a confederate council, which included other states besides the Peloponnesians, continued to sit at Sparta; and affords fresh grounds for supposing that this abandonment of the Spartan alliance was not considered as a transfer of

σίας κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔγραψεν καὶ θεωροῦν, ἄγεσθαι δὲ πεντατη-
 Ἀριστείδης ψήφισμα, συνιέναι μὲν ρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἑλευθερίων.
 εἰς Πλαταιάς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἰ ἀναφορὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, Plu-
 τοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβούλους tarch. Aristid. 24.

the chief command to Athens, but that Sparta only intrusted the Athenians, together with those Greeks who dwelt in the territory of the Persian king, with the continuation of the war in Asia, and the management of all affairs connected with it; and still considered Athens as under her command, until that state revolted in Olymp. 79. At last the internal wars of the Peloponnese, Olymp. 79—81, subverted all the relations of Athens and Sparta.

APPENDIX V.

Of the ancient writers on the Mythology of Hercules.

1. IT would without doubt increase our knowledge both of the Epic Poetry and Mythology of the Greeks, if these two branches of learning were placed in a nearer relation to each other, by combining researches into the contents of the Epic Poems with a systematic investigation of the various characters assumed by the mythological traditions at different periods. The following brief remarks must be considered as merely intended to awaken the industry of those who are better fitted than myself to undertake such a task, and perhaps to give some small assistance towards the discovery of a method, which may afford greater certainty to mythological inquiries, and extend the range of literary discussions.

2. Plutarch had composed a work *Περὶ Ἡρακλέους* which he himself quotes in *Vit. Thes.* 28. *Fragm.* p. 353. What authorities he esteemed the most worthy of credit may be gathered from the following passage, "*Of the ancient authors who were skilled in tradition, neither Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Peisander, Stesichorus, Alcman, or Pindar ever had any idea of an Egyptian or Phœnician Hercules: all recognize one Hercules only, viz. the Boeotian and Argive.*" Here we should remark, in the first place, that Peisander, agreeably to his great antiquity, is placed between Archilochus and Stesichorus, and Panyasis omitted as an author of too late a date. But besides these

² De Herod. Malign. 14. p. 294. καὶ τοὶ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ λογίων ἀνδρῶν οὐχ Ὅμηρος, οὐχ Ἡσίοδος, οὐκ Ἀρχιλόχος, οὐ Πείσανδρος, οὐ Στησίχορος, οὐκ Ἀλκμάν,

οὐ Πίνδαρος Αἰγυπτίου ἔσχον λόγον Ἡρακλέους ἢ Φοίνικος, ἀλλ' ἕνα τοῦτον ἴσασι πάντες Ἡρακλέα τὸν Βοιωτίῳ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἀργεῖον.

poets, Plutarch made great use of Herodorus of Heraclea on the Pontus^b, to whose authority we shall frequently recur; since the accounts of this mythology given by later authors are only of value so far as they are founded upon authorities of more ancient date. Herodorus was the father of Bryson, the Sophist^c, and a contemporary of Socrates^d; and hence, as he was older than the school of Ephorus, but later than the *λογογράφοι*, he occupies an interesting position in the historical treatment of tradition. He wrote in prose, like the *Logographi*; but his style of narrative was probably more copious and rhetorical.

3. The fragments of the Heraclea of HERODORUS, which are often not easy to distinguish from those of his Argonautics, should probably be arranged as follows. In Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 747, Herodorus relates the origin of the Teleboans from Perseus, similarly to Apollod. II. 4. 5, only that in the latter Pterelas is the *father*, in the former the *son* of Taphius. Herodorus called the Argives *Ἀργεῖαι*, according to Steph. Byz. in *Ἀργεῖς*, on the authority of ancient poets. (Nothing further can be gathered from this passage.) In Athenæus XI. p. 474. F. he speaks of the goblet, *καρχήσιον*, which Jupiter presented to Alcmena. In Schol. Theocr. XIII. 9. he relates that Hercules was brought up amongst the cattle of Amphitryon. Agreeing with Apollodorus, II. 4. 9. Ibid. ad v. 56. Hercules made use of the Scythian bow, being instructed by Teutares the Scythian, according to Herodorus and Callimachus (Fragm. 365.). This account is not found in any earlier author; it probably was a legend of the Pontus. Athen. XIII. p. 556. F. that Hercules deflowered the fifty daughters of Thestias in seven nights; according to Apollodorus in fifty. Schol. Pind. Isthm. IV. 104. that Hercules was twice afflicted with madness; i. e. once at the death of his children, and a second time after the death of Iphitus. In Tatian, quoted vol. I. p. 449. note ⁱ, on the origin of the Nemean lion from the

^b See Heeren de Fontibus *Ueber den Apollonios*. p. 156. Plutarchi p. 17.

^d With whose disciples Bryson lived, Athen. XI. p. 391.

^c As is shewn by Weichert

moon. In Schol. Plat. Phæd. p. 11. ed. Ruhnken. 381. Bekker, the story of the assistance given by Iolaus against the crab: the same as in Apollodorus. In Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 128, Hercules brings the wild boar as far as the gates of Mycenæ. In Schol. Pind. Olymp. V. 10. he erects the six altars of the twelve Θεοὶ σύμβωμοι, at Olympia, which Herodorus enumerated at length. With this was probably connected the account of the immense stature of Hercules, viz. four cubits one foot; so that we should read in Schol. Isth. IV. 87. (comp. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 662. and Chil. II. 265.) Ἡρόδωρος γοῦν ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι (in the contest at Olympia) φησὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν περιτεύειν, ὥστε τὸ ὅλον σῶμα πηχῶν εἶναι τεσσάρων καὶ ποδῶς, for the ancients determined the stature of Hercules from the Olympic stadium measured by him, Gell. Noct. Att. I. 1. where Pythagoras is quoted on the same point—Comp. Solinus I. 88. and Apollod. II. 4—9. who appear to have derived their information from Herodorus. Concerning the battle with the Amazons he relates, (Plutarch Thes. 26.) agreeing with Pherecydes and Hellanicus, (see Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1332.) that “Theseus embarked after Hercules on his own account for the country of Amazons.” Here doubtless our historian of Heraclea introduced the traditions of his native city; in all probability Apollodorus also drew his materials from him in this part. Respecting Idmon, the son of Abas, in Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 139; as to his death in the country of the Mariandynians, ad II. 815; concerning his tomb in the market-place of Heraclea, ad II. 848. (comp. Heyne ad Apollod. Observ. vol. II. p. 357.) Concerning Lycus, the son of Dascylus king of the Mariandynians, see Schol. ibid. II. 752. comp. Weichert ut supr. p. 174. Herodorus also differed from other authors respecting Hercules in representing the dragging up of Cerberus from the infernal regions as having taken place near Heraclea, Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 356. comp. Dionys. Perieg. 788. That this was also a tradition current at Heraclea is proved by the coin cited vol. I. p. 443. note u, and by the sacred offering mentioned by Pausan. V. 26. 6. In the 10th book he treated of the journey to Geryoneus;

for in this there was a geography of Iberia inserted from Constantinus Porphyrog. de Adm. Imp. II. 23. in the editions of Stephanus Byz. in Ἰβηρίαι· τὸ δὲ Ἰβηρικὸν γένος τοῦτο, ὅπερ φημὶ οἰκεῖν τὰ παράλια τοῦ διάπλου, διώρισται ὀνόμασιν ἐν γένος ἐὼν κατὰ φύλα. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦντες τὰ πρὸς δυσμέων Κύνητες ὀνομάζονται. ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ ἤδη πρὸς βορέαν ἰόντι Γλῆτες, μετὰ δὲ Τартήσιοι, μετὰ δὲ Ἑλβυσίνιοι, μετὰ δὲ Μαστιγολί, μετὰ δὲ Καλπιανοί, ἔπειτα δὲ ἤδη ὁ Ῥόδανος. cf. Steph. in Κυνητικὸν and Γλῆτες. There are some Ionicisms in this passage; but it would be dangerous to introduce them throughout merely on conjecture. In the geography of these districts Herodorus is better informed than Hecataeus and Herodotus; see Uckert's Geographie, vol. II. part II. p. 245—51, where however the date given to Herodorus is too recent. In his return Hercules crossed through Italy; hence Herodorus mentioned the Peucetii as Πευκετεῖς, Steph. Byz. in v. Herodorus also spoke of the liberation of Prometheus by Hercules, Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 1248. probably during his voyage to the Hesperides: out of the fable he made an ancient Scythian history. Thus, in my opinion, he was the first to relate how Hercules learnt prophecy and natural philosophy from Atlas, according to Clemens of Alexandria, Strom. I. p. 306, which story indicates the influence of the sophistry of that period on the treatment of mythological fables. The servitude under Omphale was related by Herodorus precisely in the same manner as it is in Apollodorus, and it was made to account for his not having taken part in the expedition of the Argonauts, Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1289. Apollod. I. 9. 19. p. 356. Heyne. Apollodorus also, in his narrative of the actions of Hercules, makes no mention of the Argonautic expedition. In the 17th book the murder of the boy Eunomus also occurred among the Ætolian traditions. (Athen. IX. p. 410. F.) The agreement of this passage with Apollod. II. 7, 5. is the more remarkable, as the name of this cupbearer occurs in other places with great variation. The only memorial of his account of the victory of Hercules over the Dryopes is the word Δρυοπαῖοι, Steph. Byz. in Δρυόπη. Herodorus ap-

pears to have related the conquest of Æchalia very similarly to Apollodorus, see vol. I. p. 426. note ⁱ. At the end of his life he makes Theseus join Hercules previously to the battle between the Centaurs and Lapithæ. But the earlier initiation of the hero at Eleusis, through the mediation of Theseus, as well as the liberation of Theseus from hell, and probably all other Attic fables respecting Hercules, were unnoticed by Herodorus, Plutarch. *Thes.* 29, 30. We may add, that the fable of Cerberus was related by him in a manner perfectly different from the other authorities. Moreover, the exemption from hunger enjoyed by Hercules is also quoted from the fifth book, (*Proclus ad Hesiod. O. et D.* 40) and also, though without reference to any particular book, it is related that the hero esteemed the vulture as the most lucky omen. *Aristot. Hist. An.* VI. 6. IX. 12. *Plutarch. Rom.* 9. *Quæst. Rom.* 93.

4. By comparing this collection of fragments with the narrative of Apollodorus, we perceive that this author chiefly owes the connection of his fables to Herodorus; although several variations are perceivable, particularly where the passages in Apollodorus are confused and corrupt. Herodorus has, as might be expected, much of the style of the rationalizing mythologists. He introduced geographical and ethnographical digressions, by which mythology entirely lost its peculiar character; he reasoned on the contemporaneousness of fabulous events, and explained away miraculous and strange fables. With respect to the sources of his information, he perhaps extracted and connected the greatest part of his fables from the *Logographi*, particularly *Pherecydes*, or more immediately from ancient epic poems. He derived, however, a large part originally from local traditions, particularly respecting the adventures of Hercules in his native town *Heraclea*. For, as far as we know, no earlier author had related these circumstances; certainly none in so precise and detailed a manner.

5. Among the *Logographi*, the first that occurs is *Pherecydes*, of whom our notice may be the more brief, as his fragments have been collected by *Sturz*. The killing of

Electryon by Amphytryon was related in the same way as in Apollod. II. 4. 5., with a slight variation from Hesiod. Scut. Herc. 10. Fragm. 12. ed. Sturz. Concerning the expedition against the Teleboi, he agreed with Apollodorus; and concerning the goblet given by Jupiter to Alcmena, with Herodorus in Athen. XI. p. 474. F. Fragm. 12. Here the account, which was afterwards universally followed, appears to have been first settled by Pherecydes. For the destruction of the serpents by the youthful Hercules, Apollodorus quotes Pherecydes. He also represents Hercules throwing the children of Megara into the fire, similarly with Apollodorus (Schol. Pind. Isth. IV. 104. Fragm. 11.) Unfortunately Apollodorus never mentions the names, see Hemsterh. ad Lucian. vol. I. p. 237. Respecting the Stymphalides in Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 1055. Pherecydes agrees with Apollodorus, his information being probably derived from Peisander. Concerning the Molionidæ, Fragm. 47. These fragments, according to Athen. XI. p. 474. F. Schol. Pind. Isth. IV. 104. appear to be all taken from the second book, comp. Matthiæ in Wolf's *Analect.* I. 2. p. 235. In the third book Pherecydes related the journey of Hercules to Erythea (comp. Strabo III. p. 169) and amongst other events, that he compelled the sun by his arrows to deliver up the *ὄπας*, in which that deity sailed round, after setting, from the west to the east, and went in it to the island over the ocean, which he also calmed by his darts. Athen. XI. p. 470. Macrob. Sat. V. 21. fragm. 14. Apollodorus II. 5. 10. gives a brief account of the same story. The more prosaic Herodorus probably made no mention of it. Pherecydes, however, followed Stesichorus instead of Peisander or Panyasis, who represented Hercules as receiving the cup from Oceanus or Nereus. Thus Apollodorus' account of the adventure with the Hesperides was also merely extracted from Pherecydes: when he deviates from that author, he at the same time disfigures the fable. The narrative of Pherecydes (from the same book according to Matthiæ) in Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 1396. is connected and beautiful; but we should with

Heyne read *περαία* for *Πίργη*. Apollodorus, however, has from another authority connected the Hyperboreans with the Hesperides, and mount Caucasus with Prometheus; (Pherecydes clearly places Prometheus on the further extremity of the earth;) and introduced an adventure in Rhodes, which does not connect well in this place. Pherecydes, like Apollodorus, probably placed the hero Emathion in Arabia; for the account in Schol. Hesiod. Theog. 985. of Macedonia being called Emathia after him, cannot have been taken from Pherecydes (Sturz. fragm. 30.). This author, in his story of Antæus, also mentioned Palæmon the son of Hercules by the wife of the Libyan giant (Sturz. p. 136. ed. 2.), and placed him in Irassa, near the lake Tritonis (Schol. Pind. Pyth. IX. 183.). It is, however, difficult to discover from what authority Pherecydes drew this tradition. Peisander also made mention of Antæus in his poem, but probably in a different manner. Pherecydes mentioned Busiris by name, after Hesiod, and perhaps Panyasis (fragm. 30. comp. below, §. 7.). There is some difficulty in reconciling two passages of Pherecydes respecting Hercules and the Æchalians, viz. those in Schol. Hom. Odyss. XXI. 22. and Schol. Sophocl. Trachin. 354. Sturz. fragm. 46. Indeed Sturz supposes Pherecydes to have spoken of two Eurytuses of Æchalia, and given the same account of both; which is however highly improbable. In my opinion, in the second passage the words *Ἰφίτης δὲ ἔφυγεν εἰς Εὐβοίαν* should be separated from the account of Pherecydes; after which the tradition will run as follows: Hercules comes *μετὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα* (what contest we know not) to Æchalia, which in Pherecydes is the Messenian Arcadian town (above, p. 427. note 9.), and demands Iole for his son Hyllus, is repulsed by Eurytus, and thereupon steals the horses. Iphitus comes to seek these in Tiryns, and Hercules hurls him from the Cyclopiian wall. Next comes the story of his being sold to Omphale; after that, the taking of Troy, the adventure in Cos (Schol. Venet. Il. XIX. 255.), connected in the same manner is in Homer; and then the taking of Æchalia. Afterwards he became

king of Mycene, and according to the fragment in Anton. Liberal. 33. Sturz. No. 50, enjoyed this dignity till death: whence it follows, that as to the last part of this fable, the scene of which lies in Thessaly, Apollodorus did *not* draw his information from Pherecydes. How he narrated these fables we know not. According to Schol. Pind. Olymp. VII. 42. he called the mother of Tlepolemus Astygenia the daughter of Phylas, which nearly agrees with Apollodorus. In the second book Pherecydes mentioned the origin of the Dryopes; in the third, their settlements. (Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1212.) If the account there given be taken chiefly from Pherecydes, that author's narrative as to the oxen of Theiodamas was the same as in Apollodorus. Hercules, according to Hesiod and Pherecydes, left the Argo on its arrival at the coast of Magnesia (Apollod. I. 9. 19. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1290. Sturz. p. 182.). For his expedition against the Amazons, see above, §. 3.

6. HELLANICUS, a contemporary of Pherecydes, appears never to have given a connected account of the labours of Hercules, except in his *Ἱστορίαι*: he probably merely made mention of them incidentally, and often with a partial historical reference. We gather the following accounts from his writings. Respecting the Stymphalides, see the account in Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 1055. Sturz. fragm. 88. which differs a little from Pherecydes. The mares of Diomedes tear in pieces Abderus, the favourite of Hercules (Steph. Byz. in *Ἀβδηρα*, fragm. 180.). From this, Apollod. II. 5. 8. The march through Italy, the return from Geryon, in Dionys. Halic. I. 35. fragm. 107. being introduced. Here Hellanicus derived the name of Italy from *Vitulus*. He related the abode of Hercules with Omphale at full length, (Steph. in *Ἀκέλη*, fragm. 111.). Respecting the altar of Hercules *Καλλίνικος*, erected by Telamon at the taking of Troy, Hellanicus gave the same account as Apollodorus (II. 6. 4. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 469. fragm. 138.). He represented this hero as taking a part in the Argonautic expedition, and proceeding with all the Argonauts against the Amazons (Schol. Pind. Nem. III. 64. fragm. 118.). Instead of

Hylas he mentioned a certain Theiomenes, the son of Theiodamas (Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 131. fragm. 84.). He called the Caledonian boy, not Eunomus, but Archias (fragm. 52.). Several of these quotations shew that whilst the simple Pherecydes adhered strictly to the ancient poets, and only occasionally filled up some chasms in the history, Hellanicus endeavoured with greater freedom to reconcile mythology with history and geography. It also seems probable that Hellanicus was the first who treated of the actions of Hercules chronologically, viz. in his work on the priestesses of Argos. The celebrated Farnese stucco tablet, which represents the consecration of Hercules, has this inscription: ΗΡΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΙΕΡΕΙΑ ΑΔΜΑΤΑ ΕΥΡΥΣΘΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΜΑΤΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΑΜΦΙΔΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΤΗ ΝΗ. i. e. "*the canonization of Hercules by the Argive priestess took place in the 58th year of Admeta.*" The Alexandrine chronologists, followed by Clemens of Alexandria (Strom. I. p. 382.), fix the apotheosis of Hercules 38 years after the commencement of his reign in Mycenæ, which they probably placed towards the end of his life, and in so doing they perhaps followed Hellanicus. For it may easily be gathered from Herodotus (II. 145.) that their chronological calculations were in part anterior to that author.

For HECATÆUS's version of the fable of Hercules I refer to Creuzer (Fragm. Histor. Antiq. p. 45.). Hecataeus related the slaying of the Hydra (Ælian. H. A. IX. 23.), the capture of the Erymanthian boar at Psophis (Steph. Byz. in Ψωφίς, according to Salmasius); he clearly explains the fable of Cerberus by a serpent of Tænarum (Paus. III. 25. 4.). Hercules' love for Auge, and her fate, was related (Pausan. VIII. 4. 6. 47. 3.) in a manner somewhat different from the account in Apollodorus. He confined the fable of Geryoneus to Ambracia and Amphilochoi (see above, p. 435. note c.) He placed the town of Œchalia in Eubœa, with Creophylus, and attempted to ascertain its precise situation (Ibid. p. 428.). On the abode of the Heraclidæ in the house of Ceyx we have a fragment of Hecataeus (above, p. 428. note t.). His account of the last

actions of Hercules was therefore quite different from that of Pherecydes, and more resembled that of Herodorus and Apollodorus, although this latter writer has admitted parts of different versions.

7. We next come to PANYASIS, whose fragments we must collect and arrange, before we can form any judgment of the sources of his information and the style of his narrative. Panyasis, son of Polyarchus, flourished at the time of the Persian war (Olymp. 72. 4. Euseb. comp. Næke's Chœrilus p. 14. sqq). The story of his being the uncle of Herodotus is supported by the circumstance of his being called an Halicarnassian and a Samian, Duris ap. Suid. in Πανύασις, cf. Suid. in Ἡρόδοτος; Herodotus also passed part of his life at Samos. Thus Panyasis occupies an intermediate place between the studied poetry of Antimachus and the simple narrative of the latter Cyclic poets, the spirit of whose poetry was again revived by the endeavours of Panyasis; so that the Alexandrines placed him among the five principal epic poets, and some went so far as to compare him with Homer; see also Dion. Halicar. τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίσις, ch. 11. p. 419. ed. Reiske. Πανύασις δὲ τὰς τ' ἀμφοῖν (Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀντιμάχου) ἀρετὰς ἠνέγκατο καὶ αὐτῶν πραγματεία καὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν οἰκονομίᾳ διήνεγκεν.

If this whole work consisted of fourteen books and 9000 verses, many events, particularly in the middle, must have been detailed at great length; since the contents above narrated were all contained in the first book. In my opinion, Panyasis passed briefly over those adventures which had been celebrated by others, but indulged his fancy in amplifying traditions which were less known, such as the residence of Hercules in Lydia. His account of the murder of Hercules' children somewhat resembled that of Stesichorus, but was different from the Theban tradition, Paus. IX. 11. 1. Steph. Byz. in Βέμβινα has preserved two verses from the first book respecting the Nemean lion (fragm. 7. ed. Gaisford).

Δέρμα τε θήρειον Βεμβινήταο λέοντος,

and

Καὶ Βεμβινήταο πελώρου δέρμα λέοντος;

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It is not necessary however that either of them should have belonged to the description of the battle; they may have occurred occasionally in an account of the dress of Hercules which Panyasis described as a club and lion's skin. With the hydra he also mentioned the crab, but represented Hercules himself as trampling upon it. Eratosth. Cataster. 11. Next came the other labours. The expedition against Geryoneus was also related in the first book. Hercules, according to Panyasis, received from Nereus the goblet in his voyage, Athen. XI. p. 469. D. comp. Macrobian. Sat. V. 21. On other circumstances related by Panyasis see Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 31. ed. Potter, emended by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 161. Schol. Od. XII. 301. In all probability Panyasis was the first who connected with the journey to the Hesperides the account of the sacrifice of Hercules, as the Ionians related it in Herodotus II. 45. πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι λέγων πέμματα, πολλὰς δὲ νοσάδας ὄρνεις. Athen. IV. p. 172. D. It is not expressly stated whether he was acquainted with the name of Busiris; Pherecydes however mentioned it; and it occurred in one of the poems of Hesiod, some of which reach so low as the 30th Olympiad. It appears indeed that he was not there mentioned in connexion with Hercules, as he is placed eight generations before the birth of that hero (Theon. Progym. c. 6. p. 87.); but this is evidently only a modern inference, made from the statement of the parents of Busiris in Hesiod and the common genealogies, which were probably disregarded by the ancient poet. Panyasis described the contest with the serpent, from which in later times the constellation Engonasin received its name, Hygin. Poet. Astr. 6. p. 369. Schaub. ad Eratosth. 4. p. 77. The verses in Athenæus XI. p. 498. B. are from the third book (fragm. 3.)

τοῦ κεράσας κρητῆρα μέγαν χρυσοῖο φαεινὸν
σκύππους αἰνύμενος θαμέας πότον ἥδ' ὄν' ἔπινε.

Connected with these is probably the invitation to a stranger to drink, preserved in Stobæus and Athenæus (fragm. 1.). In this part the verse perhaps occurred, quoted in

Schol. Pind. Pyth. III. 77. from the third book of the Heraclea (fragm. 5.),

καί ρ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ κόλποιο τροφῶν θόρε ποσσὶ Θουῶνῃς.

in which the youthful power of Dionysus or Bacchus is described, like that of Mercury in the Homeric Hymn. The beautiful fragment *πρῶται μὲν Χάριτές τ' ἔλαχον καὶ εὐφρονες ὦραι* κ. τ. λ. &c. and the following in Athen. II. p. 36. D. F. fragm. 6. (cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. VI. p. 622. B.) appear to be taken from the book. The question then arises, what banquet Panyasis describes so particularly. Probably, after the example of Stesichorus, that given by Pholus. We must however suppose that he did not, like the more modern writers, connect the adventure with the Centaurs with the capture of the Erymanthian boar. Panyasis describes at length the journey into the infernal regions, and also the seat to which Theseus and Peirithous were chained (Pausan. X. 29. 2); whether he made the murder of Iphitus the cause of the servitude of Hercules, I know not; that it was imposed on him by the Pythian Apollo, I have shewn above (book II. ch. 11. §. 10.), and that some verses of Panyasis refer to this circumstance. By this means Hercules came to Lydia. For that Panyasis treated of the tradition respecting Omphale before Pherecydes and Hellanicus (vol. I. p. 457. note P.) is clear from Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 1149. Πανύασίς φησιν Ἡρακλέα νοσήσαντα ἐν Λυδίᾳ τυχεῖν σωτηρίας ὑπὸ Ὑλλου τοῦ ποταμοῦ (ἔστι δὲ Λυδίας), καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ Ὑλλοὺς κληθῆναι. We see from hence how completely the national fable had been corrupted. With this may be connected the five verses in Steph. Byz. in Τρεμιλεῖς, concerning the sons of Tremilus, whom Hercules was without doubt described in the following verses as having put to death (fragm. 9.). The fragment in Apollodorus III. 10, 3. probably belongs to the expedition against Hippocoon of Lacedæmon; see Schol. Eurip. Alcest. 1. Πάνυασις, ὅτι Τυνδάρεων (ἀνέστησεν Ἀσκληπιός). On the wounding of Pluto and Juno at Pylus see book II. ch. 12.

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§. 2. The founding of the Olympic games was probably first mentioned in the eleventh book, Steph. Byz. in 'Ασπίς. ἔστι καὶ πύραν Πίσσης, ὡς Παν. ἐν 'Ηρακλείας ἐνδεκάτῃ. In the adventures at Œchalia Panyasis followed the epic poem of Creophylus; and hence Clemens of Alexandria accuses him of plagiarism (Strom. VI. p. 628. Sylburg.); thus he also probably placed this town in Eubœa, and represented the conquest as having taken place at the end of the life of Hercules, with Apollodorus. I also find that Adonis was mentioned by Panyasis, (Hesychius, 'Ὁσίην τὸν Ἀδωνιν Πανύσις) and in Apollodorus III. 14, 4. Adonis is said to have been the son of Theias by Smyrna the daughter of Hercules. If these quotations are from the Heraclea, and not from the poem *Ionica*, we may also derive from Panyasis the well known anecdote of Hercules refusing to acknowledge Adonis as a god, see Schol. Theocr. V. 21. Hesychius and Suidas in οὐδὲν ἱερόν. The statement that Ceres came to Eleusin the father of Triptolemus (Apollod. I. 5, 2.) was probably in the 'Ιωνικά. We may also mention the article of Etymol. Mag. p. 196, 34. τὰ πεδία (read πῆλια), βαίολα Πανύσις. The Venetian and Wassenberg Scholia to Iliad VII. 591. have βίολα, and afterwards βῆλα; which last is probably the more correct form: see Heyne ad loc.

8. Our observations on the Geryonis of STESICHORUS may be still more brief. He treated an epic subject in a lyric style, *quippe qui carminis epici gravitatem lyra sustinuit*. It is certainly improper to attempt to reduce the fragments to hexameters, though this may frequently be effected with few alterations, since the Doric measure in which the *Γερωνίς* was composed, differs but little from the hexameter. Being a lyric poet, he allowed himself great license in the manner of treating his subject. The chief subject was the expedition against Geryoneus. In the Theogony of Hesiod, the three-headed Geryoneus, the son of Χρυσαῖωρ and Καλλιρόη, is described as dwelling in the island of Erythea, beyond the ocean, where Hercules slew him (v. 287. cf. 979). Pisander about Olymp. 40. represented Hercules as sailing thither over in the ocean, in a goblet which belonged to the

Sun, or was given him by Ocean (Athen. XI. 469. D.). Stesichorus followed this legend, adding fresh fables respecting the western regions. He mentioned the sources of the river Tartessus in the valley of the Silver mountains opposite Erythea (Strabo III. p. 148. Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 259.). He related how, "after Hercules had finished his voyage "with the day and returned the goblet, Helius the son of "Hyperion entered it, in order to sail across the ocean, "and to reach the depths of the sacred night, and find his "mother and wife and children: while the son of Jupiter "went to the laurel-grove" (Athen. XI. p. 469. E.). Hercules is here supposed to have returned, and to be again on the mainland where (as it appears) he visits the wood of the Hyperboreans (cf. Herod. IV. 8.); Helius then sails to the shores of night on the opposite side of the ocean. (See Hermann, *Opuscula*, vol. III. p. 138.) Other adventures of the hero were probably introduced as episodes. Thus the massacre of the children of Megara; the banquet of Pholus (to which the goblet might lead him); with the battle of the Centaurs, in which the Arcadian Pallantium was also probably mentioned (Pausan. VIII. 3. Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 260.); for it is not credible that he should have mentioned Evander of Pallantium on the expedition through Italy; perhaps the founding of the Olympian games was also introduced, Strabo VIII. p. 356. Stesichorus and Peisander were the first to represent Hercules with the lion's skin, bow, and club; instead of the heroic panoply; this peculiarity likewise indicates a different conception of most of his adventures and labours.

9. Our remarks on PEISANDER must be founded upon the observations of Heyne in the first Excursus to the second book of the *Æneid*, particularly those concerning the distinction between the ancient poet of that name, of Camirus in Rhodes, who is generally placed after Suidas, about Olymp. 33, and the more modern poet of Laranda in Lycæonia about 250 A. D. The latter composed twenty-six or more books *ἡραικῶν θεογαμιῶν*; the former a *Ἡρακλεία*, the second book of which is quoted, see Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. I.

p. 590. ed. Harl. Weichert ut sup. p. 240. The following collection contains some fragments omitted by Heyne. Peisander's remarks on the club and lion's skin of Hercules have been referred to above, p. 451. note ⁿ. Even if the account of Eratosthenes Cat. 12. that "the slaying of the lion was the first labour of Hercules," was borrowed from Peisander, yet he was either unacquainted with the preceding contests in Bœotia, or arranged them differently from the common order. This is confirmed by Schol. German. Arat. Phœn. p. 114. Pisandrus Rhodius refert, eum (leonem) ob *primos* labores Herculis memoriae causa honorifice astris illatum. Cf. Hygin. Poet. Astron. II. 24. p. 399.—Pausan. II. 37. 4. respecting the many-headed hydra.—Schol. Pind. Olymp. III. 12. (e cod. Vrat. ed. Boeckh.) from Peisander, Pherecydes and a Theseid, concerning the golden-horned doe.—Pausan. VIII. 22. 4. concerning the Stymphalides, Hercules, according to Peisander, drove them away with the noise of a drum, comp. Pherecydes. A fragment from the *second* book on the passage to Erytheia, above §. 8. Antæus was probably mentioned in the account of the voyage to the Hesperides, into which some Cyrenean traditions were introduced (*Orchomenos* p. 346.) Schol. Pind. Pyth. IX. 183. ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ (the daughter of Antæus the Libyan prince at Irasa) Ἀλκίης, ὣς φησι Πείσανδρος ὁ Καμειρεύς. Concerning Ladon the dragon that guarded the apples of the Hesperides, Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 1396. τοῦτον Πείσανδρος ὑπέλιπεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς γεγενῆσθαι. The following passages may have been introduced at different places in the description of the adventure of Hercules. Νοῦς οὐ παρὰ Κενταύροις from Peisander (in Hesychius where the commentators improperly suppose that Peisander, an imaginary comic poet, is meant) might occur in the adventure with Pholus, which Peisander probably combined with the Erymanthian boar. Concerning the warm baths at Thermophylæ see book II. ch. 11. §. 7. Οὐ νέμεσις καὶ ψεῦδος ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀγορεύειν might very well occur in the story of the Cercopes. That Deianeira was also mentioned is clear from the genealogy quoted from Pei-

sander in Apollod. I. 8. 5. Whether the poet connected the fate of Œdipus with the reception of Hercules in Thebes, or wrote a separate poem upon Œdipus, is not clear from Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 1748. Meursius Rhod. II. 11. has proved that the passages in Steph. Byz. do not belong to our Peisander, since the latter, according to Suidas, composed only *two* books, while a *tenth* and *fourteenth* are there quoted.

From the above remarks the following results may be obtained. First, that Peisander was employed chiefly about the regular labours of Hercules, and served in some measure as a guide to succeeding authors. The 20th epigram of Theocritus considers him as the first who represented the son of Jupiter as the *lion-slayer*; and from the account that he was the first to give Hercules a lion's skin and club, we may perceive that he wished to represent his hero in all the simplicity and grandeur of natural strength. He probably neglected altogether the Bœotian and Doric fables, and thus embodied an idea of this hero very different from that in general circulation. He was the *first* who adopted the fable of Antæus from Cyrenean traditions, which circumstance obliges us to date the composition of his poem at a period later than Olymp. 37; although Suidas states him to have lived in Olymp. 33. I am unwilling to infer from the mention of the *Λυδοὶ χρυσοχίτωνες* from Peisander in Lydus de Magistrat. III. 64. p. 268. that that poet was really acquainted with the Lydian fable of Hercules and Omphale. The charge of Clemens Alex. Strom. VI. p. 628, that Peisander had copied one Pisinus of Lindus, gives us little information, since we know nothing of this Pisinus; the statement is probably founded upon some mistake. It is singular that remains of Peisander and Panyasis should be supposed to exist in the 24th and 25th Idyls of Theocritus and the *Μεγάρα* of Moschus; for these poems are in Doric, and those poets imitated the Homeric dialect. There are also, in the pieces alluded to, several traces of an Alexandrine origin. On the other hand, it is possible that the

piece of sculpture in Visconti's Mus. Pio-Clementino vol. IV. tav. A. 7. the style of which is ancient, though imitated, may be a representation of the narrative of Peisander.

10. In tracing the writers on the mythology of Hercules earlier than Peisander, the investigation becomes the more important in proportion as the authorities are less abundant. We must now come to poems which did not possess the artificial connection of the works just noticed, but rather represented separate traditions. Of the Heraclea of Ciniæthon of Lacedaemon, who flourished about the 5th Olympiad (comp. Weichert p. 239.), only one authentic passage has come down to us, viz. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 1357. ὅτι δὲ Κίανοι ὁμηρεῖαν ἔδοσαν Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἄμωσαν μὴ λήξειν ζητοῦντες Ὑλαν, καὶ φροντίδα ἔχουσι Τραχινίων διὰ τὸ ἔκεισε κατοικισθῆναι ὑφ' Ἡρακλεῖ τοὺς ὁμηρεύσαντας, Κιναιθῶν ἱστορεῖ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ, from which we collect the existence of a wonderful traditional connection between Trachinia and Cios, which may be also recognized in the confusion of the fables respecting Theiomenes and Hylas (book II. ch. 2. §. 7.). Ciniæthon probably represented Hercules as going immediately from Trachis to Cios. That he also enumerated the genealogies of Heraclidæ, we have already seen from Pausan. IV. 2. 1. vol. I. p. 58. among which the pedigree of Orestes might also have been included. (Pausan. II. 18. 5. Schol. Iliad. III. 175.)

11. We now come to the HESIODEAN POEMS upon the fable of Hercules. The Theogony contains the following leading circumstances: The birth of Hercules in Thebes (Θηβαγενής, ver. 530.) ver. 944; the στανόεντες ἄεθλοι, ver. 951; the contest with the lion, ver. 327; with the hydra, ver. 313; with Geryoneus, ver. 288, 979; the release of Prometheus, ver. 529; the marriage with Hebe, ver. 950. After the Theogony, as appears from the last lines, the Ἡοῖαι were commonly sung, which must have contained an account of the generation of Hercules from a god and mortal women. That κατάλογοι γυναικῶν, in which Alcmena was called the mother of Hercules, existed before the date of the Poems of Hesiod, is evident from Odyss. XI. 265.

as Heinrich has remarked, Proleg. ad Scut. Herc. p. 52; and the beginning of the shield of Hercules (ver. 1—56.) is generally allowed to be a fragment of the Hesiodean Catalogue, Schol. Ald. p. 40. Heinrich. That the narrative of Pherecydes differs but little from this fragment has been above remarked. On the other hand the Schol. Vulg. ad Apoll. Rh. I. 747. relate the death of Electryon in a manner quite different from this fragment. In Hesiod, Amphitryon puts Electryon to death, in the Scholiast the Teleboi; in the former Amphitryon marries Alcmena previously to that event, in the latter not till after; so that we must suppose this story to have been the subject of another Hesiodean poem, if the scholiast reports correctly. Now the *Ἡοῖαι* also contained other actions and contests of the hero, a prominent place being given to his mother, as we learn from the beautiful fragment in Aspasius ad Aristot. Eth. Nicom. III. 5.

ὦ τέκνον, ἧ μάλα δὴ σε πονηρότατον καὶ ἄριστον
Ζεὺς ἐτέκνωσε πατὴρ,

and further:

Τέκνον ἐμὸν, Μοῖραί σε πονηρότατον καὶ ἄριστον.

The hospitable reception of Hercules by Telamon, and his prayer for the little Ajax, were related nearly in the same manner as in Pindar Isth. VI. 26. Schol. Pind. ad loc. The conquest of Pylos however was described at the greatest length: the following narrative may be collected from the different citations and extracts. Neleus refuses to purify Hercules from the murder of Iphitus, and the Nelidæ treat him scornfully; on which account he advances against Pylus, Schol. Venet. et Min. ad Il. II. 336. Neleus has twelve sons, among them the haughty Periclymenus, to whom Neptune had given the power of changing his form. Fragment ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 156. extracted in Eustath. ad Od. λ'. p. 1685. Schol. Vulg. ad Od. λ'. 286. As long as he lived Pylos could not be taken. At last however Hercules, by the admonition of Minerva, slew him, whilst sitting in the shape of a bee on the yoke of his chariot, Schol. ubi s.

Then Hercules conquers Pylus, and kills eleven of the sons. Nestor only escapes, as he was brought up among the Gerenians (Fragm. ap. Steph. Byz. in Γερηνία, Eustath. ad Il. λ'. p. 231. cf. Schol. Venet. ad Il. λ'. 336. Schol. Min. ad Od. γ'. 68.). Apollodorus I. 9, 10, &c. II. 7. 3. has likewise evidently borrowed from this passage of Hesiod; see Ruhnken Epist. Crit. p. 112. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 62. According to Heyne, this legend was contained in the first book of the Κατάλογοι; if so, it must have been under the genealogy of Tyro, not of Alcmene, which in order of time could not have come till later: there is not however any mention of the first book of the Κατάλογοι in Eustathius ad Il. β'. II. p. 231.

12. With respect however to the SHIELD OF HERCULES itself, the beginning of which is wanting, it must be considered as a separate poem, and it may be called by the name of Hesiod, in the same sense as many others of the same kind were so called. Apollonius the Rhodian mentions in the Schol. Ald. that both in the shield and the catalogue of women, Iolaus was represented as the charioteer of Hercules. But even Stesichorus had quoted some part of this poem as the work of Hesiod; at least such appears to be the meaning of the passage of Stesichorus. Why should not Stesichorus quote Hesiod, as Pindar does Homer, and Simonides Stesichorus himself? (Athen. IV. p. 172. D.) and in general the lyric poets often quoted other poets. This was probably the case in the Cynus of Stesichorus, p. 36. ed. Suchfort. in which he deviated considerably from his epic predecessor, particularly in describing Hercules as first flying from his antagonist (Schol. Pind. Olymp. X. 19.), in which point Pindar also followed the lyric version. The poem however may have appeared to Stesichorus in the style of Hesiod, particularly as it was written ten Olympiads before his time, and we have no reason for doubting that its antiquity was so great.

The shield of Hercules contains the same version of the death of Electryon as the fragment of the Ἡοΐαι, v. 89; on the other hand, an unknown tradition is alluded to in ver. 90.

“ Iphitus leaving his house and his parents, went, unhappy wretch, to honour the impious Eurystheus. Much did he afterwards lament his fault—but the deity imposed hard labours upon me.” From this passage it appears that Hercules, according to the author of this poem, did not undertake his labours at the command of Eurystheus, but of the god; probably in order to expiate some crime; although Homer mentions the servitude of Hercules under Eurystheus. Another tradition, which also soon fell into oblivion, is that concerning Areion, the horse of Hercules, v. 120. The Scholiast to Il. ψ. 346. relates that Neptune gave it to the king of Haliartus, from whom Hercules received it, and with it distanced Cycnus in the hippodrome of the Pagasæan Apollo; it next came into the possession of Adrastus, according to the Cyclic poets. Another and entirely different tradition concerning the manner in which Hercules obtained this horse is given in Pausan. VIII. 25. It is worth remarking that according to the author of the *Ἀσπίς*, Minerva gave the shield to Hercules, when he was about to begin his labours, v. 127. This account implies the existence of legends altogether different from those generally current after the time of Peisander: of what use could the shield have been against the lion? From v. 353. we see that Hercules is going to Trachis as in Apollod. II. 7. 7; he must therefore probably be supposed to have come from the north of Thesaly; whence we may conjecture that the poet supposed the war with the Lapithæ to have preceded.

13. THE MARRIAGE OF CEYX, *γάμος Κήρυκος*, appears to have been a poem of similar character and contents. It took its name from a part which had been highly worked up by the poet, viz. the marriage feast of the prince of Trachis. His bride is unknown; for it cannot be supposed that Hesiod would have introduced into this poem a fable so little connected with his subject as that of Ceyx and Aleyone. Besides this, the contests of Hercules with the Dryopians were probably related; also his accompanying the Argo as far as Aphetæ, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 1290. Plutarch Sympos. VIII. 6. p. 340. cites a figurative expression from the

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τὸν Κήρυκος γάμον εἰς τὰ Ἑσιόδου παρεμβalόντι, Athen. II. p. 49. and Pollux VI. 83, quote from the same poem passages on the use of three-legged tables at meals. It is probable that a poem of Bacchylides of the same name bore a similar relation to the γάμος Κήρυκος, as the Κύκνος of Stesichorus to the Ἀσπίς of Hesiod. This has been conjectured above, book II. ch. 12. §. 10. Now Athenæus and the Schol. Plat. Symp. p. 373. ed. Bekker, give an entire hexameter, αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασι, as spoken by Hercules at the threshold of Ceyx; and it is probable that this is the verse of Hesiod. We must only observe, that it was not, as the scholiast supposes, Cratinus in the Πυλαία, but Bacchylides who first altered it, by introducing the opprobrious word δειλῶν. Probably the account in Bacchylides of Hercules' battle with the Centaurs in the house of Dexamenus was also taken from Hesiod, and perhaps from the marriage of Ceyx: see above, p. 432. notes ° and 9.

For the conquest of Œchalia, see above, p. 426; on the Ægimius, p. 33. The verse from this poem in Athen. XI. p. 503. D. ἴθα ποτ' ἔσται ἱμὸν ψυκτήριον, ὄρχαμε λαῶν, was probably spoken by Hercules to Ægimius, whilst pointing out a spot for a grove sacred to himself. The verse of Hesiod in Plutarch, Thes. 30. concerning the love of Theseus for Ægle, is also taken from the Ægimius, as we learn from a comparison of Athen. XIII. p. 557. comp. Schweigh. The statement of Demetrius the Phalerean in Schol. Odys. γ'. 267, about an epic poem by Demodocus, a very ancient bard of Lacedæmon, entitled "the battle of" Amphitryon against the Teleboans, cannot indeed be considered as literally correct; but it proves that this fable was considered as of great antiquity.

14. No one indeed, who combines the passages in Homer on the subject of Hercules, and remarks the internal unity, which tradition alone, without the labours of epic poets, could not have given them, can doubt that there were Ἡρακλεΐαι in existence *before the Iliad*. Juno and Minerva are opposed to each other, the former as hostile

to Hercules, the latter as friendly. Minerva, however, can hardly be considered as more than a poetical personification of the wise motives of Hercules, although the opposition of Juno may be traced to the local tradition of Argos. Thus also the other fundamental parts of the legend, particularly the ideal, are found in Homer, from the birth of the hero to his death, which, according to *Il. XVIII. 117*, is likewise caused by the malevolent goddess, who however cannot prevent his deification. This connection tended to assimilate the separate legends, and thus, for example, those of Cos were united, which were originally very different. The intermixture and incorporation of the Thessalian, Bœotian, and Peloponnesian traditions, must however have taken place many centuries before; and since the object of the investigation in the text (*book II. ch. 11, 12.*) was to retrace the steps of this process, and to analyze the whole mass, this literary inquiry can only throw some small light upon the question there examined.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- P. 19. l. 2. *for* the latter were *read* the Ionians were.
- P. 22. l. 4. *for* which lead him *read* which led him.
- P. 34. notes, col. 1. l. 6. *for* Herens *read* Hereas.
- P. 58. note ^b, *for* Schol. Apollon. I. 124. *read* Schol. Apollon.
- I. 824. and compare Bentley ad Callim. Cer. Calath. 48.
- *Ibid. note ^b, the same correction of Strabo had been made by Porson, *Adversaria*, p. 39.
- *P. 71. note ^v, *add*, Compare Zenobius I. 54. χρησμός ἐδόθη Ἐπίμῳ τῷ Κρητὶ καὶ Ἀντιφῆμῳ τῷ Ῥοδίῳ φυλάξασθαι τὸν τετραίαντον.
- P. 97. l. 21. *for* of the town *read* of the former town.
- P. 103. note ^a, *for* Bacchus *read* Bacchius.
- P. 115. note ^r, *for* slay *read* slew.
- Ibid. note ^s, *for* Æpytus *read* Æpytus.
- P. 126. l. 1. *for* Heraclidæ *read* Heraclide.
- P. 129. l. 18. *for* Cyrium *read* Curium.
- P. 135. l. 4. *for* 21. *read* 20.
- Ibid. Reverse notes ^k and ^l.
- P. 140. note ^o, *for* Perinthe *read* Perinthus.
- P. 172. notes, col. 1. l. 16. *for* Λακεδαίμονιαν *read* Λακεδαιμονίαν.
- P. 177. l. 2. *for* Cynuria *read* Cynuria ^t, *for* Argos ^t *read* Argos ^u, *for* town ^u *read* town ^v.
- P. 186. l. 15. *for* place *read* prince.
- *P. 188. note ^s. Compare vol. II. p. 519. note ^s.
- *P. 199. note ^p. Compare vol. II. p. 507.
- *P. 201. note ^x, See Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, vol. I. p. 300. vol. II. p. 1351. In a late review of this work (Göttingische gel. Anz. 1830. Jan. 25.) the author remarks, that the words of Herodotus, γενομένης Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ, mean "a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours (the Megarians) at Eleusis." If, he adds, Herodotus had by "neighbours" meant the Eleusinians, he would have said τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ.

P. 205. notes, col. 2. l. 3. *for πολέμον read πολέμου.* L. 11. *for Peloponnesian is mentioned read Peloponnesian war is mentioned.*

*P. 213. note ^u, and vol. II. p. 250. compare Isocrat. Archid. p. 136. C. ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ τῶν ἐν Διπαίᾳ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας ἀγωνισαμένων, οὓς φασιν ἐπὶ μιᾷ ἀσπίδος παραταξαμένους τροπαῖον στήσαι πολλῶν μυριάδων, according to Bekker.

P. 220. l. 21. *for to the respect read with the respect.*

P. 222. l. 23. *for natural read national.*

P. 237. notes, col. 1. l. 5. *for Mylissus read Tylissus.*

P. 245. l. 2. *for settlers to Lycia read settlers of Lycia.*

P. 258. note ^a, *for δεκατηφόρος read δεκατηφόρος.*

P. 263. l. 5. *for tradition read traditions.*

P. 267. l. 18. *for Megarus read Megaris.*

P. 273. note ⁱ, *for χύκου δέκας read λύκου δέκας.*

P. 288. l. 21. *for bank of Inachus read banks of the Inachus.*

P. 304. l. 14. *for on the rocks read at the Pythian festivals.*

P. 310. l. 5. *for and on the opinions read and not on the opinions.*

P. 311. reverse notes ^d and ^e.

*P. 354. note ^m, See Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, vol. I. p. 300. vol. II. p. 1351.

P. 389. note ^k, add Ἀρ]ταμι in a Corcyraean inscription, Mustoxidi *Illustrazioni Corcirese*, vol. II. p. 88. comp. Chandler. Inscript. p. 82. N^o. 145. Koen. ad Greg. p. 305. Steph. Byz. in Ἀρεμίσιον.

P. 391. notes, col. 2. l. 14. *before Paus. III. 10. 8. add Καρνά- τις at Caryæ.*

As to the worship of the Caryatan Diana, we may observe that some rites of Bacchus were mixed with it, as may be seen from Servius ad Virg. Eclog. VIII. 30; hence the dances of the Caryatan Diana were of a wild and violent character. Accordingly, Praxiteles (Pliny, H. N. XXXVI. 4.) made a joint composition of Caryatides and Thyades; and Pratinas (Athen. X. p. 392.) wrote a play called Δύμαιναι ἢ Καρνάτιδες, the former of whom, also called Δύσμαιναι, occur as Bacchantes. The form Δύσμαιναι is defended against Toup and Meineke (Euphorion. fragm. 42. p. 93.) by Philargyr. ad Virg. Georg. II. 487. who translates the name by *furiosæ Bacchæ*. The Caryatides, who danced with uplifted hands, (Lynceus ap. Athen. VI. p. 241. D.) may be re-

cognised in many reliefs as young female figures with their garments girt up and thinly clad.

*P. 409. note ^a, add Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. N°. 1535.

P. 414. l. 22. for *ἰπευελῶν* read *ἰπυρίδῃ*.

P. 433. last line, for *united* read *invited*.

P. 437. l. 3. from bottom, for *Cecropes* read *Cercopes*.

P. 447. running title, for ch. 10. read ch. 11.

P. 461. l. 6. for *degenerated* read *degenerate*.

*P. 463. note ^p, the dissertation *De Cercopibus et Cobalis* is reprinted in Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, vol. II. p. 1296.

The remarks to which an asterisk is prefixed were added by the translators.

Some other unimportant errors, chiefly of stopping and accentuation, have been left unnoticed, both in this and the following volume.

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